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Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology

By GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Names and references mentioned only once are given in full in the body of the text and are not included here.

- Authors' Names* are indicated by three capital letters each.

BLI : Bhagvanlal Indraji.
 DRB : D. R. Bhandarkar.
 EJR : E. J. Rapson.
 MMW : Monier Monier-Williams.
 RDB : Rakhal Das Banerji.
 VAS : V. A. Smith.

- Books* are indicated by a capital letter followed by two small letters.

Bgp : Bhāgavat Purāṇa.
 Cea : Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty. E. J. Rapson. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1908.
 Dtp : Dvātriṃśat Puttalikā, complete works of Kālidāsa. Published by S. C. Chakravarti, Calcutta.
 Ehi : The Early History of India. V. A. Smith. Revised by S. M. Edwards. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, 4th Edition.
 Klp : Kalki Purāṇa.
 Mbh : Mahābhārata.
 Mtp : Matsya Purāṇa.
 Ppv : Purāṇapraveśa. Bengali. Girindrashekhara Bose. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., 15, College Square. Calcutta, 1934.
 Rgm : Raghuvamśam. Kālidāsa.
 Sed : A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Monier Monier-Williams. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899.
 Skp : Skanda Purāṇa.
 Vap : Vāyu Purāṇa.
 Vip : Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

- Journals* have been indicated by groups of appropriate small letters each preceded by a j.

jasb : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 jbras : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

jbors: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
 jia: Indian Antiquary.
 jras: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. *Reports, Proceedings, Lists, etc.* are indicated by at least two small letters each.

ap: Appendix to Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology.
 aswi: Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.
 bg: Bombay Gazetteer.
 ei: Epigraphia Indica.
 ls: Lüders' list of Brahmi Inscriptions. Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. X.

6. *Publishers, Editors, Translators, etc.* are indicated by a single small letter preceded by a hyphen.

-a: Ānandāśram publications.
 -b: Baṅgavāsi publications.
 -w: Translated or quoted by H. Wilson and edited by F. Hall.

7. *Editions* are indicated by Arabic numerals, *e.g.*, Second edition: 2nd.

8. *Volumes, Books, Chapters and Sections* when requiring a special mention are indicated by Roman numerals, *e.g.*, Fourth volume: IV. Third Book: III. Puranic adhyāyas are indicated by numbers, *e.g.*, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Baṅgavāsi publication, Fourth Book, Twenty-fourth adhyāya, śloka 32: Vip-b. IV. 24. 32.

9. *Pages, Lines, Ślokas, Foot-notes* are indicated by numbers after suitable small letter or letters, *e.g.*, Third page: p. 3. Pages 219 and following: pp. 219-. Lines 4 to 6: ll. 4-6. Foot-note No. 3: n. 3. Ślokas 246 and following: 246-.

10. *Paragraphs* of Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology are indicated by numbers within brackets, *e.g.*, 23rd Para.: (23).

11. *Dates*. Years elapsed after Christ: a.C. Years elapsed before Christ: b.C. Actual dates in Christian era: A.D. or B.C.

12. *Sequence of Mention*. The single small letter symbols for publishers, editors, etc. which follow the symbols for the names of the books are separated from the latter by a hyphen. All other individual symbols are separated from one another by full stops.

Author. Book-Publisher, Editor or Translator. Year of Publication. Edition. Book, Chapter or Section. Page. Line. Foot-note.

One or more of the above items may be omitted. Instead of page numbers chapter and verso numbers may be introduced, *e.g.*, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Baṅgavāsi publication, fourth book, twenty-fourth chapter, verses 34 to 42: Vip-b. IV. 24. 34-42.

1. PRESENT POSITION OF ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

1. *Andhra Chronology requires Revision.* The chronology of the Andhra kings of ancient India as accepted at present requires a drastic revision.

2. *Khāravela and Śātakarṇi. 168 B.C.* According to the account of the modern historical scholars Aśoka's great empire began to show signs of disintegration towards

I. Summary of
Andhra Chronology
as accepted at present

the latter part of his reign. The Kalingas and the Andhras under Kṣemarāja and Simuka respectively broke away from the Maurya yoke about 240 to 230 B.C.

Kṣemarāja's name is to be found in the Hatigumpha inscription in which his grandson Khāravela's military conquests and other activities are recorded. The inscription is dated in the 13th year of Khāravela's reign and in the year 165 of Rāja Muriya, i.e., of Candragupta. Assuming Candragupta's date of accession to be 322 B.C., Khāravela's accession would be placed in $(322 - 165 + 13 =)$ 170 B.C. In the second year of his reign, i.e., in 168 B.C., Khāravela defied Śātakarṇi 'the protector of the West'. Śātakarṇi's name is to be found in another inscription at Nanaghat in which his father's name Simuka is also mentioned.

3. *Simuka the first Andhra King. 230 B.C.* The purāṇas give a dynastic list of the Andhra kings together with the regnal period of each. Although the puranic account of the Andhras cannot be admitted in its entirety the portions that do not come into conflict with epigraphic evidence may be accepted. In the puranic Andhra dynastic list we find the names of the first three kings as Śisuka or Śipraka, Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarṇi in order of their succession. Śisuka is the corrupt form of Simuka of the inscription. The name of the second king Kṛṣṇa also is to be found in another inscription. The purāṇas state that Kṛṣṇa was the brother of Simuka and that Śātakarṇi was the son of Simuka. This latter statement is supported by inscriptional evidence. Epigraphic considerations show that all the inscriptions bearing the names of Simuka, Śātakarṇi and Kṛṣṇa belong to the second century before Christ. The beginning of Andhra reign is thus to be fixed at about 230 B.C. which would be the time of Simuka. The Andhras therefore were contemporaries of the later Mauryas, of the Suṅgas who came after them and of the Kaṇvas who followed the Suṅgas. According to the purāṇas the total period of reign of the Andhra dynasty is about 450 years and the number of kings 30. These figures can be accepted. The purāṇas are however obviously wrong in stating that the first Andhra king Śisuka murdered the last Kaṇva king who reigned till about 28 B.C., and usurped the

throne, and that the Andhra dynasty succeeded the Kāṇvas. Some later Andhra king might have killed the last Kāṇva.

4. *Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi. 106 A.D.-150 A.D.* The next Andhra kings of any importance whose names appear in inscriptions are Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi who are to be identified with kings Nos. 23 and 24 of the purāṇas. Inscriptions at Nasik and Karle show that these kings were contemporaries of certain satrap kings named Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman who ruled over western India at the time. The dates of these western satraps have been preserved in inscriptions and coins. This evidence proves that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi must have reigned during the period 106 A.D. to 150 A.D. Ptolemy, who flourished about 120 A.D. to 160 A.D., mentions Puṣumāvi as if he were his contemporary. A Nasik inscription records that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was a great conqueror 'who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas who rooted out the Khakharāta family; who restored the glory of the Śātavāhana race'. The Andhra kings belong to the clan known variously as Śātikarṇa, Śātakarṇi, Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana. Nahapāna the western satrap belonged to the Khakharāta or Kṣaharata family. Thus it seems it was Nahapāna that was uprooted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; an evidence of this fact is to be found in the discovery of a large number of coins of Nahapāna struck over with the legend of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as a sign of his conquest. The twenty-seventh king in the puranic list is Yajñaśrī. Numerous coins and inscriptions mentioning the name of this king have been discovered. He seems to have been also a very powerful monarch ruling over extensive territories.

5. *End of the Andhras. 225 A.D.* Various inscriptions and coins containing the names of other Andhra kings such as those of Cuṭukadānanda, Mudānanda, Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, Māṭharīputra Śivalakura, Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi, Śrī Candra Śati, Catarpana, Śrī Rudra Śātakarṇi, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi, Śrī Candra, Śivaskanda Varman and a few others have been found. Some of these kings have been identified according to the puranic list while the positions of others remain uncertain. The Andhra kingdom came to a close about 225 A.D. This was followed by a dark period in Indian history. Vincent Smith writes, 'But the third century after Christ is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history, and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion'. (Ehi. p. 226.)

6. *Reference.* This short account of the Andhras has been culled from Rapson's 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra

Dynasty' and Vincent Smith's 'The Early History of India'. It will refresh the memory of the reader and will serve as an introduction to the discussion that follows.

7. *Andhra People and Andhra Country.* Mention of the Andhras is to be found in ancient Sanskrit literature in many places, the oldest being the well-known passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Andhra people have been mentioned also in the Mahābhārata. (Mbh-b. Sabha. 31. 71 and Bhishma. 9. 49.) The purāṇas however form the main depository of our information regarding the ancient Andhras. The ancient Andhras, as their present-day descendants do, lived in the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers on the eastern sea coast of India. The Andhra country, i.e., the part of India where these people lived, has been called the Andhra Deśa. The Andhras have often been in later times grouped together with the Kalingas who were their neighbours and who occupied the territory to the north of the Andhra Deśa.

8. *Bali and Andhra Deśa.* The purāṇas mention a king of the Anu dynasty named Bali who was a contemporary of the Ikṣvāku king Māndhātṛ. Bali's kingdom lay to the south of the Vindhya Ranges. Bali had five sons begotten by the sage Dirghatamas through his queen Sudeśṇa. These sons were named Aṅga, Baṅga, Kalinga, Suhma and Pundra. Each of them became the ruler of the province named after him. Apparently these provinces had formed part of Bali's empire. The Bhāgavat purāṇa mentions a sixth son who has been called Oudra in some manuscripts and Andhra in others. (Bgp-b. 9. 23. 5, 6.) The purāṇas specifically mention the fact that Bali's 'sons' were Kṣatriyas. (Vis-b. IV. 18. 1; Vap-a. 99. 28.) If we reject the doubtful Bhāgavat tradition and accept the other account we may say that the earliest Andhra kingdom must have been formed long after the establishment of the kingdom of Aṅga, Baṅga, Kalinga, Suhma and Paundra. In early times, previous to its consolidation as a separate kingdom, Andhra Deśa formed part of the Anu empire under Titikṣu who has been described in the purāṇas as a renowned king ruling in the east. (Mtp-a. 48. 22.) Bali was Titikṣu's great-great-grandson. After Bali the Anu empire was divided among his sons as mentioned and Andhra Deśa seems to have been included in the kingdom of Kalinga.

9. *Ancient Andhra Kingdom.* Andhra people and Andhra kingdom are not identical entities and the further distinction between an Andhra king (i.e., a king belonging to the Andhra race) and a king of the Andhras (who may not necessarily be an Andhra himself) should be kept in mind. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Andhra people as base descendants of Viśvāmitra. They have been classed with the uncivilized Pulindas. (Aitareya Brāh. vii. 18.) On the other hand the early kings who ruled

over the Andhras belonged to the Anu family and were Kṣatriyas. No reference to any name of any Andhra king is to be found in Sanskrit literature, as far as I know, down to the time of the Kaṇvas. There seems to be no doubt, however, that a separate Andhra kingdom was an established fact before the Mahābhārata war and rulers of the Andhra people existed either as independent kings or as feudatories to some sovereign power. Reference to such rulers is to be found in the Mahābhārata in the passages previously cited.

10. *Kālidāsa does not mention the Andhras.* Curiously enough in describing Raghu's military conquests of different people Kālidāsa does not mention the Andhras in his Raghuvamśa. Raghu's victorious army penetrated into the eastern kingdoms bordering on the sea, conquered Suhma, Baṅga, Kāliṅga and Pandya. (Rgm. 4. 32. 49.) The Pandya territory formed the extreme south of India. The Pandyas are to be distinguished from the Paundras. Kālidāsa's omission of the mention of the Andhras is remarkable. If Kālidāsa were a contemporary of the Guptas he must have been familiar with the great Andhra tradition.

11. *Omission of the name Andhra in Ancient Reference.* One also misses the name of Andhra in many passages in the purāṇas and the Mahābhārata where one would expect it to be present. It is possible that although the Andhras had existed as a people for a very long time past no separate Andhra kingdom was formed till about the time of the Mahābhārata war. This may be the reason why the name Andhra is not found associated with Kāliṅga in literary references to early period. In references to later periods these names often occur together. The first literary mention of an Andhra king as distinguished from a king of the Andhras is to be found in the purāṇas in connection with the description of the Andhra dynasty.

12. *Puranic Account of Mauryas and Śuṅgas.* The purāṇas are unanimous in asserting that one Sindhuka or Śipraka or Śisuka, who belonged to the Andhra race and who was a servant (apparently a provincial governor) of the last Kaṇva king, overthrew his master and occupied the throne. It should be remembered that according to the purāṇas the empire ruled by the Mauryas passed on to the Śuṅgas. The first Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra was a provincial governor or a general under the last Maurya king Brāhadratha. Puṣyamitra killed Brāhadratha and exalted his own son Agnimitra to the throne and governed the empire in the name of the latter. Puṣyamitra has been described by Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra as 'senāpati' or commander-in-chief of his son Agnimitra. Matsya in referring to Puṣyamitra (Mtp a. 272. 27) says 'kārayiṣyati bai rājyam' which means 'caused the empire to be governed by another'. The dethroning of Maurya Brāhadratha by his 'servant' Puṣya-

III. Puranic
Account of the
Andhras

mitra had many precedents. Candragupta who was apparently a governor of the Nandas had usurped the empire of his master; so also had Pradyota's father Munika overthrown his master Ripufijaya and installed his own minor son in his place. It seems that in deference to public opinion neither Munika nor his later prototype Puṣyamitra ventured to occupy the throne themselves. Both of them made their sons emperors.

13. *Kaṇvas and Andhras*. History repeated itself again when Vāsudeva the first Kaṇva, who was a servant of the last Śuṅga king, murdered his master and occupied the throne. The last Kaṇva king Suśarman in his turn was killed by his 'servant' Śipraka or Simuka the Andhra who stepped into the throne and became the founder of the Andhra dynasty. The purāṇas are unanimous in asserting that Sindhuka or Śipraka belonged to the Andhra race (Vap-a. 99. 348; Mtp-a. 273. 2; Vip-w. IV. p. 194) and that it was he that had usurped the throne by killing the last Kaṇva king. The purāṇas do not state that the Maurya empire broke up after the death of Aśoka as has been supposed by modern scholars. The puranic description implies that the empire in a more or less complete form passed from the hands of the Mauryas to those of the Śuṅgas and from the Śuṅgas to the Kaṇvas and from the Kaṇvas to the Andhras.

14. *Modern Version of Andhra History*. Modern scholars are of opinion that the Andhras did not come after the Kaṇvas and that the puranic version is wrong in asserting that it was the first Andhra king who had killed Suśarman the last Kaṇva. Vincent Smith writes 'The Purāṇas treat the whole Āndhra dynasty as following the Kāṇva, and consequently identify the slayer of the last Kāṇva prince with Simuka or Sipraka, the first of the Āndhra line. But, as a matter of fact, the independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kāṇvas about 28 B.C. and the Āndhra king who slew Suśarman cannot possibly have been Simuka. It is impossible to affirm with certainty who he was, because the dates of accession of the several Andhra princes are not known with accuracy. All that can be affirmed at present is that the slayer of Suśarman, the last Kāṇva, apparently must have been one or other of three Āndhra kings, namely Nos. 11, 12 or 13. The year 28 B.C. may be accepted as the approximately true date of the extinction of the Kāṇva dynasty; because it depends, not on the duration assigned to each several Āndhra reign, but on the periods of 112 and 45 years respectively allotted to the Sunga and Kāṇva dynasties, which seem worthy of credence; and this date, 28 B.C. apparently must fall within the limits of one or other of the three Āndhra reigns named above. Foot-note: close of Maurya dynasty; c. 185 B.C. from which deduct $112 + 45 = 157$; leaving 28'. (Ehi. pp. 216, 217.)

15. *Puranic Account and Inscriptions.*

IV. Reasons for
Acceptance of Por-
tions only of
Puranic Account

The reasons that have led modern scholars to reject portions of the puranic account are, as already stated, mainly based on inscriptions and numismatic evidence. The puranic version of Andhra history has been corroborated in certain particulars by the discovery of Andhra coins and inscriptions. No modern scholar is therefore disposed to reject the puranic story wholesale. If we neglect the purāṇas altogether there will not be much to write about the Andhras or, in fact, about any ancient Indian royal dynasty that would be considered history. All workers on Andhra history have thus made efforts to correlate their numismatic and other findings with the puranic account. They have rejected those portions of the purāṇa story only that come into conflict with their own conclusions. There is nothing in the purāṇas about the Andhras that is inherently impossible. No Andhra king has been endowed with any fabulous longevity nor has any been made the hero of an impossible feat.

16. *Purāṇas partly accepted.* It will be noticed that scholars like Vincent Smith, although they reject the puranic order of dynastic succession, have accepted the statement of the purāṇas that Śiśuka or Simuka was the founder of the Andhra dynasty. That Simuka killed Suśarman is not believed, but the statement that Suśarman was killed by an Andhra king has been accepted and the slayer has been sought to be identified with the Andhra king No. 11, 12 or 13. So also the total period of Andhra reign, as mentioned in the purāṇas, has been held to be true but not the reigning periods for the individual kings. Rapson writes 'The latest inscriptional date for the reign of Gautami-putra is the year $24 = \text{A.D. } 130 + x$ in a postscript to the Nasik edict above referred to. This date is interesting, as it affords a means by which the evidence of the Purāṇas can be tested and is found wanting, for with great unanimity they seem to agree in assigning a reign of 21 years only to this king'. (Cca. p. xxx.) It seems that modern scholars have accepted, rejected, amended and modified puranic data as they suited their own conclusions. All this may appear to be making wild work of the purāṇas but if we remember the generally unrecognized dependence of modern scholars on puranic materials for their historical account of ancient India and their eagerness to correlate puranic data with their own we can very well understand their ways of handling the purāṇas and their express attitude towards them. (85, 86, 87.)

17. *Inscriptional Evidence is really an Interpretation.*

V. Limitations
of Inscriptional and
Numismatic Data

Inscriptional and numismatic data by themselves can at most give us a mere skeleton or more correctly a part of a skeleton of history in the majority of cases. It is their interpretation that lends to them their first fleshy covering. This

interpretation is known to the historian as inscriptional or numismatic evidence. Although the inscriptional datum itself can seldom be challenged a good deal of uncertainty creeps into its interpretation at times. This is the reason why different scholars have come to different conclusions starting from the same numismatic or inscriptional data. This fact is very often forgotten and an undue reliance is placed on so-called inscriptional evidence which is really an interpretation. It is necessary to reiterate this as, although scholars are alive to this possibility of error, a warning is necessary because, when it comes to the practical application of this principle, mistakes are frequently made and a mere probability is often posited as a certainty. I shall have occasion to cite illustrations later on.

18. *Relevant Inscriptional and Numismatic Records.* Quite a fair amount of material in the shape of inscriptions and coins is now available for the elucidation of the history of the Andhras. Instead of going through the list of all the inscriptional and numismatic data, it will be profitable for the present to examine only those that have a bearing on Andhra *chronology*, so that we may test the reliability of the conclusions of modern scholars with respect to cases in which they have differed from the purāṇas. Inscriptional and numismatic details that are not essential to the purpose of this discussion have been left out here, but it should be noted that no serious student can afford to disregard any such detail or material, however insignificant it might appear to be at first sight. I should therefore urge my readers to turn to the full original sources before coming to a decision regarding any disputed point raised in this article.

19. The main arguments of modern scholars in fixing Andhra chronology may be summarized as follows:—

19 (1). *Literary Evidence.* The Andhras are an ancient people as is proved by old literary evidence, VI. Modern Scholars and *viz.*, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. This work Andhra Chronology was composed prior to 500 B.C.

19 (2). *Hatigumpha Inscription.* The Udayagiri or Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela is dated in the year 165-164 of Raja Muriya, *i.e.*, Candragupta. Since Candragupta's accession to the throne took place about 322 B.C. the date of the inscription is about 157 B.C. This date corresponds to the 13th year of Khāravela's reign. Rapson puts the date of Khāravela's accession at 170 B.C. and Vincent Smith at c. 171 B.C. In his second year, *i.e.*, about 168 B.C., Khāravela defied Śātakarṇi who is called 'the protector of the West'. This Śātakarṇi has been identified with the third Andhra king of the same name in the puranic list. Rapson writes 'The date c. 168 B.C. as that of a year falling within the reign of this Śātakarṇi, is the only fixed chronological point in the early history of the Andhra dynasty'. (Cca. p. xviii.)

Khāravēla's inscription shows that he was the third king of the Cheta or Chaita dynasty of Kalinga. So his grandfather must have been the person who broke free from Maurya overlordship; his period would approximately be c. 232 B.C. (Cca. p. xvii), and this would coincide with the period of Aśoka's death immediately after which disintegration of the Maurya empire was likely to have set in.

19 (3). *Andhras and Kalingas*. It is likely that the Andhras, like their neighbours the Kalingas, declared independence about the same time so that the first Andhra king, called Śīsuka or Śipraka by the purāṇas, and who may be assumed to have been the same person as Simuka of the Nanaghat inscription, may be supposed to have been a contemporary of Khāravēla's grandfather the first Cheta king of the Kalingas. Vincent Smith says 'the independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C.'. (Ehi. pp. 216, 217.)

19 (4). *Śātakarṇi and Simuka*. The purāṇas say that the first Andhra king was Śīsuka, the second his brother Kṛṣṇa and the third Śīsuka's son Śātakarṇi. Since this Śātakarṇi is the third in succession from Śīsuka, the contemporary of the first Chaita king, he must be the Śātakarṇi of the Khāravēla inscription, Khāravēla being also the third king counting from the same point of time. It is therefore clear that the Śātakarṇi of the Khāravēla inscription is the third Andhra king of the purāṇas, and his date is 168 B.C. as already stated.

19 (5). *Nanaghat Inscriptions*. The Nanaghat inscription that indicates that Śātakarṇi was the son of Simuka the founder of the Andhra dynasty, is written in a script which is similar to the Asokan script. There is another inscription at Nanaghat which bears the name of king 'Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Śātavāhana race'. This Kanha is the second Andhra king Kṛṣṇa of the purāṇas. Rapson quotes Bühler as follows: 'According to the epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. But what, in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nasik inscription (No. 1) of Kanha or Kṛṣṇa's reign'. Rapson continues: 'The Nāsik inscription referred to bears the name of "King Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Śātavāhana race," and it was assigned by Bühler, on epigraphical grounds, to "the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Śuṅgas, in the beginning of the second century B.C."' (Cca. p. xix.)

19 (6). *Gautamīputra and Uṣabhadāta*. At Nasik an inscription has been discovered which is dated in the year 18 of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. (ls. 1125.) Another inscription has been found at Karle which is also very likely dated in the year 18 of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. (ls. 1105.) Both these inscriptions record the gift made by Gautamīputra of lands which had just previously belonged to Ṛṣabhadatta (Uṣabhadāta).

The first inscription specifically mentions the name of *Ṛṣabhadatta*. We can get *Ṛṣabhadatta*'s date from other inscriptions. At Nasik an inscription has been found in which is recorded the construction of a cave by *Ṛṣabhadatta*, son-in-law of *Nahapāna*. (ls. 1131.) Other inscriptions of *Ṛṣabhadatta* have been found bearing the dates 41, 42 and 45. (ls. 1133.) An inscription at Junnar has been discovered executed by *Ayama*, minister of *Nahapāna*, dated year 46. (ls. 1174.) These dates are very likely in Śaka era and therefore 41 to 46 would correspond to 119 to 124 A.D. We learn from another inscription that *Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi* extirpated the *Khakharāta* family to which *Nahapāna* belonged. *Nahapāna*'s coins are found restruck by *Gautamīputra*.

19 (6a). *Gautamīputra's Date*. Rapson writes 'Gautamīputra's conquest of *Nahapāna* seems undoubtedly to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation:—Gautamīputra's year 18 = 124 A.D.+x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscriptions of other Andhra sovereigns, and on the known date 72 = 150 A.D. of *Rudradāman* as *Mahākṣatrapa*, rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology'. (Cca. p. xxvii.) *Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi*'s date of accession would thus be 106 A.D.+x. (Cca. p. xxx.) *Gautamīputra* figures as the 23rd king in the puranic list.

19 (6b). *Rudradāman and Puṣumāvi*. There is an inscription in the Girnar mountain executed by *Rudradāman* and dated in the year 72 = 150 A.D. in which is recorded that he twice defeated *Śātakarṇi* the lord of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. (ls. 965.) *Rudradāman* was the grandson of *Caṣṭana* and the father-in-law of *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi* (the son of *Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi*) whom he defeated.

19 (6c). *Puṣumāvi the son of Gautamīputra*. A Nasik inscription dated in the year 19 of *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi* executed by his grandmother Queen *Gautamī Balaśrī* enables us to make out that *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi* was the son of *Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi*. (ls. 1123.)

19 (6d). *Kings No. 23 and No. 24*. *Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi* and *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi* have been identified with kings No. 23 and No. 24 of the purāṇas. They have been called respectively *Gautamīputra* and *Pulomā* in the purāṇas. Their dates would thus lie between 106 A.D. and 150 A.D.

19 (7). *Ptolemy and the Andhras*. The Greek geographer *Ptolemy*, who died after 161 A.D. and who lived at *Alexandria* for forty years, writes about *Puṣumāvi* and *Caṣṭana* in a way that seems to indicate they were contemporaries with him. (Ehi. p. 232; Cca. p. xxxix.)

19 (8). *Traikūṭaka dynasty*. In *Mahārāṣṭra* the *Andhras* were succeeded by a dynasty of *Ābhiras* who very likely belonged

to the Traikūṭaka dynasty. Inscriptions and coins show that the date of the beginning of the Traikūṭakas is 294 A.D. (Cca. p. xlv.)

20. *Andhra Reign. 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.* Vincent Smith writes 'the long series of Āndhra kings came to end about A.D. 225 The testimony of the Purāṇas that the dynasty endured for either 456 or 460 years, or, in round numbers, four centuries and a half, appears to be substantially accurate. The number of the kings also appears to be correctly stated as having been thirty'. (Ehi. p. 224.)

The Andhra dynasty is thus supposed to have reigned from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D., i.e., for about 455 years.

21. *Two Pillars of Andhra Chronology.* Briefly stated the whole structure of Andhra chronology as built by modern scholars rests mainly on two pillars, viz., the identification of Śātakarṇi of the Khāravela inscription with the third Andhra king in the puranic list on the one side and the identifications of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, also called Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi, with Gautamīputra and Pulomā kings Nos. 23 and 24 respectively of the purāṇas on the other side. Before I proceed to test the validity of these three identifications it will be profitable to discuss certain general questions pertinent to the problem.

2. PROVINCIAL RULERS

22. *Kṣatrapas and the Paramount Power.* It should be remembered that the purāṇas mention genealogies only of sovereign powers and not of any satrap or provincial governor, however powerful he might have been. In this connection the distinction between what we call a 'King' in English and a 'Raja' or a 'Narapati' or a 'Rāṣṭrapati' (e.g., Dakṣiṇāpathapati) or a 'Kṣatrapa' or a 'Mahākṣatrapa' should be borne in mind. It seems that during the Andhra period the titles kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa were originally used by provincial rulers of Parthian or Scythian descent acknowledging suzerainty of some paramount power. Very likely their relations with the paramount power consisted merely in the payment of tribute of some sort. They were free to mint their own coins, wage war against neighbouring provinces and act in any other way they liked. It is probable that a kṣatrapa was often subordinate to a mahākṣatrapa who was the direct tributary of the paramount power. A mahākṣatrapa might have several kṣatrapas under him. Sometimes a kṣatrapa would wage war on other kṣatrapas and usurp their dominions and, perhaps by paying a higher tribute to the paramount power, would be recognized as a mahākṣatrapa. Mahākṣatrapas and kṣatrapas often ruled contemporaneously. (Cca. p. xxvii. n.) It appears also that the paramount power

did not bother itself as to who became the *kṣatrapa* or *mahākṣatrapa* of a particular province so long as it received the stipulated tribute.

23. *Kṣatrapas of Indian Descent.* In later periods rulers of Indian descent also sometimes styled themselves *kṣatrapas* or *mahākṣatrapas* after having ousted rulers of Scythian descent from their possessions. Perhaps the association of these titles with a particular province was so firm owing to long continued rule by foreigners to whom the epithets properly belonged that when any Indian stepped into their place he found it more convenient to use the same designations in State matters as those of his predecessors. The facts collected about the western satraps of the Andhra period by Rapson (Cca. c, ci) would serve to support the validity of the above assumptions.

24. *Four Classes of Provincial Rulers.* Rulers of different provinces under a paramount power in ancient India can be placed under different classes. In the first place, we might have kings who had lost their original independence as a result of aggrandizement of the paramount power and had become tributary to it. In describing Raghu's conquests Kālidāsa compares such defeated kings with the paddy plant which yields grain when uprooted and planted again. The conqueror who after defeating an independent king reinstated him as tributary has been called 'dharmavijayī' or the righteous conqueror. (Rgm. 4. 37-43.) In the second place, provincial rulers of one paramount power might transfer their allegiance to another as a result of military conquest by the latter. Greek satrapies under Selukus were transferred to Candragupta after the defeat of the former. In the third place, special officials might be appointed by the paramount power to rule over certain provinces, e.g., a military commander might be appointed as a governor in a province liable to invasions by other powers (Kaniṣka's governors). Fourthly, princes of the royal blood and relations of the royal family might be appointed, irrespective of their merits, in certain provinces. Sometimes minor princes occupied the position of provincial rulers under the protection of some elderly person of the royal blood. Khāravela inscription records that he was a Yuvarāj at sixteen.

25. *Royal Provincial Rulers.* It is conceivable that a prince of the royal line in his capacity as a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different *kṣatrapas* might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another. In the course of this article I shall have occasion to show that in all probabilities such a contingency did arise at least twice during the Andhra reign. (50.) The posts of provincial governors, except

in the cases of the princes of the royal blood who would succeed to the throne of the paramount ruler, were generally hereditary. An examination of the coin legends and inscriptions of the Andhra period shows that the prefix 'śrī' was used only by persons of the royal family. The satraps, although they called themselves 'rajas', did not put the honorific 'śrī' before their names; on the other hand we find legends of royal personages in which only 'śrī' occurs and no 'rājā'. I shall presently cite reasons for believing that the title 'rājā' without the 'śrī' was very likely confined to provincial rulers only and when it is found associated with a 'śrī' it is even then no bar to the supposition that the person of the royal blood might have been a provincial governor at the time the coin, bearing the legend, was struck or the inscription carved.

26. *Coins minted only by Provincial Rulers.* The provincial rulers during the Andhra period issued coins and it is quite likely that a prince of the royal blood also issued coins in his own name during the period of his provincial governorship. Rapson writes 'Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of Ancient or of Mediæval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty, but even by the transference of power from one race to another'. (Cca. pp. xi, xii.) The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the facts noted by Rapson is that the paramount power never troubled itself with the issue of coins—a function which was left to the discretion of the provincial rulers. The central government, it seems before the Guptas at any rate, did not attach much importance to the minting of coins and in the case of big empires it is doubtful whether any special central imperial coin was ever issued. This would explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of emperors such as Aśoka on the one hand and the great preponderance of coins belonging to the satraps on the other. The conservatism in coin types that Rapson has noticed would make any guess regarding the age of a particular type of script on any coin in the absence of dates a hazardous game. I shall have occasion to refer to this problem again.

27. *Restriking of Coins is not necessarily a Proof of Victory.*
 X. Restriking of Coins In view of the indifference of the central government to provincial coins it is extremely unlikely that the imperial power would think of restriking any coin to commemorate any victory as has been supposed in the case of the restruck coins of Nahapāna. It is

practically impossible for any imperial power to call back all coins of a particular type in circulation merely for the purpose of restriking them. This method of commemorating a victory, to say the least, can only attain partial success. Then again in considering the problem of the restriking of coins one has to remember that of three Andhra rulers Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, Māṭharīputra Śivalakura and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, all apparently belonging to the same family, each of the last two restruck coins of his predecessor or predecessors. There is no evidence to show that this was done to commemorate any victory of one over the other or others. (191, 192.)

28. *Double-struck Coins.* Double-struck coins belong to the same category as restruck coins. Such coins of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura and of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi have been found. Restruck punch-marked coins have also been found suggesting the possibility that the restriking was done when the original markings got effaced by usage. (Walsh. Punch-marked Silver Coins. Their standard of weight, age and mint, *jas.* 1937. Apr.) In view of these considerations the argument that restriking of a coin by another king is a proof of military victory on his part loses much of its force. It is difficult to say in the absence of any definite information what might have led to the restriking of particular coins. The hypothesis of military victory is only one possibility among many, and this hypothesis fails altogether when applied to double-struck coins and to restriking by successive rulers belonging to the same family. It is probable that just as we have special coronation medals struck at the time of accession of kings at the present time, coins were similarly restruck in ancient times on special occasions for distribution as alms, etc. This would explain the presence of coins that have been restruck by a ruler of the same family as the one issuing the original coin and also of double-struck coins bearing the same legend of the same ruler twice. This explanation will be especially applicable to those cases in which there is no sign of any effacement of the original stamping due to usage. Effacement of the original markings, whether as a result of usage or of any other factor, will very likely account for restriking in a certain percentage of cases as has already been stated.

29. *Treasure Trove Act in Ancient India.* The denominational values of ancient coins were very likely in the majority of cases greater than their intrinsic values. If anybody was fortunate enough in discovering a hoard of coins belonging to a former reign in those days the only way to utilize the coins profitably would be to get them restamped with the current legend by the State mint and release them for circulation. Melting the coins would not be a business proposal. It is mentioned in *Manu-saṁhita* and *Mitākṣarā* that if any person, other than a learned brahmin, discovers a hidden treasure, the king shall

appropriate one-sixth or one-twelfth of the amount. A learned brahmin discoverer of a hoard may keep the whole of it for himself. If anybody fails to intimate the discovery of a treasure hoard to the State, he shall forfeit the whole of it, and the king shall punish the discoverer suitably. (Manu. 8. 35. 39; Mitākṣarā-Vyavaharādhaya. 34, 35.) It is therefore quite likely that in the event of a discovery of a hoard of coins, not current at the time, the government would restamp the coins, take a part of the same for its own coffers and give the rest to the discoverer.

3. THE ANDHRA KINGS

30. *Śātakarṇi a Clan Name.* The names of the Andhra kings, as recorded in the purāṇas and in inscriptions and coins, are worthy of careful consideration. It is very difficult to get at the personal names of these kings. We have to take into account their clan name. The clan name itself shows great variation in different records. In the purāṇas, for instance, we have Śātikarṇa, Svātikarṇa, Śātikarṇi, Śāntikarṇa, Śāntakarṇi and Svāti, apparently all variations of the same name. In traditions we come across the names Śata-vāhana, Śātavāhana, Śāta-vāhana and Śālivāhana. In coins and inscriptions we have Śāta, Śātavāhana, Śātakarṇi, and Svāti. The origin of the clan name Śātakarṇi, which seems to be the proper designation, cannot be definitely traced. The literal meaning of the word is 'one who has handsome ears'. Both Śātakarṇi and Śatakarni are correct forms according to this derivation.

31. *Origin of the name Śātakarṇi:* It seems that besides the Andhra kings there were others who bore the personal name Śātakarṇi. There is an author of this name who wrote a treatise on alaṅkāra. (Śātakarṇi on Alaṅkāra quoted by Śaṅkara. Oxf. 135a. Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleinae by Aufrecht.) Kālidāsa records the tradition of a ṛṣi of the name of Śātakarṇi, living somewhere on the banks of the Godavari before the time of Rāma. This sage was a very renowned person because of his austerities. (Rgm. 13. 38-40.) It is just possible that the Andhra kings claimed their descent from this famous holy man. Another tradition traces the name to one Śāta or Śāla who was a Yakṣa and who became a lion later on. This Yakṣa was the first Andhra king's *vāhana*, i.e., he used to carry the king about. Two other clan or sub-clan names occur in inscriptions and coins associated with the Andhras, namely, Viṣivāyakura and Śivalakura. Whether these two clans or sub-clans are identical with the Śātakarṇi clan or whether they are different cannot be definitely stated. (183.)

32. *Gotra Names and Matriarchy.* Besides the clan name

XII. *Gotra Names of Andhra Kings* some of the Andhra kings also bear *gotra* names. It appears from their *gotra* designations that they came from matriarchal families. Vatsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* records that in *Dakṣiṇāpatha* matriarchy was the social order. 'Mātulakulānūvartī dakṣiṇāpathe'. (*Kanyasamprayukta*. 3. 1.) Even at the present day we find matriarchy prevalent in southern India. The *gotra* names are all derived from the names of ancient ṛṣis and are used even now both by brāhmaṇas and by non-brāhmaṇas. In patriarchal families the *gotra* name takes the male form in male descendants, e.g., Gautama Buddha, but in matriarchal societies since the *gotra* name comes through the mother, it takes a female inflection and then the word 'putra' has to be added to it to make it an appropriate designation for a male member, e.g., Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, which means that Śātakarṇi is the son of a woman who belongs to the Gautama *gotra*. In the case of females it is impossible to determine from the *gotra* name alone to which type of family she belongs, e.g., Gautamī Balaśrī may be the member of either a matriarchal or a patriarchal family.

33. *Gotra Names and Patriarchy.* In patriarchal families the same *gotra* name is transmitted through successive male issues and is a common epithet for all members of the same dynasty whereas in matriarchal societies it changes from father to son. The father and the son thus always belong to different *gotras* as marriage within the same *gotra* is not allowed by Hindu custom. Thus in a matriarchal family, like that of the Andhras, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's son can never be a Gautamīputra but can be a Vāsisthīputra, or Mātharīputra or Hāritīputra. The importance of the woman is far greater in a matriarchal society than in a patriarchal one, and in royal families of the former type it is not at all uncommon to find women associated with State affairs. Sometimes the sister's son gets preference over the son in succession to properties in matriarchal societies.

34. *Uncertainty regarding Names.* It was customary in ancient days to address a person by his *gotra* name instead of by his personal name, particularly when special honour was intended to be shown by the addressor. The use of personal names was thus limited to intimate circles of relations and friends in the case of kings. This is perhaps the reason why so much uncertainty exists regarding the correct names of ancient rulers. In the different purāṇas, for instance, the same king has been called under such different names as Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Adhisāmākṛṣṇa, Adhisomākṛṣṇa and Asīmakṛṣṇa. Among the Andhra kings the names that seem to be personal are: (1) Śīpraka, Simuka or Śīsuka, (2) Kṛṣṇa, (3) Puḷomā, Puḷumāvi,

XIII. *Multiple Names. Difficulties of Identification*

Puṣumāyi, Palumān or Pulomāchi, (4) Ariṣṭakarmā, Nemikṛṣṇa, Riktavarṇa or Gorakṣakṛṣṇa, (5) Pattalaka or Mandulaka, (6) Pravillasena, Putrikasena or Purindrasena, (7) Śivaśrī, (8) Yajñaśrī, (9) Vijaya, and (10) Candraśrī, Dandaśrī, Candaśrī or Vadaśrī. The gotra names found are Gautamīputra, Vāsiṣṭhīputra, Mātharī or Mādharīputra and Hārītīputra. In some families it was the custom to designate the son according to the mother's personal name, e.g., Gaurika which means 'son of Gauri', Yasomatika meaning 'the son of Yasomati', etc.

35. *Same Name for different Kings.* The clan and gotra names combined were often considered enough to designate any particular king. Sometimes only the clan name or the gotra name has been mentioned so that an identification becomes still more problematic. Almost all the Andhra kings could be designated as Śātakarṇi and certainly more than one could call himself Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. To add to the confusion several kings with identical personal names are to be found in the Andhra dynasty. There are at least three Puṣumāvis or Pulomās among Andhra kings. Thus there may be more than one Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. Then again it was common in ancient India in royal families for the same series of names to be repeated for the father and the sons at intervals of several generations. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Parikṣīt I and Parikṣīt II had sons with identical names, viz., Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena. We have the same state of affairs in England also. There are four Williams, six Georges, eight Edwards and eight Henries among forty English kings. Supposing that definitely dated records were absent it would be a problem for the historian of the future to determine who was who from names only. (71, 72, 76.) We are experiencing the same difficulty with reference to the past Andhra dynasty.

36. *Nicknames indicating Bodily Peculiarities.* Identification has been rendered still more difficult by the presence of more than one name for one king and of nicknames of royal personages. Some Andhra kings are known only by their nicknames. The third puranic Andhra king has the name Sri Mallakarni according to the Matsyapurāṇa. This appears to be a nickname and it means 'the royal one with the (twisted) ears of an athlete'. The fourth king has the name Purnotsanga meaning 'the one with a full haunch'. The fifth king, according to the Hall manuscript, has the name Skandhastambhi meaning 'the stiff shouldered'. The seventh king has the name Lambodara meaning 'the long bellied'. The eighth king, it appears, bore two nicknames, viz., Dwibilaka and Apitaka. The first means 'one with two (prominent nasal) holes' and the second 'the fat one'. All these names refer to some bodily peculiarities of the kings. If we are to credit the nicknames with any significance we may infer that the Andhra stock was well-built and had big mascula-

XIV. Nicknames of Andhra Kings

ture and that the kings were devoted to wrestling and athletic exercises. Some colour is lent to this supposition by the description of personal features of King Gautamīputra to be found in the Nasik inscription of his mother (ls. 1123). (Transcript in bg. Vol. XVI, p. 550.) The relevant lines are as follows: 'Paṭipuṇa cada maḍala sasirika piyadasanasa varavāraṇa vikamacaruvikamasa bhujagapati bhoga pinabata bipula digha suda [ra] bhujasa'. This means 'whose appearance has the grace of full lunar circle, whose gait is as pleasing as that of the noblest elephant, whose arms are as muscular, rounded, massive, long and beautiful as the body of the king of serpents'.

37. *Artistic Nicknames.* The jest of irreverential nicknames seems to have pursued the first eight kings after which the names become more respectable and even artistic. Among the later kings we have such names as Kuntala meaning 'lock of hair', Sundara 'the fair one', Cakora or 'Greek partridge', Yajñaśrī or 'the sacrificial grace' and Candrasrī or 'the beauty of the moon'. Candrasrī has also been called Vadaśrī or 'the grace of discourse'. The names Śaktīśrī and Vedaśrī have been found in an inscription; they mean 'the grace or beauty of strength' and 'the grace of the Veda' respectively.

38. *False Identifications.* In view of the welter of clan, gotra and nicknames and paucity of personal names of Andhra kings and in view of the fact that different kings sometimes bore the same name and the same king many different names, it is extremely hazardous to effect a concordance between the two series of data as found in the purāṇas on the one hand and in inscriptions and coins on the other. As I have already pointed out, it is very difficult and often impossible to say who is who in the absence of dates on the two sides and the chances of mistaken identity are very great. I shall point out presently that such false identifications have actually been made in the working out of Andhra history by modern scholars.

39. *Defects in Puranic Time Records.* It is generally believed that the purāṇas, although they, like a modern historical work, mention regnal years of kings and the total periods of reign of the different dynasties and the order of their succession, are not entirely trustworthy; then again the purāṇas do not record any specific date in terms of any era. There can therefore be no absolute point of reference-time on the puranic side. The inscriptions enable us to fix the time of three of the Andhra kings at least, viz., Śātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. Thus there exists a sort of absolute time scale on the inscriptional side but none on the puranic side. This state of affairs naturally makes it difficult for us to correlate the two series of data and chances of mistaken identity cannot be eliminated.

4. ANDHRA TIME RECORDS

40. *Inscriptional and Puranic Regnal Years.* I shall consider some of the peculiarities of the inscriptional Andhra time records before I take up the problem of puranic time reference with regard to the same dynasty. None of the inscriptional records of Andhra sovereigns bear any time reference in terms of any era. They mention only the regnal years of individual kings. There is a discrepancy between puranic and inscriptional accounts of regnal periods in the case of some of the kings and on the strength of this the puranic account has been declared untrustworthy. (Cca. p. xxx.) I should like to point out certain fallacies in this connection. First, the identification may have been wrong; secondly, we should always keep in mind the probability of some of the Andhra kings' acting as provincial governors before they came to occupy the imperial throne. In such an eventuality the period of governorship and the period of overlordship being continuous would be taken together and the regnal years mentioned in inscriptions would have to be counted from the time of the beginning of provincial governorship. There is evidence to show that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi reigned in the capacity of a provincial governor simultaneously with his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. (DRB. Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period. jia. June. 1918. p. 152. See also 151.) While inscriptions are likely to record the conjoint regnal period of Puṣumāvi the purāṇas mention only the duration of his subsequent overlordship or actual reign as emperor as they are mainly concerned in recording the turn of events from the imperial standpoint.

41. *Regnal Years and Provincial Governorship.* Since the title 'rājā' was very likely associated with provincial governorship any inscription or coin legend bearing that title conjointly with the royal prefix 'śrī' would indicate that it was executed during the period of provincial reign of the prince. In the case of Yajñaśrī of the purāṇas, about whose identification with Gautamīputra Svāmi Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions not much doubt exists, the purāṇas record a regnal period of nine years only, while we find from inscriptions that he reigned for at least twenty-seven years. A long period of provincial rule was not likely to be followed by another long period of imperial reign except in the case of a prince who happened to have ruled as a minor under the guardianship of somebody else during his governorship. If we assume that Yajñaśrī had been a provincial ruler before he became a king and that the inscription mentioning the 27th year of his reign (Cca. p. lii) was incised during this period we can get the total period of Yajñaśrī's reign by adding the minimum of 27 years as governor to 9 years as an imperial ruler as mentioned in the purāṇas. There is the other possibility

that the inscription was carved while Yajñaśrī was an imperial ruler; this would give a minimum of 18 years as the period of his provincial reign. The large variety of the coins that Yajñaśrī struck is, from this standpoint, to be considered as a corroborative evidence of his long period of provincial governorship at different places. As mentioned before, no coin of Yajñaśrī is to be expected for the period of his reign as the paramount lord. I have not mentioned the case of other kings as I shall show that considerable uncertainty exists regarding their identity. In view of the possibilities mentioned here it will not be justifiable to discredit the puranic account of regnal period of any king solely on the ground of its discrepancy with the inscriptional data.

42. *Use of the Śaka Era by Satraps.* Although princes of the royal blood of the Andhra dynasty do not mention any era in inscriptions the western satraps mostly record time in terms of the Śaka year which begins in 78 A.D. In fact it is their use of this known era and the contemporaneity of some of them with certain Andhra kings as found in inscriptions that have enabled the modern scholar to determine the dates that form 'the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology'. None of the great imperial rulers of old seem to have used any era that might have been current in their times. Each one of them dated his records in terms of his own regnal years. It was only the satraps or the provincial governors outside the royal family who used a common era. Whenever we come across any time record in terms of regnal years of any person the presumption would be that he was an independent ruler or a prince of the royal blood who aspired to be an independent king some day. The use of a common era like the Śaka era, particularly in the absence of any reckoning of regnal period, by any person would be, on the contrary, a presumptive evidence in favour of his subordinate position. The western satraps of the Andhra period who used the Śaka era in their records never called themselves 'mahārājās' nor did they use the honorific 'śrī' in connection with their names. The only exception seems to be Svāmi-Simhasena whose coin legend reads 'Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa-Svāmi-Simhasenasya'. (Cca. p. 190.) The 'mahārājā' seems to have been a title of courtesy here conferred by the paramount power. The association of the epithet 'kṣatrapa' with 'mahārājā' proves that his was a subordinate position. No independent ruler would delight in using an epithet like 'kṣatrapa' which implies dependency. Simhasena was not in the direct line of Rudradāman II, the latter being his maternal grandfather. It is likely that Simhasena's father was an Andhra prince. This supposition will explain the use of the title of mahārājā by him. Išvardatta, who ousted other satraps and became a mahākṣatrapa, mentions

regnal years in his coins. (Cca. p. 124.) Perhaps he had an ambition to rule as an independent sovereign or, as is more likely, he belonged to an Andhra royal sub-clan. (183.)

43. *Royal Princes who did not succeed to the Throne.* It is highly improbable that all princes of the royal blood who had served their provincial governorship would be fortunate enough to ascend the imperial throne. Death, disease, intrigue and more powerful rivals might conceivably interrupt a career. Under these circumstances one would expect to find inscriptions with legends showing the epithets 'rājā' and 'śrī' and time records in regnal years without being able to assign the person concerned a place in the list of imperial rulers. Such a case appears to have been that of Catarapana. The inscription mentioning his name at Nanaghat shows the legend 'Rano Vāsiṣṭhiputra Catarapana-Śātakanisa' dated in the year 13. (ls. 1120; Cca. pp. xli, lii.) There is no doubt that he belonged to the royal Śātakarṇi clan and ruled over some territory, yet he cannot be given a place with any degree of certainty in the list of Andhra kings. Very likely the same fate as that of Catarapana overtook Mahāhakuśrī of the Nasik inscriptions. (ls. 1117, 1141; Cca. pp. xx, xlii.)

44. *Minting of Coins by small Independent States.* Only in the case of big empires with a well-organized system of provincial governors would one expect the absence of imperial coins minted by the central government. Where the independent ruler controlled a comparatively small territory he would naturally strike coins in his own name, mention his own regnal periods and would perhaps use an era started by himself or by one of his illustrious ancestors. In an inscription by Dahrasena, son of Indradatta, we find mention of an era (Traikūṭaka) and the legend 'Mahārajendradattaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī-Mahārāja Dahrasena'. (Cca. p. 198.) Here we find the association of 'śrī' with 'mahārāja'; there is no mention of his being a kṣatrapa or a provincial ruler under a paramount power. He used an era perhaps started by some of his ancestors as it mentions the year 207. The obvious conclusion is that Dahrasena must have been an independent king directly ruling over a territory without the help of provincial governors and issuing coins in his own name and recording time in terms of a family era and regnal periods.

45. *Western Satraps were Feudatories of the Kuṣānas.* The

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Kuṣāna Origin of
Śāka Era

western satraps who belonged to the family of Caṣṭana used the Śāka era. Very likely the Kṣaharātas belonging to the family of Nahapāna also did the same; there is however some doubt on this point. (RDB. jras. 1917.) Rapson writes 'that the dates of the western kṣatrapas are actually recorded in years of the Śāka era, beginning in 78 A.D.; there can be no

possible doubt. The question of the origin of this era has, therefore, an important bearing on the history of this dynasty. The titles "kṣatrapa" and "mahākṣatrapa" certainly show that the western kṣatrapas were originally feudatories; and the era used by them is presumably, as is regularly the case in similar instances, the era of the dynasty to which they paid allegiance. Until recent years Fergusson's theory that the Śaka era was founded by Kanīṣka was more generally accepted than any other; but a host of rival theories have since been proposed, and it cannot be said that at the present time there is any general consensus on this subject among scholars. One of the main objections brought against Fergusson's theory was that Kanīṣka was not a Śaka but a Kuṣāna; but this objection is not insuperable, if the suggestion just made may be entertained, viz., that the name of the era, which is not found in inscriptions, until after the power of the western kṣatrapas had been well established, may have been derived from the kings who used it rather than from the king who established it'. (Cca. pp. cv, cvi.)

46. *No Positive Proof of Kuṣāna Origin of Śaka Era.* Of course Rapson's suggestion is no positive proof of Fergusson's theory of the Kuṣāna origin of the Śaka era. It, however, serves as a warning to those who may seek to trace the epoch of the era to some king of genuine Scythian descent. Accepting Rapson's suggestion one might argue that the western satraps were tributaries to the Andhras. This view has actually been held by Oldenburg, Burgers (referred to by DRB. Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period. jia. June. 1918) and others.

47. *Kadphises as Founder of Śaka Era.* Vincent Smith writes 'Chastana, therefore, may be placed in the period from about 80 A.D. to 110. These dates imply that Chastana held his office as Great Satrap under the Kushān dynasty, that is to say, under Kadphises II, according to my chronology. The Śaka satraps of Surāshtra and Mālwa naturally followed the examples of their Kushān sovereigns by using the Śaka era then newly established'. (Ehi. pp. 222, 223.) It will be seen that Vincent Smith believes that it was Kadphises II and not Kanīṣka (who according to him came to the throne in A.D. 120) who founded the Śaka era. Vincent Smith also does not advance any argument to support his views about the Śaka era beyond pointing out the coincidence of dates. On the basis of the same argument the foundation of the era may be ascribed to the Andhras. The Andhras about 78 A.D. were as much powerful emperors as the Kuṣānas. No fact has been discovered that might suggest that the Andhras could not possibly have started the era.

48. *Probable Andhra Origin of Śaka Era.* All the arguments mentioned here in favour of the Kuṣāna source of the Śaka era can be applied with equal, if not greater, force to the possibility of its Andhra origin. The assertion that the era was founded by

some Kuṣāna king rests only on the fact that there existed a powerful Kuṣāna empire at the time of the epoch of the era. There is no independent evidence to show that either Kadphises II or Kaniṣka ascended the throne exactly in 78 A.D. or that there was some special Kuṣāna event that might account for the foundation of the era. On the other hand if we consider (i) the close affinity of the Andhra coins with those of the western satraps—an affinity that made Rapson consider the two series of coins together in his book, and (ii) the significance of the name Śālivāhana which is inseparably associated with the Śaka era in Indian tradition, we are led to the admission that in all probability the era was started by an Andhra or a Śālivāhana king. I shall point out other arguments in support of this view later on. (161, 166, 167.)

49. *Difficulties in accepting Theory of Kuṣāna Origin of Śaka Era.* On the supposition that Kadphises II founded the Śaka era it is difficult to understand why Kaniṣka, his immediate successor to the throne, and belonging to the same family, should have thought of starting another era of his own. Admitting that Kaniṣka did start an era, it will be difficult to explain the continued use of the Śaka era even during Kaniṣka's time by the western satraps who are supposed to have been under him. Therefore probably either Kaniṣka did not start an era or the western satraps were not under him. It may be that both the above propositions, viz., that (i) neither Kaniṣka founded an era, (ii) nor the western satraps were under him, are true. If it can be proved that the Andhras started the Śaka era and that the Kuṣānas dated their records in terms of it, it will have to be admitted that the latter were in all probability subordinates to the former. Both the western satraps and the Kuṣānas would then have to be considered feudatories to the same sovereign power, namely, the Andhras. The purāṇas do not mention the Kuṣānas which they presumably would have done had the Kuṣāna power been a paramount one for any length of time. The Andhras are the only paramount rulers of this period according to the purāṇas.

50. *Significance of Defeat of Puṣumāvi by Rudradāman.*

XVIII. Rudra-
dāman and Puṣu-
māvi

There is a fact in this connection that is very significant as throwing some light on the position of the western satraps during the Andhra period. Rudradāman I boasts in an inscription (Is. 965) of having defeated the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha twice in fair fight. The defeated ruler was very likely Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Puṣumāvi. Rudradāman spared his life because he was a near relation (son-in-law). What seems very peculiar is that Rudradāman did not seize any of these two opportunities to dispossess his son-in-law and to usurp the Andhra emperor's crown. He could have easily made his son-in-law a feudatory under him and with the enhanced resources at his command

could have defied the paramount power to whom he was a satrap at the time. The fact that he did nothing of the sort but meekly continued in the position of a glorified servant, *viz.*, that of a mahākṣatrapa and even boasted about it is to be best explained on the supposition that both he and his son-in-law were tributaries to the same sovereign power, *viz.*, Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra lived till 130 A.D. (Table IV); the fight took place before this date. For reasons which I have already discussed before, it can be assumed that the paramount power would not interfere in a struggle between two of its provincial rulers. Although Rudradāman was victorious over his son-in-law who was presumably a provincial ruler at the time of the fight, he dared not defy the imperial power. He did not usurp the throne of the Andhras because the paramount Andhra power remained unconquered; it also remained indifferent; presumably it continued to receive its dues from mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. Had Rudradāman been a Kuṣāna satrap, his new acquisitions of victory would have meant a loss of revenue to the paramount Andhra power whose representative was the defeated son-in-law of Rudradāman. The paramount power would certainly have interfered in such a contingency. It was not overthrown; nor did it fight Rudradāman. The frequent shuffling of territories from the Śātakarnis to the western satraps and *vice versa* (Cca. pp. cxx, cxxi), that forms an interesting problem of Andhra history, is satisfactorily explained on the supposition that in most cases it was a change in provincial governorship only and did not affect the central power in any way.

5. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

51. *Caution in admitting Epigraphic Evidence.* In fixing the time of the inscriptions referring to the Andhra kings epigraphic evidence has been requisitioned to a very great extent. It is well known that the form and other characteristics of the alphabet change in the course of time and epigraphists have sought to determine the rate of these changes and thus to fix the time of an undated inscription starting from the form of letters of a known date. The reliability of any epigraphic evidence should be very carefully considered before it is taken as final. Unfortunately historical scholars have not always been very critical about their judgment of epigraphic finding and they have often placed an undue amount of reliance on it as I shall presently show.

52. *Changes in the Brāhmī Script. No Established Law of Change.* In cases of the dated coins of western satraps the changes through which the forms of the Brāhmī alphabet passed during the Andhra period 'may often be traced with great chronological accuracy' (Cca. p. xiii) so that it is possible for epigraphists to

XIX. Unreliability of Epigraphic Evidence

say that so much change has occurred in so many years. There is nothing to say against such assertions; they are mere statements of facts. When, however, it comes to a consideration of the problem from the opposite angle, i.e., when one has to fix the date of an inscription from the nature of the deviations that have occurred from a known standard of a known period, the matter becomes quite different. There are so many factors that go to determine the type of the alphabet or writing in an inscription that any definite statement becomes an impossibility. One must have established laws of change supported by proper evidence before one can hazard an opinion. For example, it is one thing to say that a particular train has taken so much time to cover so much distance and quite another to say on the basis of the above fact that since so much distance has been covered by another train it must have taken so much time; there are unknown periods of stoppage and other disturbing factors on the way in the absence of knowledge of which no prediction can be considered reliable. The margin of error may be so great as to render all conclusions valueless.

53. *Margin of Error. Vagueness in Indication.* Statisticians always consider the questions of probable error and standard deviation before they put their reliance on any figure arrived at by such methods as described above. It is true that epigraphists often qualify their estimates by saying that such and such a date is correct 'within a margin of not more than a hundred years' but when it comes to a practical application the 'margin' is very often forgotten and statements and conclusions assume a definite character for which there is no warrant. Then again there is no objective scientific standard for determining the 'margin'. Every individual worker makes his own guess and the different guesses vary widely from one another. The vagueness that characterizes the assertions of historians in this matter is to be seen further in their way of statement of the 'margin' of error. They do not usually indicate the direction of error so that it is difficult to understand what is actually meant by such expressions as 'margin of error of a hundred years'. Does it mean that the date might be wide of the mark in each direction by a hundred years so that an inscription for which an epigraphic estimate fixes the time at, say, 150 A.D. might have been actually executed at any time between 50 A.D. and 250 A.D. or does it mean that the actual date would be somewhere between 100 A.D. and 200 A.D.? All confusion might be avoided if the amount of possible error and deviation is stated as a plus-minus quantity so that 150 A.D. \pm 100 years would mean that the date may vary within the limits 50 A.D. and 250 A.D.

54. *Difference of Opinion.* The following quotations from the writings of recognized historical authorities will serve to illustrate the wide difference of opinion that exists among scholars in regard to epigraphic evidence: Referring to the Hatigumpha

inscription, the date of which is the keystone of modern Andhra chronology,

54 (1). *Jayaswal*. Jayaswal says 'The characters which are Northern Brāhmī have been already discussed by Bühler. It is sufficient to say that they are regarded by him to belong to about 160 B.C. The history of development of the Brāhmī letters from the third century B.C. to the first century A.C. is so well known to the Indian epigraphist that the age of an inscription falling in that period could be definitely fixed within an ambit of 30 years or so'. (jibors. III. Hatigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāravela. p. 428.)

54 (2). *Chanda*. Speaking of the same inscription Ramaprasad Chanda writes 'But the wide difference in form between the alphabet of the edicts of Asoka on the one hand and that of the Hathigumpha inscription on the other, already noted by Bhagabanlal, renders the estimate of Khāravela's date quite untenable'. Chanda proceeds to discuss the points of difference and says: 'Therefore Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription should also be identified with Śātakarṇi II whose reign may be tentatively dated between 75-20 B.C.'. (Date of Khāravela. jia. Nov. 1919. pp. 215, 216.) According to Chanda therefore Bühler's epigraphic estimate is wrong by 100 years.

55. *Bhagvanlal Indraji*. Discussing the Nasik inscriptions of the Andhra period in Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, 1883, p. 607, Bhagvanlal writes 'If these considerations are kept in view for the whole of India, from the forms of the letters the dates of inscriptions can be determined within a margin of not more than a hundred years'.

56. *Rapson*. Referring to one of the Bhilsa Topes inscriptions (Sanchi, No. 1, ls. 346) which contains the name Śrī Śātakarṇi Rapson writes 'He must, in accordance with the epigraphical evidence as interpreted by Bühler, be placed early in the dynasty. Bühler, indeed, proposed to identify him with the Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions, on the ground that the alphabet of the Bhilsa inscription showed similar characteristics.... On the whole, it appears more probable that Bühler was mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription, and that this king [Vāsiṣṭhīputra] Śrī Śātakarṇi is to be identified with one of several Śātakarṇis who appear later in the puranic lists'. (Cca. p. xxiv.) The date of Śātakarṇi of the Hatigumpha inscription is supposed to be 168 B.C. and the dates of the later Śātakarṇis, with one of whom Rapson proposes to identify the Śātakarṇi of the Bhilsa inscription, would be any time from, say, 75 A.D. to 255 A.D. when the Andhra dynasty is supposed to have come to an end. Rapson is inclined to ascribe the Bhilsa inscription to Viṣṇūyāyaka who, according to him, may be identified with any among kings No. 19,

No. 20 and No. 21 (Cca. pp. xxvii, xxviii). Thus according to Rapson Bühler's epigraphic estimate goes wide of the mark by about 250 years.

57. *Rapson on Epigraphy as applied to Coins.* In discussing the discrepancy between coin and other inscriptional evidence in regard to Cutukulananda Rapson remarks 'From the epigraphical point of view the coins seem to be older than the inscriptions, but it must always be borne in mind that the evidence of epigraphy as applied to coins is at present very uncertain . . . if this view be correct, the coins would be two or three centuries earlier than the inscriptions . . .' (Cca. p. lxxxv.)

58. *Different Readings.* The uncertainty that attaches to the epigraphic evidence of dates is often complicated by other factors. The same inscription is often read differently by different scholars. Taking the Hatigumpha Khāravela inscription as an example not only did different scholars give different readings of this inscription at different times but even now, when good facsimiles are available, there is no consensus on this subject. While Bhagvanlal, Jayaswal, Banerji, Rapson and others are of opinion that the inscription is dated in terms of Muriya era, Fleet, Lüders and others who have followed them think that there is no mention of date in this inscription. (The Hatigumpha Inscription. J. F. Fleet. jras. 1910. p. 825; ls. 1345.) Numerous other points of difference in reading by different workers are to be found in regard to this inscription. In inscriptional and coin legends of western satraps the same name has been read as 'Ghsamotika' by some and as 'Ysamotika' by others (cf. Rapson and Bhandarkar). Epigraphical knowledge could not prevent scholars from coming to different opinions even in such an elementary matter as reading a double letter. All these considerations would justify the rejection of epigraphic 'evidence' when it comes into conflict with well-supported conclusions from other sources.

59. *Persistence of Old Forms of Writing.* Certain possible fallacies in connection with epigraphic evidence remain yet to be mentioned. It is a matter of everyday observation, in Calcutta at least, that house mottoes are inscribed by illiterate masons in letters the forms of which have been handed down to them by their forefathers. One thus comes across a legend in comparatively old type of letters but executed quite recently. In State affairs archaic types of writing are likely to persist for a considerable time even when modern forms are current. A reference to hand-written legal documents of the present day will afford ample proof in support of the above statement. In Nasik caves series of inscriptions are found belonging to different Andhra periods but since they are all distributed about the same place the engraver of the later period

might conceivably have copied the style of writing of his predecessors.

60. *Futility of Epigraphic Evidence.* The utter futility of epigraphic evidence will be seen from the following quotations from *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V. Bühler writes 'Thirdly, it must be conceded that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi I. and his son Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāyi' (p. 65) 'Hence the beginning of the Kshatrapa era falls about the middle of the first century B.C., and the reign of Gotamīputa Śātakarṇi I, who destroyed Nahapāna's power, a little earlier' (p. 73) 'Kanha's Nasik inscriptions belong to the first half of the second century B.C., i.e., were incised between 200-150 B.C. It agrees with this estimate that the differences between the characters of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them, as Pandit Bhagvanlal has also seen, at a distance of more than about 100 years' (p. 73). While Bühler definitely places Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi a little earlier than 50 B.C. other scholars like Rapson and Smith have as definitely assigned to him a date as late as 106-130 A.D. Epigraphic evidence has thus been entirely overthrown. It is interesting to note that epigraphic location in time has in this case gone astray by more than 150 years, a period long enough to condemn epigraphy as a false guide to the determination of a dynastic chronology.

61. *Risks of relying on Epigraphic Evidence.* It is not my contention that epigraphic considerations should be altogether excluded from ancient Indian historical research. What I want to emphasize is that extreme care should be taken to admit epigraphic evidence as it stands today in chronological determinations. When one finds that on the basis of a mere similarity in names, and that though the name is none too exclusive, the two Śātakarṇis of the Hatigumpha and Nanaghat inscriptions have been regarded as the same person and further they have been sought to be identified with the third Andhra king called Śrī Śātakarṇi in some of the purāṇas, one naturally wonders what could have led experienced indologists to support such weak arguments. Our surprise becomes all the greater when we find further that the name of the third Andhra king is given as Śrī Śātakarṇi only in those purāṇas in which the dynastic list is obviously incomplete so that the true position of the king remains a matter of doubt. Further, this doubt leads to the suspicion that an error has been committed when we find that in the more complete list in the Matsyapurāṇa the third name is Śrīmallakarṇi and not Śrī Śātakarṇi, and that when the different puranic lists are collated it is seen that it is the sixth king and not the third whom the purāṇas mean to designate specifically by the name Śātakarṇi. It appears that historical scholars who

generally strain at a gnat have swallowed a whole camel in this instance. The reason is not far to seek. Epigraphists have told us that the Hatigumpha and the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to the same period and that these along with the Nasik inscription of king Kaṇha, whose name appears as second in the puranic list, should be assigned to 'the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Sungas in the beginning of the second century B.C.' (Bühler, Cca. p. ix.) Once this was admitted it was easy to accept all the arguments mentioned above in spite of their extremely weak character. This was naturally followed by the identification of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Nasik inscriptions with the twenty-third king Gautamīputra of the purāṇas. The name Gautamīputra again is not an exclusive one and might conceivably be applied in conjunction with Śrī Śātakarṇi to more than one Andhra king. It is on such a weak foundation that the whole structure of modern Andhra chronology has been built up. Epigraphic considerations form its main prop, the illusory strength of which makes us forget the extreme weakness and insecurity of the foundation. I shall presently illustrate by a hypothetical example from English history the risks and pitfalls of the methods that have been employed by modern scholars in the elucidation of Andhra history.

6. TWO GROUPS OF DATA

62. *Correlation of Puranic and Inscriptional Data.* There are two different groups of available data for working out the history of the Andhras, viz., (1) the puranic records, and (2) the objective materials in the shape of coins and inscriptions. These data may be called the special data without which no connected account of the Andhras can be built up. The two series when properly correlated become complementary to each other. For instance, from the inscriptional and coin records discovered up to date we would never have known without the help of the purāṇas that the kings Simuka, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the others classed with them belonged to the Andhra dynasty. On the other hand the purāṇas do not mention anything about the exploits of Gautamīputra or of his relation with the western satraps. Literary reference to the Andhras whether indigenous or foreign and tradition, if any, should be considered as external evidence which may support or go against conclusions derived from either of the two special sources mentioned above. It should be noticed that the purāṇas alone make a point of presenting a historical and connected dynastic list; all other data are merely incidental in the sense that they are not the products of an *intention* to preserve history. The function of the historian is, as I have already said, to correlate the different data available from different sources. By the correlation of puranic and

XXI. Two
Groups of Andhra
Data

inscriptional data in the case of the Andhras is meant, primarily, the establishment of identity between kings mentioned in the puranic list on the one hand and those mentioned in inscriptions on the other. For the purpose of this discussion I propose to include coin records under inscriptional data. The task of correlation is an extremely difficult one, much more difficult than has been generally supposed. As there are so many pitfalls to avoid in this matter it will be desirable to consider certain broad principles before proceeding to the actual task of identification or of criticism of the results arrived at by modern scholars.

63. *The Fourfold Basis of Identity. Identity of Names.*

XXII. Canons
for establishing
Identity

Identity of a puranic king with one mentioned in the inscription may be established on the basis of one or more of four different factors, viz., (i) identity of names, (ii) identity of incidents, (iii) identity of dates, and (iv) identity of places. I shall consider them one by one. When any name in an inscription is found to be identical, either in its entirety or in one or more of its components, with a puranic name in the dynastic list, there is the probability that the two kings are identical. Of the two names, one may be a corrupt or a Prākṛita form while the other a Sanskritic one, e.g., 'king Kaṇha of the Śātavāhana race' of the inscription has been identified with 'Kṛṣṇa' the second king in the puranic list. Needless to say that the identity established on the basis of a mere similarity of names rests on a very insecure foundation, particularly in the case of kings of ancient India. There have been so many persons belonging to the same or different dynasties bearing the same name that the risks of error in identification are very great. A dated inscription showing the name Surendranath Banerji, for instance, may not at all be connected with the famous Bengali orator of that name, and however great the temptation of a future historian of Bengal may be to identify one with the other it will be obviously absurd to do so. The warning in this matter cannot be too often repeated, as a mere similarity in names unsupported by other reliable considerations has sometimes been considered sufficient to establish an identity. The identification of Śātakarṇi of the Hatigumpha inscription with the third king in the puranic list is an illustration in point.

64. *Identity of Incidents.* Identity of incidents may suggest an identity of persons. For instance, if it is found in one series of data that a certain person was anointed king while yet a minor and was killed before attaining majority and in the other series it is found that a king of such and such a name ascended the throne as a minor and was killed immediately afterwards, there would be some grounds for supposing, even in the absence of any name in the first series, that the two persons are identical. Here again it should be remembered that history

has the curious knack of repeating itself in royal families, and similarity of incidents may be a false guide altogether.

65. *Identity of Dates and of Places.* The strongest basis for identification is the concord of dates between the puranic and the inscriptional series. If independent time records exist on both sides and if there is an agreement between the dates, we shall have found the safest basis for identity. If, for instance, puranic records independently show that king Śrī Śātakarṇi flourished about 100 A.D. and if we find in dated inscriptions that king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi existed about the same period, then that will be a strong positive evidence of identity of the two persons provided, of course, they can both be located in the same province as well. When the dates and localization agree but the kingly names differ, chances are, provided there is no evidence to the contrary, that the names belong to the same person. The other possibility that we have to keep in mind in such a case is that of joint reign over the same territory by the two persons; this must be a rare occurrence. The most perfect evidence of identity would be a fourfold agreement in time, place, name and incident. It is only seldom that such complete proof can be obtained.

66. *Disagreement between Puranic and Inscriptional Records.*
 XXIII. Amend-
 ing Puranic
 Accounts
 Supposing that after an identity has been established beyond dispute, we find a disagreement between the puranic statement and the inscriptional record, the natural presumption would be that the latter gives the correct account. Inscriptions are certainly more reliable than written records like the purāṇas that have been repeatedly transcribed and handed down from generation to generation. There is just the possibility, however, that an inscription might give the wrong version of the story. There is nothing to prevent a king from recording exaggerated and false accounts of his exploits. Such foible is only human. Coming to recent times, it may be pointed out that the truth of the statements recorded in the Black Hole monument in Calcutta has been seriously challenged by honest historians.

67. *Puranic Statements should not be amended.* The tendency to discredit a puranic account simply because of its disagreement with deductions possibly of uncertain value drawn from inscriptional evidence is to be strongly deprecated. No one should alter or amend a puranic statement to suit his own ideas. One may, for example, certainly reject altogether the puranic account that Śiśuka the first Andhra king killed Suśarman the last Kaṇva, but one runs the risk of committing a grave error in splitting up the statement and then accepting the first portion of it only and ascribing the act of murder to a later king. A particular puranic statement can only be modified by collation of different readings in the different purāṇas or on the ground of internal inconsistency; even then such an

alteration is a risky procedure as different purāṇas may have given different versions of the same incident and mere collation of different manuscripts will not enable us to arrive at the truth. The Mahābhārata, for instance, gives two different dynastic lists of the Purus in two successive chapters. (Adi. 94 and 95.) These are obviously different versions preserved by the *sūtas* or chroniclers. The puranic and the inscriptional data should of course be critically examined individually and independently of each other before any attempt at correlation is made. Disregard of this rule may lead to trouble. As soon as we correct puranic statements on the strength of inscriptional evidence and *vice versa*, the two series of data cease to be complementary to each other, and if after having made such corrections we proceed to draw conclusions from the joint series of amended material, mistakes and artifacts are inevitable.

68. *Hypothetical English Purāṇa*. The following hypothetical example from English history will serve to illustrate the types of mistakes and artificial conclusions that are likely to arise from a neglect of the principles enunciated here.

XXIV. Pitfalls
in Identification.
Hypothetical Illus-
tration from Eng-
lish History

Let us suppose that the history of England has not been so well preserved as it actually is and that scholars have to piece together items of information obtained from inscriptions and written accounts of the nature of Indian purāṇas in order to get a connected story of England in the Middle Ages. The supposition of the existence of English purāṇa in a hypothetical example is not so fantastic as might appear at first. The genealogical accounts in the Bible remind one strangely of the Indian puranic dynastic lists. 'And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth. And the days of Adam, after he had begotten Seth, were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years and he died. And Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enos. And Seth lived, after he begat Enos, eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years; and he died', etc. (Genesis V.) An Englishman named Thomas Stephens, a priest of the Society of Jesus, who came to India about 1583 A.D. actually wrote an account of the Old and New Testaments in puranic form in the old Marathi-Konkani poetical language. He called the first part of his book corresponding to the Old Testament '*Paillea Purāṇna*' and the second part corresponding to the New Testament '*Dussrea Purāṇna*'. (J. A. Saldanha. 'The First Englishman in India'. jbbbras. XXII. pp. 209-221.)

69. *A Hypothetical Account*. Let us suppose then for the purpose of our example that English purāṇas written in prophetic

style like the Indian purāṇas exist and that a careful collation of the various readings of the different extant English purāṇas gives the following story:

‘Several different dynasties will rule in England during the Middle Ages. There will be three kings of the York dynasty, namely Edward, Edward and Richard. They will rule this earth for 22 years, 2 months and 2 years respectively. The successor of Edward will be under age when he will ascend the throne. He

TABLE I. HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE

Serial No.	ENGLISH PURĀṆA		Dynasty	INSCRIPTION
	Regnal Period	Name and Incidents		Name and Incidents
1	22 Yrs.	EDWARD	YORK	EDWARD II
2	2 Mts.	EDWARD		1327 A.D. EDWARD III
3	2 Yrs.	RICHARD Close blood relation of Edward. Successor of Edward. Minor at coronation. Murdered by his uncle while yet a minor.		RICHARD II Son of Black Prince and grandson of Edward III. Successor of Edward III. Minor at coronation. Killed by his cousin Henry IV.
4	24 „	HENRY Relation of Yorkists. Killed Richard the last Yorkist. First of the Tudor dynasty.		HENRY IV Cousin of Richard II. Killed Richard II. First king of a new dynasty.
5	38 „	HENRY	TUDOR	
6	6 „	EDWARD		
7	5 „	MARY		
8	45 „	ELIZABETH Died in 1603 A.D. End of Tudor dynasty.		
	142 „	—Total period of York and Tudor reigns. After the Tudors the Stuarts ascended the throne.	STUART	1603 A.D. JAMES I The first Stuart king.

The date of king No. 2, Edward of the puranic list, is 1327 A.D. according to the inscription. According to the purāṇas 142—22 (the regnal period of king No. 1), i.e., 120 years intervened between king No. 2, Edward and No. 8, Elizabeth. Since the date of king No. 2 is 1327 A.D. according to the inscription, Elizabeth must have died in $(1327 + 120 =)$ 1447 A.D. and not in 1603 A.D. as stated by the purāṇas. The purāṇas obviously confuse the date of death of the last Tudor with the date of accession of the first Stuart king, James I, in 1603. There is really an interval of $(1603 - 1447 =)$ 156 years between Elizabeth and James I as the inscriptional evidence proves. This interval is the dark period of English history.

TABLE II. HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE

Serial No.	ENGLISH PURĀṆA		Dynasty	INSCRIPTION
	Regnal Period	Name and Incidents		Name and Incidents
				EDWARD II
				1327 A.D. EDWARD III
			PLANTAGENET	RICHARD II Son of Black Prince and grandson of Edward III. Successor of Edward III. Minor at coronation. Killed by his cousin later.
			LANCASTER	HENRY IV Cousin of Richard II. Killed Richard II. First king of new dynasty, viz., Lancaster.
				HENRY V
				HENRY VI
1	22 Yrs.	EDWARD IV		
2	2 Mts.	EDWARD V Close blood relation (son) of Edward IV Successor of Edward IV. Minor at coronation. Murdered by his uncle Richard III while yet a minor.	YORK	
3	2 Yrs.	RICHARD III		
4	24 "	HENRY VII Relation of Yorkists by marriage. Killed Richard III the last Yorkist king. First of the Tudors.	TUDOR	
5	38 "	HENRY VIII		
6	6 "	EDWARD VI		
7	5 "	MARY		
8	45 "	ELIZABETH Died in 1603. End of Tudors. Beginning of Stuarts.	STUART	1603 A.D. JAMES I

will be murdered while yet a minor at the instigation of his uncle. Richard, who will be king after Edward, will be closely related by blood to the latter. Henry of the Tudor dynasty, who will be a relation of the Yorkists, will kill the last Yorkist king and will usurp the throne. The Tudor reign will come to an end with Elizabeth. The interval between the birth of Christ and the death of Elizabeth will be of 1,603 years. The first Tudor will rule for 24 years, Henry will rule for 38 years, Edward for 6 years, Mary for 5 years and her sister for 45 years. The Yorks and the Tudors will jointly reign for 142 years after which the earth will pass to the Stuart kings'.

70. *A Hypothetical Inscription.* Let us suppose that in later times an inscription is discovered which records the following:

'After Edward II, Edward III ascended the throne of England in 1327 A.D. He had a son named Black Prince who died while yet a prince. Black Prince's minor son Richard II became king after the death of his grandfather Edward III. A treacherous cousin of his, Henry by name, killed Richard II and ascended the throne as Henry IV and became the first king of a new dynasty'.

71. *Tabulation of the Hypothetical Data.* Let us suppose that a scholar in trying to correlate the two accounts tabulates the 'puranic' and inscriptional data side by side (see Tables I and II).

72. *Conclusions from the Hypothetical Data.* Our scholar is likely to draw the following deductions:

From a comparison of the two columns placed side by side in Table I it is obvious that king No. 2, Edward, of the English 'purāṇa' is Edward III of the 'inscription'. King No. 2, Edward, is said to be a close blood relation of his successor king No. 3, Richard, according to the 'purāṇas'; also Edward III of the inscription is the grandfather of his successor Richard II; this fits in with the 'puranic' account. The successor of Edward who must be king No. 3, Richard, of the 'purāṇa' is described as a minor when he ascended the throne; so also Richard II of the 'inscription' was a minor when he became king. Then again the successor of Edward and Richard II were both murdered. That king No. 3, Richard, was the person murdered while yet a minor is supported by the short reign of 2 years ascribed to him in the 'purāṇas'. The statement of the English 'purāṇas' that he was murdered by his uncle is obviously wrong as the 'inscription' definitely records that he was murdered by his cousin. The purāṇas frequently make mistakes of this type. King No. 4, Henry, of the 'purāṇas' was the founder of a new dynasty, viz., the Tudor; the 'inscription' shows that Henry IV was also the first king of a new dynasty. The correspondence between the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' account is perfect. There is however one important point in the 'puranic' story that

goes against the 'inscriptional' evidence. From king No. 2, Edward, to the death of No. 8, Elizabeth, 142 minus 22 (the regnal period of the first king), i.e., 120, years intervened according to the 'purāṇas'. There is no reason to disbelieve this account. Since king No. 2 is Edward III of the 'inscription' and since Edward III ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. according to the same 'inscriptional' record, Elizabeth must have died in $(1327 + 120 =)$ 1447 A.D. and not in 1603 A.D. as stated in the English 'purāṇas'. This shows the unreliability of the 'purāṇas'.

73. *Emergence of an Artificial Dark Period in History.* Let us suppose that another 'inscription' is found that shows that James I the first Stuart king ascended the throne in 1603 A.D. The conclusion is natural that the English 'purāṇas' have ascribed this date to the end of the Tudor dynasty by mistake; this supposition explains the discrepancy between the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' time records. It is clear that there is a blank in English history of $(1603 - 1447 =)$ 156 years between the extinction of the Tudors in 1447 A.D. and the rise of the Stuarts in 1603 A.D. This period may be called the dark period in the history of England.

74. *Results of Faulty Correlation of Data.* Our hypothetical example has landed us in a pretty mess. Both the 'puranic' account and the 'inscriptional' record are historically absolutely true by themselves but from their faulty correlation and combination has arisen a mass of absurdities the most striking among which is the artifact, namely, the emergence of a dark period in English history which does not really exist. A reference to Table II will show at a glance the different varieties of mistakes that have been committed in the deductions which appear unassailable at first sight. It will be profitable to analyse the different mistakes and the defects in the reasoning that led to them.

75. *Mere Identity of Names is often a False Guide.* In the first place it will be noticed that the kings whose names appear in the 'inscription' really preceded the kings of the 'puranic' list. Identity of names has been responsible primarily for the mistaken conclusion that the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' records refer to the same series of kings. It is indeed a strange coincidence that the four names of the preceding kings should have been repeated in their exact sequence at a later period. This should serve as a warning to scholars of the risks of placing too much reliance on similarity of names while correlating puranic and inscriptional data.

76. *Identity of Incidents is not a Safe Guide.* Similarity of names has been responsible, in the second place, for ascribing the incidents that pertain to king No. 2, Edward, of the purāṇa to king No. 3, Richard, as both of them could be correctly

described as 'the successor of Edward'. This mistake was confirmed by the chance accidents that both king No. 2, Edward, of the purāṇa and Richard II of the inscription were minors at coronation and both were killed, one in infancy by his uncle and the other later on by his cousin. The 'puranic' account that it was the uncle who instigated the murder of the previous king and the 'inscriptional' record that it was the cousin who had killed the previous king are both true in their respective spheres and it was unwise on the part of our scholar to 'correct' the puranic statement on the strength of the inscriptional record. King No. 4, Henry, was a relation of the previous king by marriage and was the first of the Tudors while Henry IV of the 'inscription' with whom king No. 4, Henry, was wrongly identified, was a cousin of the previous king and was the first of the Lancasters. It is again a strange coincidence that both should be the founder of a new dynasty, a fact which helped to consolidate the mistakes of our scholar. This should be a warning again to historians that incidents often repeat themselves in royal families.

77. *Identity of Uncorrected Dates is a Safe Guide.* Had our scholar been careful of the dates in the two series of data and had he placed greater reliance on the puranic account that Elizabeth died in 1603 A.D. and refrained from 'correcting' the date on the strength of 'inscriptional' evidence he could have avoided all pitfalls. Dates therefore form our safest guide in the correlation of puranic and inscriptional data. Attempts at any correction of puranic statement of dates lead to serious errors and should never be undertaken if the purāṇas are to be used as a complementary source of information to the inscriptions. Of course if anybody happens to be dissatisfied with the puranic version he can reject it altogether and depend on the inscription alone. To correct puranic data on the strength of inscriptional evidence and then to apply them to elaborate inscriptional accounts is to say the least of it extremely hazardous as our hypothetical example clearly proves.

78. *Possibility of getting Dates from the Purāṇas.* It will now be profitable to examine critically the reliability of Andhra chronology as established by modern scholars. In Table III I have placed the puranic Andhra data in one column and the corresponding inscriptional and other data in another column. This will help us to understand the points of agreement and difference of the two series. I have already said that in the absence of independent dates on both the sides no certain conclusions can be arrived at and the identifications cannot be properly tested. It is usually believed that (i) although the purāṇas record regnal periods of individual kings

XXV. A Comparison with Andhra Chronology

TABLE III. ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

No.	PURĀṆA		INSCRIPTION, ETC.	
	Regnal Years	Name and Incident	Regnal Years	Name and Incident (Inferences within brackets)
1	23	ŚISUKA First Andhra king. Servant of the Kaṇvas. Killed Suśarman the last Kaṇva. Father of the third king Śrī Śātakarṇi.	..	SIMUKA Nanaghat. (Father of Śrī Śātakarṇi the third king. First Andhra king. Broke away from Maurya yoke at the same time as Khāravela's grandfather Kṣemarāja. 230 B.C.—according to Hatigumpha and epigraphic evidence of Nanaghat.)
2	18	KṚṢṆA Brother of Simuka ..		KANHA Nasik. (Not mentioned in Nanaghat. Likely to be brother of Simuka.)
3	10	ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆĪ		ŚĀTAKARṆĪ Hatigumpha. Contemporary of Khāravela—168 B.C. (Date supported by epigraphy.)
17	5	HĀLA		HĀLA Literary reference—Saptaśataka. (First century A.D.)
23	21	GAUTAMĪPUTRA	24	GAUTAMĪPUTRA ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆĪ Nasik and Karle. Father of Vāsisthīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi. (Contemporary of Nahapāna and Rṣabhādatta, 124 A.D.).
24	28	PULOMĀ There were 30 kings in this dynasty who ruled for 456 years after the Kaṇvas. (Accepting end of Kaṇvas at 28 B.C. [Eh] end of Andhras will be 456—28=428 A.D.)	24	VĀSISTHĪPUTRA ŚRĪ PUṢUMĀVI Balaśrī—Nasik. Girnar. (Contemporary of Rudradāman. 150 A.D.) Literary reference. Ptolemy. 121—161 A.D. In Mahārāṣṭra the Andhras were succeeded by Traikūṭaka dynasty. Inscriptions and coins show that the date of the beginning of the Traikūṭakas is 249 A.D. Andhra reign ended about this time.)

The dates 168 B.C. for the 3rd king Śātakarṇi, 124 A.D. for the 23rd king Gautamīputra and 150 A.D. for the 24th king Puṣumāvi are the

and the total reigning periods of dynasties they do not mention any specific era by reference to which the chronological points can be determined; (ii) the puranic regnal periods also are supposed to be not very reliable so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw up from the dynastic lists any dated table of kings even when fixed chronological points can be found for some of them from other sources. I shall show later on that both these statements are entirely wrong. Reliable figures for the individual regnal periods can be obtained from puranic records and the dates of individual kings can be fixed as well on the time scale of a specific era provided by the purāṇas. For the present purpose of judging the identifications of puranic Andhra kings with those mentioned in inscriptions the approximate date 28 B.C. assigned by Vincent Smith to the end of the Kaṇva dynasty will be sufficient. (Ehi. p. 217.)

79. *The Kings whose Dates are available.* In Table III I have mentioned the names of those kings only with regard to whom dates are available either from inscriptions and coins or from literary sources other than the puranic. Many of the intermediate puranic kings whose names have not been noted in the table have been identified with more or less success from inscriptional records. I have excluded them from my consideration because these records do not give us any indication of dates. If two or three definite chronological points can be fixed in the history of the Andhras, these names can be utilized for filling in the intervals, otherwise they have not much significance from the standpoint of chronology.

80. *Accepted Identifications. Dark Period after the Andhras.* It will be noticed from Table III that although on puranic evidence Simuka is accepted as having been the first king of the Andhra dynasty his date has been pushed back considerably by historical scholars. The purāṇas intend to place him about 28 B.C. (if we accept this date as that of the end of the Kaṇva dynasty) while the inscriptional evidence assigns to him a date as early as 230 B.C. If the latter date be correct naturally Simuka cannot be regarded as the slayer of the last Kaṇva; the purāṇas have therefore been supposed to be wrong in this assertion.

three chronological fixed points in the history of the Andhra dynasty. The puranic statement that 30 kings ruled for 456 years may be accepted but the purāṇas are obviously wrong in stating that the first Andhra king Śiśuka killed the last Kaṇva king. The date of the end of the Kaṇva dynasty is about 28 B.C. (Ehi) while Śiśuka's date according to inscriptional evidence is 230 B.C. Some later Andhra king might have killed the last Kaṇva. The discrepancy in regnal periods of king No. 23 between inscriptional and puranic versions is another evidence of the unreliability of the purāṇas. Andhra reign ended about $(456 - 230 =)$ 226 A.D. According to the purāṇas this date would be $(28 \text{ B.C. Last Kaṇva} + 456 \text{ years} =)$ 428 A.D. The purāṇas are wrong. There is a dark period after the Andhras.

Śātakarṇi, king No. 3 of the purāṇas, is believed to be the Śātakarṇi of Hatigumpha inscription. His date is fixed at 168 B.C. (19. 2.) King No. 23, Gautamīputra, has been identified with Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscription. His date is found to be about 124 A.D. on the strength of this identification. (19. 6a.) His son Vāsisthīputra Puḷumāvi is naturally identified with Pulomā, king No. 24 of the purāṇas. Pulomā was the contemporary of Rudradāman whose inscriptional record shows his date to be 150 A.D. (19. 6b.) These three dates only are definitely known in Andhra history. In Mahārāṣṭra the Andhras were displaced by the Traikūṭakas. The beginning of Traikūṭaka era is supposed to be 249 A.D.; this date roughly corresponds to the end of the Andhra rule. (19. 8.) The total period of Andhra reign is 456 years according to the purāṇas. This figure has been accepted. Since according to scholars the Andhras came into power in 230 B.C. the dynasty must have ended about $(456 - 230 =) 225$ A.D. (19. 8.) Historians have recorded a dark period after the Andhras. (5.) According to the puranic account the Andhra rule came to an end 456 years after the death of the last Kaṇva, i.e., about $(456 - 28 =) 428$ A.D.; scholars have not accepted this date for reasons already cited.

81. *Insecure Foundation of Andhra Chronology.* If we compare Table III with Table I we shall find that the data in the former offer a ground much less firm for drawing deductions from than those in the latter. Andhra chronology as worked out by modern scholars rests on an extremely insecure foundation and the reliability of deductions drawn therefrom is even less than that of the conclusions arrived at in the hypothetical example cited before and the chances of error far greater in the former. In the example identity was sought to be established on the basis of similarity of names of four successive kings, namely, Edward, Edward, Richard and Henry; all these are personal names and three of them are dissimilar so that the chances of an accidental coincidence here are far less than in the Andhra list where only two successive kings could be identified by their names, namely, Gautamīputra and Pulomā; of these two names again Gautamīputra is a gotra name and may be applied as well to other kings besides No. 23. There are several Pulomās in the puranic list and nothing to indicate who is who. The identification of Śātakarṇi of the Hatigumpha inscription with Śrī Śātakarṇi, king No. 3, rests on a basis much weaker than that in the case of either Gautamīputra or Pulomā. In the first place Śātakarṇi is a clan name and may be applied with equal justification to almost all the members of the Andhra dynasty. There might have been other Śātakarṇis as well who were not Andhras. Then again grave doubts exist whether the third name in the puranic list is at all Śātakarṇi. The date of Khāravela himself, the contemporary of Hatigumpha Śātakarṇi, also is in

dispute. Some epigraphists are of opinion that there is no mention of any date in the inscription. The uncertainty of epigraphic evidence regarding possible dates minimizes the value of support from Nanaghat and Nasik inscriptions in this matter. The statement that Simuka was the father of Hatigumpha Śātakarṇi is nothing more than a guess. The relation of Simuka to Śātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscription also is open to different interpretations. Bhagvanlal's opinion that these two stand in the relation of father and son is again a mere conjecture. Simuka's image in the cave might well have been placed first because he was the founder of the royal dynasty, and the second image with the legend 'Śātakarṇi' might very well be a representation of a later king belonging to the same family. (181.)

82. *Comparison with the Hypothetical Example.* A comparison of Table III showing Andhra chronology with Table I of the hypothetical example from English history brings out a striking likeness between the two. The methods employed in establishing Andhra chronology are almost identical with the methods illustrated in the example, and the deductions also show similar characteristics. In both we find that identifications have been effected not on the basis of dates but on that of similarity of names. Incidents and dates belonging to the puranic series have been corrected on the strength of the inscriptional evidence in both the instances and then the data thus amended have been utilized in the elaboration of the inscriptional account. In both the tables we find that the entire series of puranic kings has been pushed back in time in complete disregard of chronology as stated in the purāṇas, with the result that a blank has appeared in later historical account. The most striking point of resemblance between the two instances is the emergence of this dark period in the wake of the dynasty.

83. *Suspicion of some Grave Error in Andhra Chronology.*

XXVI. Attitude
of Scholars towards
the Purāṇas

The above considerations raise the suspicion that a grave error has been committed in the identification of Andhra kings and that the chronology requires revision. I have repeatedly insisted on the fact that in the absence of dates on the puranic side it is impossible to test the identifications effectively. So before trying to locate any error that might exist in the accepted Andhra chronology it is desirable to find out whether we could get dates of the Andhras from the purāṇas, dates that would be free from internal inconsistency. If we succeeded in fixing puranic dates for the Andhra kings independently of inscriptional or other evidence, we could easily appraise the identifications by modern scholars, and in case of any discrepancy discovered between the puranic and the inscriptional account we could reject one or the other according to the demands of probability.

84. *Onus of Proof for Puranic Statements.* Unless, as mentioned just now, independent dates are available on both sides no correlation of any value can be established between puranic and inscriptional accounts. Unfortunately modern scholars think that the purāṇas stand on unreliable ground so that for every puranic statement an objective proof is sought before it is admitted. For instance, when anybody asserts on puranic authority that Rāmacandra ruled in Ayodhyā in remote times the historians are unwilling to accept this statement unless inscription or coin or some such solid objective evidence is forthcoming. The onus of proof that Rāmacandra existed lies here with the person who makes the assertion. On the other hand, when the modern scholar says merely on the strength of written evidence that there was a king named Harold in England in ancient time no 'solid' proof in the shape of inscriptions and coins is demanded from him; the generally prevalent attitude is one of belief in this case; if anybody happens to doubt the correctness of this statement the onus of proof that Harold did not exist is thrown on him.

85. *Attitudes of Belief and Disbelief in the Choice of Historical Material.* This general attitude either of belief or of disbelief on the part of a historian towards written accounts is mainly responsible for his choice or rejection of materials from such sources for historical purpose. For example, the modern historian, while rejecting the portions containing obviously absurd and exaggerated descriptions, has accepted in the main the accounts of Greek writers like Megasthenes even when corroborative evidence is wanting; the general attitude is one of belief towards Greek accounts. On the contrary, in the case of the purāṇas not only are the absurd portions discarded but practically nothing is admitted unless supported by external evidence or unless the account serves to support conclusions drawn from other sources. The purāṇas, owing to the prevalent attitude of disbelief towards them, have thus been given no intrinsic historical status. The result has been that scholars have always tried to fit the puranic account into their own findings, and no attempt has been made in the reverse direction, namely, to fit inscriptional records into puranic statements by any scholar of repute up to the present time. Had this been done in the case of the Andhras quite a different series of identifications would have been effected, and a worthier and, I would venture to say, more reliable chronology would have been established.

86. *Bühler and the Purāṇas.* The attitude of modern scholars towards purāṇas in general, and puranic chronology in particular, is best summed up in the words of Bühler. He writes 'Further, as regards the Purāṇas their aim is to bring the history of India into the frame of the Yuga theory. For this purpose their authors have to pile dynasty on dynasty in order

to fill a space of many thousand years. Historical research has shown that they possessed *some* reliable information not only as to names, but even as to years. In the case of the Andhra dynasty, the coins and inscriptions prove that the order in which the corrupt forms of the names Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Puṣumāyi, Sakasena (*Śrisena*) Mātharīputra, and Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi are given, is perfectly correct, as well as that Simuka, Krishna and Śātakarṇi reigned a considerable time before the former princes, and followed each other closely. But it by no means follows that all the other names or the order in which they are given are reliable. Nor is there any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi I. All these points have to be proved. Though I think it right and necessary, therefore, to look to the Purāṇas for the kings mentioned in the inscriptions, I deny the possibility of making up a chronological account of the Andhras with their help. It seems to me that the only means for approximatively fixing the age of the group of kings—(1) Simuka, (2) Krishna, (3) Śātakarṇi—and of that containing (1) Gotamīputa Śātakarṇi, (2) Puṣumāyi, (3) Sakasena Mādhari-puta, (4) Gotamīputa Sriyana Śātakarṇi, and (5) Chandasri, are epigraphic evidence, and the synchronisms with the Western Kshatrapas who date according to an era, not according to regnal years'. (aswi. Vol. V. pp. 72, 73.)

87. *Modern Scholars and the Purāṇas.* It is true that latter-day historians have accepted, as it suited their own findings or fancy, some of the puranic statements that were rejected by Bühler, but it must be admitted that the general attitude of disbelief towards the purāṇas remains unaltered to this day. It is not my intention here to establish the authenticity of the purāṇas in general, what I want to stress is the fact that the purāṇas have given us a chronology of the Andhras that is free from internal inconsistencies and that is well-supported from several directions by the purāṇas themselves, and as such the chronology is worthy of our careful attention.

88. *Preparation of Puranic Urtext is not possible.* Certain general rules will have to be observed in collecting data from the purāṇas. Since the purāṇas differ from one another and since even the different manuscripts of the same purāṇa may differ in certain respects, collation of texts and a critical and careful selection are necessary before we can get materials suitable for our purpose. Some scholars are of opinion that all the purāṇas may be traced to a common source and it is therefore possible to prepare an urtext that might be supposed to be free from interpolations and errors of scribes. I do not subscribe to this view. It is true that there are certain portions in certain purāṇas that have a common

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origin, but even a casual glance at the contents of the different purāṇas will convince anybody that they had different sources to draw from and that each of them has some special topic not found in the others. The dynastic lists in many of the purāṇas show evidence of having individual and independent sources. Under these circumstances artificially prepared urtexts are likely to be misleading as the different readings very often represent different versions of the same account. Mere collation of texts is not likely to enable us to choose the correct versions. Other critical methods will have to be employed to find out which form among the different readings is likely to give us a correct statement of affairs. I should like to emphasize again that inscriptional and other considerations should not be brought in to find out the correct text if we intend to correlate the two series of puranic and inscriptional data. It will not be wise to go beyond the purāṇas for deciding the correct version. In dynastic and chronological matters the purāṇas often provide us with different types of information so that from a consideration of these it is generally possible to decide which is to be accepted and which rejected. The text of any particular purāṇa should certainly be settled by collation of different manuscripts of the same purāṇa.

89. *Different Names for the same King.* To come to specific questions in Andhra chronology it may be stated that no effort should be made to correct the names of kings by a comparison of the different records in the different purāṇas. I have already cited the instance of a king of the Puru dynasty who has been called under various names, viz., Adhisīmākṛṣṇa, Adhisāmākṛṣṇa, Adhisomākṛṣṇa and Asīmākṛṣṇa. It is evident that the king could not possibly have all these four names. It is however impossible to determine which is the correct name of the king. Collation of manuscripts will not help us in this matter and the preparation of an urtext is likely to give a misleading information. The best plan is to leave these names alone till fresh evidence is forthcoming. After all it does not very much matter for historical purpose which is the real name of a king among many variants. In India, particularly in the case of educated families, the general tendency has been from time immemorial to allot meaningful names to persons. These names are generally Sanskritic. Even now one finds the same tendency in different parts of India and more particularly in Bengal. In actual use these Sanskritic names are very often abbreviated and corrupted. For instance, 'Debendra' becomes 'Deben', 'Profulla' becomes 'Pipu' and so on as Robert becomes Bob, Thomas Tom and John Jack. The same thing must have happened in ancient India also; that is why Sanskritic forms like 'Śātakarṇi', 'Kṛṣṇa', etc. have appeared in records in their Prakritic forms 'Śātakarṇi' or 'Śātakamṇi' or even in the abbreviated form 'Śāta', 'Kaṇha',

etc. It may be deemed justifiable therefore to change the Prākritic forms into Sanskritic ones in historical accounts. Nothing more than this should be allowed. The different forms of names should be left untouched and for the purpose of writing historical accounts any one of these, preferably the most common one, may be used.

90. *Andhra Dynastic List.* The Andhra dynastic list is not to be found in its complete form in any of the purāṇas. The number of kings is stated to be thirty and there is some amount of agreement on this point. The Radcliffe copy of the Matsya-purāṇa, as quoted by Wilson, gives 29 names; Fitzedward Hall has supplied the missing name from his copy of Matsya. Wilford's Brahmandapurāṇa, quoted by Wilson, mentions 24 names. The editions and manuscripts of Viṣṇupurāṇa, that I have seen, give 24 names only. The Bhāgavat has 23 names and the Ānandāśram edition of Vāyu contains 15 or probably 16 names; some manuscripts of Vāyu mention a few more. .

91. *Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas.* From the lists from which several names have been omitted it is difficult to fix the position of individual kings mentioned therein in the complete series of thirty and mistakes are likely to occur. The safest guide will be to rely on the most complete list available and that is the Radcliffe Matsya list. The names occurring in the other purāṇas may best be arranged taking the Radcliffe list as the standard. There is one name short in the Radcliffe manuscript referred to above. The missing name and its position can be easily determined by comparison with other lists. There emerges the twentieth king Sundara Śātakarṇi. Hall in his note to Wilson's reproduction of Radcliffe's list says, as already pointed out, that his own copy gives the name of the twentieth king as Sundara-Swātikarṇa. (Vip-w. IV. 24. p. 201. n.) The Matsya seems to distinguish between true Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas among the 30 kings. According to the Matsya there were 19 true Andhras. (Mtp-a. 273. 16.)

92. *Unanimity in the Purāṇas regarding the first Andhra King.* Fortunately, the purāṇas do not give us different versions of any incident pertaining to any Andhra king. All are unanimous in saying that the first Andhra king killed the last Kaṇva. We may therefore accept this as a definite puranic statement. Whether it is true or false is quite another matter and has to be decided by other evidence.

93. *Determination of Puranic Regnal Periods.* The names of the Andhra kings and their respective positions in the puranic dynastic list do not offer so much difficulty as the fixing of the individual regnal period for each. There is so much discrepancy to be found in the different purāṇas and in the different manuscripts of the same purāṇa that at first sight it seems hopeless that connected and reliable reckonings can be at all obtained

that may with justice be avowed as puranic. The task, however, is not an impossibility if we remember that the purāṇas give total periods of dynastic reigns besides regnal years for individual kings. Regarding the duration of the total periods there is more unanimity than in that of the individual regnal periods. Very often the regnal years when added together do not tally with the total dynastic period. It may be assumed that the total periods give reliable and correct figures while the regnal periods contain errors that may be traced to various causes. The supposed error, however, may not be an error at all. The Vāyu mentions, for instance, that the Śiśunāka dynasty ruled for the total period of 362 years, but the individual regnal years when added together give 332 years only. There is a discrepancy of 30 years which has to be accounted for. It is absurd to suppose that the author of these statements could not even notice this simple arithmetical mistake and allowed it to stay on. Sometimes this sort of discrepancy has been adduced as proof of the unreliability of the purāṇas. More charitably disposed scholars have ascribed such 'mistakes' to scribes and have tried to correct them. These discrepancies are not to be regarded as errors; they are deliberate statements the reason for which may be easily found in most cases by a careful reading of the text.

94. *Durations of Reigns of Śiśunākas and Mauryas.* It has been said of the Śiśunākas that they ruled in Benares before they usurped the imperial throne. (Vap-a. 93.315.) Apparently the Śiśunākas were independent kings at Benares for 30 years before they became paramount. It is because of this that in the successive lists of paramount rulers the Śiśunākas have been allotted a reign of 332 years while as a dynasty they are said to have ruled as independent kings for 362 years. The Vāyu-purāṇa is therefore not at all inconsistent in this matter; on the other hand, the apparent inconsistency, when interpreted in the light of the text, gives us valuable historical information. Similarly the discrepancy of 5 years between the summed-up regnal periods and the total period of reign of the puranic Mauryas may be explained on the supposition that Candragupta the conqueror of the Nandas ruled in the Punjab as an independent king for 5 years. A reference to Table IV will clearly show the consistency of the puranic chronology. The discrepancies, as I have said, can be satisfactorily explained in the majority of cases on the authority of the purāṇas themselves; they will then be seen to yield valuable historical information; *vide* notes to Table IV.

95. *Omissions and Unjustified Additions.* Omissions and unjustified additions in the list of kings for any dynasty can be satisfactorily adjusted in most cases by comparing the different purāṇas which usually show unanimity in their statements of the number of kings for each dynasty. Sometimes one or more

regnal periods would be missing. They can be supplied from more complete lists in other purāṇas. When the purāṇas differ in their statements of regnal periods a choice has to be made from among the contending versions. No correction of any regnal period in any purāṇa is justifiable. We can make a choice for our required list from among different versions. The convenient and plausible explanation of mistakes in transcription should not be a justification to alter puranic data to suit our requirements. The only exception is the case in which different readings are found in different manuscripts of the same purāṇa; in such circumstances, provided the errors of the scribe can be detected with certainty, corrections can be introduced into the copies giving a wrong version.

96. *Total Dynastic Reign as a Guide in selecting Individual Regnal Periods.* When different purāṇas give different regnal periods for the same king our choice should be guided by a reference to the total reigning period of the dynasty. The figures that give a correspondence between the summed-up regnal years and the recorded total period should be accepted. If no manuscript gives the required figure, it will be wise to acknowledge a failure. A forced correspondence produced by modifying puranic figures on the assumption of a copyist's mistake is to be strongly deprecated. Let me repeat again that one may accept or reject a puranic statement but nobody has the right to amend it. To cite an illustration, although it has been stated that there were 10 kings in the Maurya dynasty, only 9 kings with corresponding 9 regnal periods have been recorded in the Vāyu. The name of the missing king can be supplied from either the Viṣṇu or the Matsyapurāṇa which latter gives a list which is, however, very incomplete. The king has been called Saṅgata in the Viṣṇu and Saptati in the Matsya. The regnal period for this king in the Matsya is 9 years. This may be accepted to fill up the gap in the Vāyu. Even now we find that the summed-up regnal periods come up to only 132. The Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya are unanimous in stating that the Mauryas ruled for 137 years. Our figure thus falls short of the required number of 137 by 5. Aśoka's regnal years have been mentioned as 26 by certain manuscripts of the Vāyu and as 36 in other manuscripts. The last figure is given by the Matsya also. If we now replace the Vāyu figure of 26 by the Matsya figure of 36 we get the total of 142 years. This again goes wide of the mark by an excess of 5. No amount of manipulation of the figures available from the different purāṇas will enable us to make the figures tally. If we assume, as I have indicated before, that Candragupta ruled for five years in some province as an independent king before he came to occupy the imperial throne we get over the difficulties. It is true that this assumption is not supported by any puranic text in so many words; if, however, we remember the definite statements of the purāṇas in similar cases in other dynasties, we

need have no hesitation in accepting the supposition. The Vāyu states that Kauṭilya after having ousted the Nandas installed 'King' Candragupta on the throne. Candragupta was thus already a king when he came to Magadha. (Vap-a. 99. 331.) Had no purāṇa mentioned Aśoka's regnal period as 36 we would not have been justified in introducing the figure, however great the temptation might have been to do so. A dynastic list can be called puranic only when it is based on the purāṇas. No figure should be introduced in drawing up a list in any case unless it has the authority of one of the purāṇas at least.

97. *Māgadhas, Sūtas and Purāṇakāras*. The methods of puranic interpretation that I have discussed here get support from the purāṇas themselves. There were three types of historical chroniclers in ancient India, viz., the 'māgadhas', the 'sūtas' and the 'purāṇakāras'. Every king used to maintain a 'māgadha' in his court. The function of the 'māgadha' was to keep a record of the events of the reign of his master and of those of the preceding kings of the same dynasty. The 'māgadha' was the local State chronicler and it is conceivable that his records were often biased towards his master. The 'sūtas', on the other hand, were in nobody's employ, they visited different countries and courts and faithfully recorded what they saw or heard and thought to be true history. 'Sūtāḥ paurāṇikah prokta māgadhā vaṁśabedinah' (śloka quoted by Śrīdhara in his commentary on Viṣṇupurāṇa), i.e., the 'sūtas' were recorders of puranic facts (history) while the 'māgadhas' were familiar with the events of individual dynasties. The functions and qualifications of the 'sūtas' have been described in Vāyu. 1. 31-32, 4. 8, 99. 213; Matsya. 164. 16-18; Brahmanḍa. 1. 21 and in various other places. According to these descriptions the sūtas were learned, intelligent and truthful persons who could be relied upon and who faithfully recorded according to their individual capacities and without any alteration what they saw or heard (yathāśakti, yathāvrittam, yathādriṣṭam, yathāśavdam, yathāśrutam). It was their duty (svadharma) to record the genealogies of 'gods', kings and ṛṣis. The sūtas travelled about from place to place in search of historical information, and recited their records before learned ṛṣis assembled at the performance of yajñas. The 'purāṇakāras' or the actual authors of the purāṇas were mostly ṛṣis; they came to the yajñas for the purpose of hearing the sūtas who were expected to be present at the functions. The 'purāṇakāras' also recorded faithfully for their books whatever they could gather from the sūtas' recitation.

98. *Sound Resemblance of different Readings*. Each purāṇakāra noted exactly what he heard. It seems that the purāṇakāras did not get much opportunity of verifying their notes by consulting the sūta again. After the sūtas had finished their recitals they were richly rewarded by the ṛṣis conducting the yajñas. The sūtas left immediately afterwards. (Skp-b.

Prabhās. 44. 27.) This fact would explain the peculiar variations of the same śloka in the different purāṇas. The sound-resemblance among the different readings is remarkable and can only be explained by the supposition that the different recorders heard the same person differently because the latter's voice happened to be indistinct at the time or because it was drowned to some extent in other noises. In an emergency of this type the individual purāṇakāras tried to maintain the sound-forms of the sūta's reading intact, at the same time keeping in mind the needs of grammar. A comparison of the ślokas Viṣṇu. IV. 24. 45-48, Vāyu. 99. 437-440 and Matsya. 273. 55-58 will show what frantic efforts the different purāṇakāras made to maintain the same sound-form while trying to avoid errors of facts and of grammar. (Ppv. pp. 180-194.) The preparation of an urtext for such passages only may be a justifiable procedure although it may not be possible in all cases. The absurd theory that big volumes of purāṇas were transmitted from generation to generation solely by being committed to memory cannot be applied here as the facts recorded in the ślokas refer to a time when, even according to the most ardent exponent of the 'memory theory', the art of writing must have been well established. Among the different auditory variations there is no reason why one version should be given preference over others for the purpose of correction. The puranic account is therefore not to be touched in any way. 'Vedabanniscalam manye purāṇam bai dvijottamah' (Skp-b. Prabhās. 2. 90), i.e., 'O learned brāhmaṇas, the purāṇas are considered to be as fixed as the Vedas themselves'. Although the purāṇas, as written by the purāṇakāras, are inviolable, there is nothing to prevent the 'purāṇārthakāra' or the interpreter of the purāṇas from rejecting one version or the other, after consideration of the different purāṇas, or from offering his own explanations of facts. The intention of the purāṇakāras is that the original sources should be left untouched.

7. PURANIC CHRONOLOGY

99. *Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya suffice in drawing up a connected Chronology.* If we follow the methods of puranic interpretation discussed above, it will be possible to draw up a connected chronological story that may be deemed avowedly 'puranic' by consulting the easily available printed editions of Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya. These three should suffice and there would be no need to hunt after the manuscripts of all the extant purāṇas for this purpose. It is possible that variations might be discovered regarding minor details in other purāṇas but they will in no way affect the validity of the main conclusions drawn from the three sources mentioned here. Even if a different, connected and consistent story can be built up from other

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manuscripts or from other purāṇas, the possibility of any of which I deny however, it can be considered as a different version of puranic chronology and it would then be desirable to consider which is to be accepted. So long as such a different version is not forthcoming we may safely adopt the puranic account given here for the purposes of history.

100. *Andhra Chronology as Part of a Bigger Scheme.* The puranic Andhra chronology is to be considered not as an isolated affair but as a part of a bigger scheme that would include the preceding dynasties as well. This will bring out the wonderful consistency of the puranic account and will help us to understand the strength of the puranic evidence and its reliability. After such a table has been prepared it will be time to make an effort to correlate it with inscriptional and other data. To economize space I have arranged the puranic data in tabular form. The justification of selecting a particular figure from variants will be apparent from a close inspection of the table and of the figures for accepted total periods of dynastic reigns. The remarks and notes appended to the tables will also serve to explain the choice. I have made no effort in the tables to determine the correct names of kings. I consider this to be an impossible task in the present state of our knowledge. It will be seen that the Viṣṇupurāṇa does not give regnal periods for individual kings. The list of 30 Andhra kings is in accordance with the Radcliffe copy quoted by Wilson and amended by Hall. The dates in Christian era have been fixed in accordance with the accepted regnal years and on the assumption that Nanda's coronation took place 401 years before Christ. The grounds for this supposition have been discussed in connection with the reference era of the purāṇas. The date of Nanda's coronation is the key-date in later puranic chronology. (120-131.)

TABLE IV. PURANIC REGNAL YEARS AND CHRONOLOGY—continued

King No.	NAMES OF PURANIC KINGS				REGAL YEARS.			Total years	Date b.C.	Notes
	Vip-w	Vap-a	Mtp-a		Vap	Mtp	Accepted			
	<i>Mauryas</i>									
1	Candragupta outside Magadha	5	5	320	Matsya does not mention the order of succession of the Mauryas.
2	Candragupta	..	Maurya	..	24	..	19	19	315	
	Bindusāra	..	....	..	25	..	25	25	296
3	Asokavardhana	Asoka	Śaka	..	26	36	36	36	271	Vap-a. kha. gha. 99. 332. n. 27 give 36 years as Asoka's regnal period.
4	Suyāsas	Kunal	....	..	8	..	8	8	235
5	Daśaratha	Bandhupālita	Daśaratha	..	8	8	8	8	227	
6	Sangata	Saptati	9	9	9	219	The summed up regnal periods of the Mauryas give 142 years while the dynastic reign is stated to be 137 years.
7	Śālisūka	Indrapālita	....	..	10	..	10	10	210
8	Somaśarman	Devavarman	....	..	7	..	7	7	200
9	Śatadhanvan	Satadhar	Satadhanvā	..	8	6	8	8	193	The discrepancy of 5 years is to be explained by the assumption that Candragupta was an independent king for this period before he ousted the Nandas of Magadha (96).
10	Br̥hadratha	Br̥hadrasva	Br̥hadratha	..	7	7	7	7	185	
	....	....	Br̥hadratha's son	..	..	70	..	..	178
	The discrepancy of 5 years is to be explained by the assumption that Candragupta was an independent king for this period before he ousted the Nandas of Magadha (96).
	Stated No.	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total years	137	137	137	123	136	142	142	..	

TABLE IV. PURANIC REGNAL YEARS AND CHRONOLOGY—continued

King No.	NAMES OF PURANIC KINGS			REGNAL YEARS			Total years	Date	Notes
	Vip-w	Vap-a	Mtp-a	REGNAL YEARS					
				Vap	Mtp	Accepted			
<i>Andhras</i>									
1	Śipraka	Sindhuka	Śisuka	23	23	23	}	b.C.	The complete list of Andhra kings is to be found in Radcliffe manuscript quoted by Wilson and amended by Hall in Vip-w. IV. p. 201. n.
2	Kṛṣṇa	Bhāta	Kṛṣṇa	18	18	18			
3	Śrī Śātakarni	....	Śrī Mallakarni	..	18	18		
4	Pūrṇotsanga	....	Pūrṇotsanga	..	18	18		
5	Śrivasvāni	..	18	18	}	56 74 130 148 160 178 196 203 206 206 214 213 251 276 281 286	The 5th king is called Skandhaṣṭambhi in Hall's manuscript. Also called Dvivilaka.
6	Śātakarni	Śrī Śātakarni	Śātakarni	56	56	56			
7	Lambodara	....	Lambodara	..	18	18		
8	Ivīlaka	Āpādabhadra	Āpitaka	40	12	12			
9	Meghasvāti	....	Sangha	..	18	18		
10	....	....	Śātakarni	..	18	18	
11	....	....	Skandhasvāti	..	7	7	
12	....	....	Mrgendra	..	3	3	
13	....	....	Kuntalasvāti	..	8	8	
13	....	....	Kuntalasvāti	..	8	8	
14	....	....	Svātikarna	..	1	1	
14	....	....	Pulomāvit	..	36	36	
15	Paṭumat	Gorakṣasvāsrī	25	25	25			Also called Gorakṣa-kṛṣṇa.
16	Ariṣṭakarman	Nemikṛṣṇa	Hāla	1	5	5			
17	Hāla	Hāla	Mantalaka	..	5	5			
18	Pattalaka	Septaka	Purindrasena	..	5	5			There were 19 Andhra kings (Mtp-a. 273. 16-18).
19	Pravillasena	Putrikasena		21	5	21			

<i>Andhrabhrityas</i>										a.C.	
20	Sundara Śāta- karṇin.	Śātakarṇi	..	Sundara Śvāti- karṇa.	1	1	5	96	307	'Radcliffe' assigns 5 years to the previous king to whom Vap-a gives 21 years. The name of the 20th king is missing in the Radcliffe Matsya. It is supplied by Hall. (Vip-w. IV. p. 201 n.) Called Śivaśrī Puloma in Mtp-a.	
21	Chakora Śāta- karṇin.	Śāta- karṇi.	..	Rajādasvāti	1	1	1		312	There were 7 Andhra- bhrtyas who were also Andhras (Mtp-a. 273. 16-18).	
22	Śivasvāti	Śivasvāmi	..	Śivasvāti	28	28	28		312	The last 4 Andhra kings presumably belonged to the old Andhra Śātavāhana family (184).	
23	Gomatiputra	Gautamiputra	..	Gautamiputra	21	21	21		340	Between Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation (401 b.C.) and end of Andhra reign (435 a.C.) 836 years in- tervened. (Vap-a. 99. 416, 417. Mtp-a. 273. 37, 38.)	
24	Pulimat	....	..	Pulomat	..	28	28		361		
25	Śivaśrī Śāta- karṇin.	....	..	Śivaśrī	..	7	7	389			
26	Śivaśkandha	....	..	Skandhasvāti	..	7	7	396			
<i>Andhras</i>											
27	Yajñaśrī	Yajñaśrī Śāta- karṇi.	..	Yajñaśrī	19	9	9	403			
28	Vijaya	Vijaya	..	Vijaya	6	6	6	412			
29	Candraśrī	Dandaśrī Śāta- karṇi.	..	Vadaśrī	3	10	10	418			
30	Pulomārchis	Puloba	..	Pulomat	7	7	7	428			
Stated No. 30										435	
Total years 456										..	
										456	
										456½	

'Redcliffe' assigns 5 years to the previous king to whom Vap-a gives 21 years. The name of the 20th king is missing in the Redcliffe Matsya. It is supplied by Hall. (Vip-w. IV. p. 201, n.) Called Śivaśrī Puloma in Mtp-a. There were 7 Andhrabhrityas who were also Andhras (Mtp-a. 273. 16-18).

The last 4 Andhra kings presumably belonged to the old Andhra Śātavāhana family (184).

Between Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation (401 b.C.) and end of Andhra reign (435 a.C.) 836 years intervened. (Vap-a. 99. 416, 417. Mtp-a. 273. 37, 38.)

TABLE V. SYNOPSIS TABLE OF DYNASTIC REIGNING PERIODS

Dynasty	Purāṇa	Stated number of Kings	Number of names recorded	Stated dynastic reign in years	Sum of recorded regnal years	Reference
Pradyotas	Vip-w	5	5	138	..	IV. 24, pp. 178, 179.
	Vap-a	5	5	138	148	99. 314.
	Mtp-a	5	5	152 ?	155	272. 5.
Śiśunākas	Vip-w	10	10	362	..	IV. p. 182
	Vap-a	10	10	362	332	99. 321.
	Mtp-a	12	12	360	344	272. 13.
Nandas	Vip-w	9	2	100	..	IV. pp. 185, 186.
	Vap-a	9	2	100	40+x	99. 330.
	Mtp-a	9	2	100	100	272. 22.
Mauryas	Vip-w	10	10	137	..	IV. p. 190.
	Vap-a	9	9	137	123	99. 336.
	Mtp-a	10	6	137	136	272. 26.
Śuṅgas	Vip-w	10	10	112	..	IV. p. 192.
	Vap-a	10	9	112	136	99. 342, 343.
	Mtp-a	10	9	300 ?	102	272. 31, 32.
Kauṇṭhas	Vip-w	4	4	45	..	IV. p. 193.
	Vap-a	4	4	45	55	99. 346, 347.
	Mtp-a	40	4	45	45	272. 32. 36.
Andhras	Vip-w	30	24	456	..	IV. pp. 199, 200.
	Vap-a	30	16	456	269½	99. 357, 358.
	Mtp-a; Vip-w	19+7+x	29+1	460	436½	-a. 273. 17, 18; Vip-w. IV. p. 201.

TABLE VI. STATED INTERVALS

Intervals	Purāṇa	Years	Reference
From birth of Parikṣit to Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation.	Vip-w Vap-a Mtp-a	1,015 1,050 1,050	IV. p. 229. 99. 415. 273. 36.
From Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation to the end of the Andhras.	Vip Vap-a Mtp-a	.... 836 836	.... 99. 416, 417. 273. 37, 38.

101. *Twofold check for Regnal Periods.* From an examination of Tables Nos. IV, V and VI it will be seen that a perfectly consistent chronological account of the later puranic kings can be made out from the puranic records. It is possible to do so in spite of different readings of regnal years because of a twofold check provided by the purāṇas themselves. In the first place there is a remarkable unanimity among the purāṇas in their statements of the number of kings for each dynasty and for the total period of the dynastic reign. The total figure enables us to choose the regnal periods correctly from among a number of variants when they exist. Where there is a discrepancy between the total period and the properly chosen summed-up regnal years, as in the cases of the Śiśunākas and the Mauryas, it may be assumed that the succeeding dynasty came from a different province where it had already been independent for the time indicated by the difference. Usually the purāṇas have given the proper hint in such cases. The second check lies in the stated intervals. The relevant different total dynastic reigns when added together should tally with the stated interval.

102. *Nanda as Regent.* If we add the puranic successive dynastic periods from Nanda to the end of the Andhras we get (Nandas—88 years+Mauryas—137 years+Śuṅgas—112 years+Kanyas—45 years+Andhras—456 years =) 838 years. But Vāyu (99. 416, 417) and Matsya (273. 36-38) both state that there is an interval of 836 years between Nanda's coronation and the end of the Andhras. The discrepancy of (838—836 =) 2 years is to be explained on the supposition that Nanda acted as the regent of his father Mahānandi during the last 2 years of the latter's reign. I first made this suggestion in my book *Purāṇa-praveśa* (pp. 97, 134, 153, 154) in 1934. Since then the publication of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* by Jayaswal has strikingly confirmed the supposition by the statement that Nanda was the *mantri* of Mahānandi for some time before his kingship. (Ślokas 422-424.) Besides these two checks, the application of which will be apparent from Tables IV and V, the purāṇakāras have mentioned yet another chronological control.

103. *Cycle of 2,700 Years.* The purāṇakāras thought that

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it required a hundred generations to cover a period of 27 centuries. (Vap-a. 99. 418.)

They devised a century scale on this basis and called it the Saptarṣi Cycle. The Saptarṣi Cycle consisted of 2,700 years divided into centuries. The centuries were named according to the 27 stellar constellations. The cycle was called the Saptarṣi Cycle from the convention that the straight line passing through the mid-point of the line connecting the first two stars of the Ursa Major or the Saptarṣi and the pole, when prolonged, was supposed to travel across the 27 constellations, one by one, taking 100 years to cover each. The idea originated in the observed movement of this line as a result of the precession of the equinoxes. The actual amount of this movement does not, however, correspond to the conventional movement of the Saptarṣi line that is supposed to demarcate the stellar centuries. Anyway, the convention of the Saptarṣi Yuga was a recognized time scale. Primarily the Saptarṣi Cycle was counted from 'Jyesthā', literally the 'eldest' constellation. Later on the first point or epoch was shifted to 'Āśvini' which was called the first century. (Ppv. pp. 86-.) To distinguish the two methods of counting the first is called the 'prayuga' and the second 'navayuga' or simply 'saptarṣi yuga' in the purāṇas. It is stated both in the Vāyu (99. 418) and in the Matsya (273. 39) that the Saptarṣi Cycle will end and begin again at the time of the Andhra dynasty.

104. *The end of the Saptarṣi Cycle during the Andhra Period.* The two ślokas, referred to here, offer certain difficulties in explanation. I have consulted several learned pundits regarding grammar, syntax and meaning of the ślokas which I quote here for ready reference. The *anvaya* and the meaning given here have been suggested by the pundits I consulted. The Vāyu śloka runs:

Saptarṣayastadā prāhuh pratipe rājñi bai śatam
Saptavimśaiḥ śatairbhābyā andhrānām te tvayā punah.
(Vap-a. 99. 418.)

The *anvaya* is: Andhrānām (kāle) śatam (saṁkhyah) rājñi pratipe bai tadā punah te saptarṣayah saptavimśaiḥ śataih tvayā bhābyāḥ (iti) prāhuh (śrutarṣayah). The meaning is: 'During the time of the Andhras, when counting backwards, a hundred kings will have passed away, the saptarṣis, you should know, will begin again for 27 centuries, so say the sages'. The Matsya śloka is as follows:

Saptarṣayastadā prāmśu pradīptenāgninā samāh
Saptavimśati bhābyānām-andhrānām tu yadā punah.
(Mtp-a. 273. 39.)

The *anvaya* is: Yadā saptavimśati bhābyānām andhrānām (kālah) tadā tu punah saptarṣayah pradīptenāgninā samāh

prāṁśu (bhaviṣyanti). The meaning is: 'During the time of the future 27 Andhra kings the saptarṣis will rise high again like flaming fire'.

If instead of reading 'saptaviṁśatibhābyānām' we read 'saptaviṁśatirbhābyānām', the *anvaya* would be: *Yadā bhābyānām andhrānām (kālah) tadā prāṁśu pradīptenāgninā samāh saptaviṁśatih saptarṣayah punah (bhaviṣyanti), i.e., 'During the time of the future Andhras the twenty-seven saptarṣis that rise like high flaming fire will begin their course again'.*

Whichever version of the Vāyu and the Matsya śloka we accept the meaning is clear that a new Saptarṣi Cycle began during the time of the Andhras.

105. *The Kali Yuga.* According to the purāṇas Nanda's period falls within the 'pūrvāśādhā' century. (Vip-w. IV. p. 234.) Pūrvāśādhā century is the 20th navayuga. Parikṣit's time is the maghā century (Vip-w. IV. p. 233), i.e., the 10th navayuga. There are still other time cycles to be considered. There is a time scale in the purāṇas which may be called the Dharma Yuga. This consists of four periods, viz., kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali; the respective durations of these are in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. This manner of division on the 'dharma' scale may be applied to any yuga or cycle. For historical records the purāṇakāras further conceived of a short yuga of 5 years. (Vip-w. II. p. 255.) A thousand such yugas, i.e., 5,000 years, constituted a kalpa. This cycle of 5,000 years was divided on the dharma scale, i.e., it comprised a kṛta of 2,000 years, a tretā of 1,500 years, a dvāpara of 1,000 years and a kali of 500 years. Each of these is supposed to begin and end with a transition period of as many months as the years of the division itself. Thus dvāpara ends with a transition period of 1,000 months and kali begins with one of 500 months. I made a full discussion of these time scales in my book 'Purāṇapraveśa'.

106. *The Maghā Century and the Kali.* It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādi. 2. 13) that the war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas took place when the transition periods between dvāpara and kali were over, i.e., 500 months or about 42 years after kali started. This is the year of Parikṣit's birth as well. The purāṇas state that the maghā century of the Saptarṣi Cycle and the kali of the Kalpa Cycle started at the same time. (Vip-w. IV. p. 233; Bgp. 6. 122. 31.) According to Viṣṇu the interval between Parikṣit's birth and Nanda's coronation is 1,015 years. Supposing Nanda's coronation took place in 401 b.C., the Mahābhārata war, according to the purāṇas, must have occurred about 1416 b.C. and the kali must have started in (1416+42 =) 1458 b.C. (128-131.) Then again this would be the beginning of the maghā, i.e., of the 10th saptarṣi century as well. Counting from the 1st nakṣatra aśvinī, the 27th nakṣatra, i.e., the last of the cycle, is revatī. From the beginning of maghā the 10th saptarṣi century to the end of revatī the 27th, there would be

1,800 years. Therefore the 'nava' Saptarṣi Cycle came to an end in $(1800-1458 =) 342$ a.C. and a new Śaptarṣi Cycle began with aśvinī as the 1st century which lasted from 342 to 442 a.C. According to the purāṇas, therefore, the end of the Andhra dynasty falls within this period.

107. *Parikṣit—Andhra Interval of 1,893 Years.* The birth of Parikṣit occurred after 42 years had elapsed of the maghā century which began simultaneously with the kali. From the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Nanda there is an interval of 1,015 years and from the latter to the end of the Andhras there is the interval of 836 years. Therefore from the starting point of the maghā century to the end of the Andhras there is an interval of $(42+1015+836 =) 1,893$ years. Again from the same starting point to the end of the aśvinī of the new Saptarṣi Cycle there is an interval of 1,900 years (maghā is the 10th century, the last century is the 27th; from maghā to the end of the cycle there are thus 18 centuries = 1,800 years. Add 100 years for the 1st century aśvinī of the new cycle. This gives 1,900 years). The fixed period of 1,893 years must fall, according to the purāṇas, within this maghā-aśvinī limit of 1,900 years. There is no difficulty in accepting this. The first is less by $(1900-1893 =) 7$ years than the second. If we had accepted the Vāyu figure of 1,050 years instead of the Viṣṇu figure 1,015 as interval between Parikṣit and Nanda, our total would have been $(42+1050+836 =) 1,928$ years; this would have exceeded the maghā-aśvinī limit of 1,900 years by 28. Accepting Nanda's coronation at 401 b.C. the end of the Andhras is to be fixed at $(836-401 =) 435$ a.C., and since the aśvinī century ended in 442 a.C. the purāṇas are seen to be quite consistent in assigning aśvinī to the end of the Andhras. Further information about Saptarṣi Cycle and puranic chronology will be found in my book 'Purāṇapraveśa'.

108. *Concord of four different Counts in Puranic Chronology.* Although the saptarṣi count is a century scale and is not of much use in finer calculations it has turned out, in the present circumstances, to be a valuable means of checking the correctness of the puranic stated intervals. The intervals provide a corrective for the dynastic total periods which in their turn serve as control for the individual regnal years. The concord of puranic dates derived from four different and independent counts, viz., (i) regnal years, (ii) total dynastic reigns, (iii) stated intervals, and (iv) saptarṣi indications, is an index of the internal consistency of the chronological record of the purāṇas and is a strong presumptive evidence of its authenticity. It will be noticed that no astronomical calculation is necessary to fix the different puranic chronological systems. All time readings can be derived from definite and direct statements.

109. *Generation Interval.* A few words may be said here regarding regnal periods about which many mistaken notions are common among historians. If in any family the date of a person is known, the date of any of his ancestors or successors whose position in the family tree is known can be guessed with some amount of reliability by means of a factor which I propose to call 'the generation interval'. To determine the generation interval between a father and a son it is necessary to know at what age of the father the son was born. The interval may also be calculated from a fixed age of the father to the same age of the son, *e.g.*, a certain person was 25 years old in 1914 and his son attains the same age in 1938; the generation interval is 24 years. In short, the generation interval is the difference in age between a father and his son. The generation interval thus naturally varies according to the age of the father at which a child is born. When there are several children the generation interval between father and son is greater in the case of the younger children than in that of the elder ones. In royal families it is generally the eldest son that succeeds to the throne; so if we could determine the age of the father at which the first male child is born we would get a generation interval that would enable us to fix with some degree of accuracy the dates of kings belonging to any particular dynasty in the absence of chronological records. Late marriage, birth of daughters before the son and death of the eldest son all cause variations in the generation interval for royal families. Then again if the succession to the throne does not pass from the father to the son, the generation interval becomes a false guide in settling chronologies.

110. '*Average Regnal Period*' is a False Guide. Since it is rare that a son is born before the father's 18th year, an average of regnal periods below 18 in any series is a certain evidence of repeated interference with direct succession from the father to the son with regard to the kings. Since the age of the father at which a son is born is determined by biological factors, it varies only within certain limits, say between 18 and 40. Regnal years, on the other hand, may show such wide variations, *e.g.*, between a single day and 70 years or more that it is worse than useless to fix 'an average regnal period'. One should distinguish between the factor of 'average regnal period' that may be proposed to be taken as a guide to chronological calculations where dates are unknown and 'the average of regnal periods' of a particular dynasty where the total period of dynastic reign as well as the numbers of kings have been recorded. The 'average regnal period' is a false guide while 'the average of regnal periods'

calculated from known data is an index that may give us valuable information.

111. *Determination of Generation Interval.* Unfortunately in many instances historians have calculated dates for ancient Indian kings by postulating, each scholar according to his individual fancy, a so-called 'average regnal period' when neither the relations of the successive kings to one another nor their total periods were known. When we know that successive kings stand in the relation of father and son 'the generation interval' may certainly be used for chronological calculation. Here again there is no field for individual choice. I give below a table showing the average ages of the father at which the first, the second and the third son respectively are born in Bengali brāhmaṇa and kāyastha families. The calculations were kindly undertaken on my behalf by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, I.E.S., Secretary of the Indian Statistical Institute and Editor of the statistical journal 'Saṁkhyā'. The data were obtained from the records of the Students Welfare Committée of the Calcutta University.

TABLE VII

Sons	Average Age of Father	Probable Error	Number of Data	Standard Deviation
1st son ..	27·16	± 0·19	403	5·7
2nd „ ..	30·36	± 0·18	401	5·47
3rd „ ..	33·79	± 0·22	359	6·41

112. *Generation Interval in the Purāṇas.* The Bengali kāyasthas have kept a count of their generations from the time of Ballāla Sena. At the present time the generation numbers of adult Bengali kāyasthas vary between 20 and 30; the most common generation number among young men of twenty is 28. Ballāla Sena's date is known to be about 1158 A.D. The interval between 1938 A.D. and 1158 A.D. is 780 years. If we divide this by $(28-1=)$ 27, the number of generation intervals for the most common generation number, (the number of generation intervals is one less than the generation number), we get the 'average generation interval' to be 28·9. This tallies with the figures in the table. It will be remembered that the purāṇas believe that 100 kings cover a period of 2,700 years (103); the 'generation interval', according to them, is therefore 27 years. This is remarkably in accordance with the actual state of affairs and the figure must have been found by long continued careful observation.

113. *British Figures.* The British figures for the age of the mother at which the first daughter is born are as follows :

TABLE VIII

A.D.	Mother's average age at which first daughter was born
1861-1870	28.9
1871-1880	29.0
1881-1890	29.3
1891-1900	29.6
1901-1910	29.9
1910-1912	30.0
1920-1922	29.8

These are British Registrar General's data taken from C. R. Rich —'The measurement of population growth', Journal of the Institute of Actuaries, Vol. LXV, Part No. 3111, 1934, Table 5, p. 52. The corresponding figures for males are not available to me.

114. *Average Generation Interval is 28 ± 6 Years.* The 'average generation interval' for historical purposes may thus be taken at about 28 years with a standard deviation of 6. It should be remembered that this figure serves as a reliable guide only in the case of a long series of kings where the succession from father to son has been uninterrupted. It must be admitted that opportunities of applying the 'generation interval factor' profitably must be very rare. The factor, however, serves as a control to check the averages of regnal periods of dynasties.

115. *Variation of Generation Interval.* The generation interval shows variations. For a small series the variations cover a wider range and the interval may go beyond 35 in the upward direction. In my own family, reckoned from known dates for the last 7 generations, it is just 35 years. The average of reigning periods, which must not be confused with the generation interval, for 5 kings from Humayun to Aurangzib is as high as 35.4 years. This is because the direct line was uninterrupted. In English history for 11 rulers, from Richard II to Mary, the average of the reigning periods is only 16.4 years, showing that the continuity of the family line was repeatedly broken; for 5 kings, from John to Edward III, the average is 36.6, showing that the direct line was intact in this series.

116. *Averages of Reigning Periods for the Puranic Dynasties.* The averages of the reigning periods of the puranic kings for the different dynasties are as follows:

TABLE IX

Dynasty	Number of Kings	Total Reign in Years	Average of Reigning Periods
Pradyota ..	5	148	29·6
Śiśunāka ..	10	332	33·2
Nanda ..	9	100	11·1
Maurya ..	10	137	13·7
Śuṅga ..	10	112	11·2
Kaṇva ..	4	45	11·2
Andhra ..	30	456	15·2

Of the above average figures none is inherently improbable. The averages of reigning periods for the Pradyotas and the Śiśunākas, when checked by the factor of generation interval, are seen to lie well within the normal limits of 28 ± 6 . The puranic averages of reigning periods give us the very valuable historical information that only in the Pradyota and the Śiśunāka dynasties the succession from father to son was likely to have been uninterrupted. In all the other dynasties repeated disturbances in family succession must have taken place.

117. *Vincent Smith's Doubts are untenable.* Vincent Smith writes 'Although the fact that the Śiśunāga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, neither the duration assigned by the Purāṇas to the dynasty as a whole, nor that allotted to certain reigns, can be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations'. (Ehi. p. 47.) Wherever there is an uninterrupted succession from father to son the average reigning period, as I have already indicated, is likely to rise above 25 and it would not be wrong to say even above 30 years in a short series like that of the Śiśunākas. Vincent Smith also doubts the possibility of the successive high figures 42 and 43 for the regnal years of Nandivardhana and Mahānandi. (Ehi. p. 41.) There is, however, nothing inherently improbable in this. Let us suppose that Nandivardhana ascended the throne in his 23rd year and that Mahānandi, his son, was born at his 40th year. He may be supposed to have died at 65 years. This gives him a regnal period of 42 years. At the time of Mahānandi's death his son would be 25 years old; there is nothing to suppose that he could not have attained the age of 68 which would give him a 43 years' reign. Vincent Smith is utterly wrong in his suppositions regarding both dynastic and individual reigning periods as the previous discussions should prove.

118. *Discrepancies.* We find that the puranic accounts, as regards either recorded regnal years or dynastic total periods, may safely be relied upon. The chronology also is found to be strongly supported by various internal evidence. The discrepancies that have been noticed are just of the type that one would expect in authentic accounts recorded by different persons and transmitted in writing on frail material by scribes from generation to generation. When it is remembered that information more than 2,500 years old has been preserved in this manner one wonders that there have not been discrepancies of a more serious nature. The causes that prevented this mischief and served to preserve the purāṇas from total extinction lie in the religious attitude of the Indian public towards them, an attitude deliberately fostered by the purāṇakāras. It is said by the purāṇas that anybody, who makes a copy of a purāṇa and presents it to a learned brāhmaṇa, attains heaven; any one who hears, recites or preserves the dynastic lists is sure to be blessed with children, riches and so on. (Vip-b. IV. 3; Vap-a. 99. 462-463; Mtp-a. 53.) I have already said that the purāṇas have been considered to be as inviolable as the Vedas. Vans Kennedy wrote in 1840 'It is, at least, certain that the manuscripts of the Purāṇas which are, at this day, spread over India, from Cashmere to the extremity of the southern peninsula, and from Jagannatha to Dwaraka, contain precisely the same works; and it is, therefore, most probable that the Purāṇas have always been preserved in precisely the same state as that in which they were first committed to writing'. (Vip-w. Appendix, p. 293. n.)

119. *Successive Redactors of the Purāṇas.* From all this it is not to be supposed that the purāṇas were written down in some remote ancient time in their present form and have remained in that state ever since. The original accounts of the different purāṇas were regularly supplemented with fresh historical materials from age to age and were brought up to date by successive purāṇakāras. The names of 24 such successive editors of the Viṣṇupurāṇa are to be found in that work in Bk. VI. Chap. 8. 42-. The names of the redactors of the Vāyu are mentioned in Vāyu. 103. 58-; they are 30 in number. The prophetic form of writing is a convention that serves to perpetuate the memory of some past illustrious purāṇakāra. It is not a deliberate device to dupe the credulous laity. We have parallel instances at the present time also. Gray's Anatomy still goes by that name although successive editors have changed the original beyond recognition. One may similarly hope that Wells's history will be called by that name 500 years hence although fresh materials might continue to be added from time to time to keep it up to date. In this connection it is interesting to note that an unknown redactor, following the old tradition, has sought to bring the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa up to date by inserting

historical accounts that come down to the time of Queen Victoria. A historical record in the purāṇas is not to be necessarily disbelieved simply because it happened to have been added to in later times.

8. THE PURANIC ERA

120. *Nanda's Coronation Date as Point of Reference.* I shall now take up the question whether the purāṇakāras have mentioned any era with reference to which the regnal years, the total periods and the intervals recorded by them may be definitely located. It must be admitted at once that they have not specified by name any era of this sort, but that they actually did use one is to be inferred from certain passages in the purāṇas. When anybody writes that Alexander died 323 years before the birth of Christ and the great European War took place 1,914 years after Christ was born, one is justified in concluding that the birth of Christ coincided with the epoch of an era started in commemoration of the event. Now compare with this the ślokas 415, 416 and 417 of chapter 99 of the Vāyu. These ślokas may be translated as follows: 'From the coronation of Mahādeva (Mahāpadma Nanda) to the birth of Parikṣit an interval of 1,050 years is to be recognized. The measure of an interval that comes after Mahāpadma has also been stated; this interval is known to be one of 836 years; it is said that this period denotes the end of the Andhras. The time interval has been counted by future learned ṛṣis versed in the purāṇas.'

Similarly the Matsya states: 'From the coronation of Mahāpadma to the birth of Parikṣit 1,050 years have been known to have elapsed. Till Paulomā or till the Andhras after Mahāpadma again there is an interval of 836 years. These (two) intervals intervene between Parikṣit and the end of the Andhras. They have been counted by learned ṛṣis versed in the purāṇas in later times.' (Mtp-a. 273. 36-38.) The Viṣṇupurāṇa states: From the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Nanda [an interval is to be taken into account], this [interval] is to be recognized as [one of] fifteen [years] in addition to one thousand years. (Vip-b. IV. 24. 32; Vip-w. p. 230.) The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions the interval between Nanda and Parikṣit only and puts it down at 1,015 years instead of 1,050 years as in the Vāyu and in the Matsya. [For transliteration of the Vap, Mtp and Vip ślokas, referred to in this paragraph, see ap.] These statements justify the assumption that the later purāṇakāras used Nanda's coronation as the central reference point of their time records, i.e., they used the date of Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation as the epoch of an era for the purposes of chronology. We may call this era the Nanda era.

121. *The Nanda Era.* The Nanda era seems to have been in continuous use from the time of Nanda till the end of the Andhras at least. Nanda was a very powerful monarch who, as the purāṇas state, annihilated all independent kṣatriya kings and brought the whole country under his sway. If the purāṇas are to be believed, he was a greater emperor than even Yudhiṣṭhira. It is perfectly natural that Nanda should have started an era of his own; much lesser kings have done the same. This consideration, when taken in conjunction with the puranic statements mentioned above, makes it almost certain that Nanda did start an era. Nanda's era must have acquired wide currency as he ruled over an extensive empire.

122. *Fate of the Nanda Era.* One is naturally curious to know what happened to this era. No absolutely certain information can be given on this point. No inscription or coin or any literary reference that mentions this era has yet been discovered; this is rather strange, as the fact that the purāṇakāras continued to count time in terms of this era for 800 years at least till as late as the end of the Andhras proves that the era must have been more widely prevalent and better known than either the Vikrama Samvat or the Śakābda. My contention is that the Nanda era has all along been in continuous use since the time of Nanda under a modified form and a different name and it is still being used at the present time. The Kali era that the Indian almanacs have been recording from year to year from a very remote past, and that has been used as a point of reference by all astronomers, is really a modified Nanda era. This supposition, as I shall presently show, gives a date for Nanda's coronation that fits in extremely well with the whole scheme of puranic chronology; taking this as the starting point of our calculations we can fix the dates of all the puranic dynasties and of all individual kings from the recorded total and regnal periods as has been done in Table IV. The dates thus obtained for Candragupta, Aśoka and others will be seen to be in perfect accord with those obtained from other sources. In fact these puranic dates serve to clear up many obscure points in ancient Indian history. They do not clash with any definite finding from any other reliable source. The supposition may therefore be considered to be of the nature of a theory in science. A theory is justifiable and is acceptable if it offers a satisfactory and adequate explanation of different facts.

123. *Social Order in the Kali Yuga.* In order to understand how the Nanda era was transformed into the Kali era of the present time we have to turn to the purāṇas again. I have already pointed out that the Kalpa Cycle of 5,000 years was divided into four unequal divisions in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. This gave a kali of 500 years. The motive behind this division was based on socio-religious conceptions

XXXIV. Transformation of Nanda Era.

of the purāṇakāras. 'Sūryasiddhānta' says that the division of a kalpa into kṛta, etc. is for the purpose of indicating 'dharmapāda', i.e., the socio-religious state of the people. (1. 16.) During the kṛta period the dharma of the society is believed to be of the order of 'four quarters', i.e., it is at its best; in tretā it is three quarters, in dvāpara it is two quarters and in kali the dharma is merely one quarter. According to the purāṇakāras there was no conception of sin in the society in the early kṛta yuga; social order became fixed in tretā when kings laid down laws for the conduct of people; the idea of sin developed at this stage. The sinful propensities of men went on increasing progressively till in kali only one quarter dharma was left. After the end of kali the social order was supposed to begin anew from the kṛta stage. (Vap-a. 57, 58, 59.) The purāṇakāras believed in a regular cycle of social and moral development.

124. *Kalki and the new Kṛta Age.* The Vāyu says that in the kali age, the brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas gradually get extinct and most of the kings happen to be of the śūdra caste and they become patrons of the 'pāsaṇḍa faith'. It is commonly believed that the kali age is still going on and that when this age ends Kalki, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, will be born and will restore the social and religious order to its pristine glory ushering in a new kṛta age. Curiously enough the Kalkipurāṇa describes the exploits of Kalki not in the prophetic form but as events of the past. It says that Kalki was born long ago, that he married the daughter of king Brhadratha, took king Viśākhayūpa as his ally and killed king Suddhodana and all mlecchas, yavanas and other heretics and restored dharma on this earth. (Klp. 1. 4. 30; 2. 1. 25; 2. 3. 76; 2. 7. 28.)

125. *Contemporaries of Kalki.* The tradition, on which the Kalkipurāṇa is based, gives us three important items of information, viz., (i) Kalki lived in the past, (ii) he was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa, Brhadratha and Suddhodana, and (iii) he ushered in the kṛta yuga. I have already pointed out that the puranic kali yuga began in 1458 b.C. (on the assumption that Nanda's coronation was in 401 b.C.), and lasted for 500 years. The kali thus ended in 958 b.C. when a new kṛta began with a transition period of 2,000 months, i.e., of about 167 years after which the kṛta yuga proper was established. This would give us (958—167 =) 791 b.C. as the date of the setting in of kṛta yuga proper. A reference to Table IV will show that the Pradyota king Viśākhayūpa's reign lasted from 834 b.C. to 784 b.C. The starting point of the kṛta yuga proper falls within this period. This is a remarkable agreement. From puranic evidence it can be further proved that Suddhodana or Kruddhodana of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and Brhadratha of the Puru dynasty were both contemporaries of Viśākhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty. (Ppv. Chap. 19.) Thus the Kalki tradition is fully supported by puranic chronology, but the peculiar fact emerges that in

current Hindu tradition the age of Kalki has been pushed forward to a remote future; it remains to be explained how this could happen.

126. *Extension of the old Kali Yuga.* According to the old puranic tradition the second *kr̥ta* which began after the end of *kali* in 958 b.C. must have ended in $(2000-958 =) 1042$ a.C., when the second *tretā* began; this *tretā* would last till $(1042+1500 =) 2542$ a.C. So if we are to calculate on the basis of the old puranic *dharma* scale, we should admit that the *tretā* age is still continuing. A reference to the Indian calendar will, however, show that we are living in the *kali* age. The calendar records further that this *kali* age started in 3101 b.C. and will continue for an incredibly long, long time yet. It is obvious that the puranic *kali* of 500 years has suffered an increase and has been extended both backwards and forwards. We find an interesting puranic reference to this modification of the *kali* period. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* writes

‘They (the *saptar̥sis*) were in *maghā*, O the best of *brāhmanas*, at the time of *Parikṣīt*, and it was then that the *kali* of 1,200 (*divya*) years began, when the incarnation, that was the part of Lord *Viṣṇu* himself, and that was born of the race of *Vasudeva*, left for heaven then came *kali*. So long as he (*Kṛṣṇa*) continued to tread on this earth with his lotus feet the *kali* did not succeed in making any impression on this world. When the part of the Eternal *Viṣṇu* returned to heaven, *Yudhiṣṭhira*, the son of *dharma*, left the kingdom with his younger brothers, and seeing untoward portents at the passing away of *Kṛṣṇa* installed *Parikṣīt* on the throne. When the great *r̥sis* (*saptar̥sis*) go over to the *pūrvāṣāḍhā* then from *Nanda* onwards this *kali* will suffer an increase. When *Kṛṣṇa* left for heaven then and on that very day started the *kali* age the count of which, as you hear from me, will be 360,000 human years; when 1,200 *divya* years will have elapsed then *kr̥ta* will start again.’ (Vip-b. IV. 24. 34-42.)

126 (1). *Divya Years and Kali Yuga.* 1,200 *divya* years are equivalent to $(1200 \times 360 =) 432,000$ human years. This is conceived to be the total period of the *kali* referred to in this quotation and mentioned in Indian almanacs; of this period, one-tenth, i.e., 36,000 years, from the transition period at the beginning and the same number of years from the transition period at the end; the *kali yuga* proper has 360,000 years as stated in the text. We thus get $(36000 + 360000 + 36000 =) 432,000$ years for the complete *kali*. This big figure is really derived in a simple manner from an originally conceived *yuga* of 1,000 human years.

127. *Transition Periods.* For the purpose of indicating the transition periods of any yuga it is first converted into months. The transition periods have as many months each as the years of the complete yuga. Counted in years or in months each transition period is one-tenth the yuga proper. 1,000 years make 12,000 months for the complete yuga; of this, 1,200 months form the transition period at the beginning, 12,000 months the middle, the yuga proper, and 1,200 months the end. These figures are now multiplied each by 360, the factor for the divya scale, for the purpose of getting a magnified yuga. Divya measure is to human measure as a 'sāvāna' year is to a day, i.e., as 360 is to 1. Starting from a yuga of 1,000 years the purāṇakāras thus got an extended kali of $(432000 + 4320000 + 432000 =) 5,184,000$ months or 432,000 years. (For fuller details of the construction of the puranic yuga cycles see my book *Purāṇapraveśa*.) In the enumeration of the kali count in the text quoted from Viṣṇupurāṇa, Nanda's name seems at first quite out of place. It has really been introduced just to indicate that the old kali of 500 years suffered an increase, and was replaced by the big kali with Nanda's time as the fixed point of reference and that Nanda's date has an important bearing in the determination of the epoch of the new kali yuga.

128. *The old Kali and the 28th Pitṛ Yuga.* In order to understand the part played by the date of Nanda's coronation and the beginning of this kali we shall have to go back on the old kali count that formed a part of the Kalpa Cycle of 5,000 years. Before the introduction of the saptarṣi century scale the purāṇakāras, for the purpose of historical reference, divided the 5,000 years of the kalpa into 30 yugas, each comprising 2,000 months. This yuga may conveniently be called the 'pitṛ yuga' because it was used to locate the times of the 'pitṛs' or ancestors, i.e., people who were long dead. (Ppv. pp. 43-.) The first 12 pitṛ yugas, covering 2,000 years, constituted the kṛta, from the 13th to the 21st pitṛ yuga the period of 1,500 years was the tretā, from the 22nd to the end of the 27th was the dvāpara with a duration of 1,000 years, and from the 28th to the end of the 30th was the kali of 500 years. This old kali began in the 28th yuga, and Kṛṣṇa also was born in the same yuga. (Vap-a. 98. 97; Vip-b. V. 23. 25; Skp. Viṣṇukhaṇḍa. 3. 13.) So we find that in the old scale 27 yugas had elapsed before kali commenced. According to the puranic conception kali yuga is characterized by loss of prestige of the brāhmaṇas and by increased sinfulness of the people; the śūdras become king at this period.

129. *Falsification of Puranic Conception in Nanda's Times.* Now when Nanda became the undisputed monarch the purāṇakāras found that although the age was second kṛta according to the old dharma scale, and although according to tradition

there should have been present 'four quarters dharma' among the people yet, as a matter of fact, a śūdra had come to the throne (Nanda was the son of a śūdra woman), and this śūdra had exterminated all the kṣatriya kings belonging to ancient dynasties; Buddhism and Jainism which were both 'pāṣaṇḍa faith' were rampant. The puranic conception was thus entirely falsified; the signs of the times all pointed to the kali age. The purāṇakāras, therefore, extended the period of kali. Since it was known that before kali set in 27 yugas had elapsed and since they were counting yugas in terms of the Saptarṣi Cycle at the time, they added 27 saptarṣi yugas to Nanda's date and pushed back the epoch of the Nanda era by 2,700 years; the extended Nanda era constituted the new kali yuga; this placed Nanda at the end of the 27th yuga and the beginning of the 28th which corresponded to the beginning of the kali in the old scale. The old tradition was thus sought to be maintained and Nanda's time was turned into kali. They called this new era Kalyabda or the Kali era, and it has been known by that name ever since.

130. *Nanda is described as an Incarnation of Kali.* Nanda has been called 'Kalikāṁśajah' by the Matsya (272. 18) and 'Kālasambṛtah' by Vāyu (99. 326). Both these epithets are extremely significant. The first means 'born of a part of kali', i.e., an incarnation of kali. (Kṛṣṇa has been similarly called 'viṣṇoraṁśaja', i.e., an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Vip-b. IV. 24. 35.) 'Kālasambṛtah' means 'the chosen of the Time'. The kali age 'chose' Nanda for the purpose of fixing its epoch, and lent its own name to the Nanda era. Another possible meaning of 'kālasambṛtah' is 'hidden or covered by time'. Nanda's coronation date may be said to be hidden by the Kali era. In later times this era was also called the Yudhiṣṭhira era since Yudhiṣṭhira was known to have been the first king of the old kali age that got included within the new kali. Still later, instead of saying that the 28th yuga was the kali yuga it was asserted that the present kali of 432,000 years is the 28th kali of an immensely big cycle. This saved contradictions that would have been otherwise inevitable as a result of the confusion between the 28th pitṛ yuga of the old scale and the 28th yuga of the Kali era, counted according to the newer saptarṣi century scale.

131. *Fixing Nanda's Coronation at 401 b.C.* In order to fix the date of Nanda's coronation we have thus to find out the epoch of the present Kali era and deduct from it 2,700 years. The Kali epoch, according to the Indian calendar, is 3101 b.C. Therefore the date of Nanda's coronation is $(3101 - 2700 =)$ 401 b.C. I have already said that this date fits in extremely well with other known dates and is not contradicted by any definite and reliable finding from any other source. It clears up many obscure points in ancient Indian history.

9. CORRELATION OF DATA

132. *Inscriptional Dates for Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi. 106 A.D.–150 A.D.* Having obtained dates

XXXVI. Correlation of Data. Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi

from the purāṇas for the Andhra kings it will now be possible to correlate the puranic data with the inscription and coin data of the Andhras. The only certain dates on the inscriptional side are those for the two successive kings Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and his son Vāsisthīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi. They may be placed between 106 A.D. and 150 A.D. (19. 6a.) The dates ascribed to Simuka and the third king Śātakarṇi by modern scholars rest on an extremely flimsy basis as I have already shown. (80–82.) The dates 106 A.D. and 150 A.D., therefore, should form the basis for identification.

133. *Puranic Dates for the sixth and the seventh Kings. 74 a.C.–148 a.C.* A reference to the puranic dates in Table IV will at once show that kings No. 6 and No. 7 reigned from 74 a.C. to 148 a.C. Their respective puranic names are Śātakarṇi or Śrī Śātakarṇi and Lambodara. The sixth king Śrī Śātakarṇi can therefore be identified with almost complete certainty with Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions, the Gautamīputra that was the contemporary of Uṣavadāta of the inscriptions and whose mother was Balaśrī and whose son was Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi. King No. 7, Lambodara, of the purāṇas is thus to be identified with Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi who was presumably a contemporary of Ptolemy and who is said to have been defeated twice by Rudradāman of the Junagadh Girnar inscription. In establishing these two identities it is to be noted that the gotra name Gautamīputra of king No. 6 has not been mentioned by the purāṇas nor the name Puṣumāvi of king No. 7. We know from inscriptions that Yajñaśrī was also a Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; in his case too, the purāṇas do not record the gotra name. A reference to my previous discussion of the names of Andhra kings (30–37, 63, 75, 89) will show that this omission is no justification for rejecting the identification. On the other hand, if we admit the possibility that Śātakarṇi might have been a personal name of some particular Andhra king, our choice will certainly fall on king No. 6 who has been uniformly called Śātakarṇi by all the purāṇas. In line 9 of the Balaśrī inscription Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi has been called simply Śrī Śātakarṇi. (150, 151.) King No. 3, who is also called Śātakarṇi by the Viṣṇu, has a variant in Śrīmallakarṇi, in the Matsya. The arguments about names need not detain us any further, for their reliability as a basis for identification, even when there is concord in regard to two or more successive names, is, as I have shown, quite small. The only relevant fact that we should consider in proposing an identity, when there are two different

names, is whether the discrepancy between them is of such an order as to preclude it.

133 (1). *Identities of Śrī Śātakarṇi with Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and of Lambodara with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.* The names Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscription and Śrī Śātakarṇi of the purāṇas are certainly not of this type; they are complementary to each other. The name Lambodara of the 7th king is obviously a sobriquet. There is nothing against the supposition that his personal name was Puḷumāvi. It is true that this will add another Puḷomā to the four already existing in the puranic list. The frequency of occurrence of this name among the Andhras is in favour of, rather than against, the supposition that Lambodara was Puḷumāvi. The dates for Lambodara on the one hand and for Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi on the other do not leave any doubt about the identity of the two. The regnal periods of Lambodara (18 years) and Puḷumāvi (latest regnal year = 24) do not tally; the same type of discrepancy between the puranic and inscriptional regnal years is also to be seen in the case of Yājñaśrī. Such differences can be satisfactorily explained, as I have already shown, by the supposition that a period of provincial rule preceded the accession to the throne. (40.) In the case of Puḷumāvi there is some definite evidence in support of this argument. (151.)

134. *Date of Yājñaśrī from Chinese Records. 408 A.D.*
 XXXVII.
 Yājñaśrī
 Inscriptions and coins do not offer any other certain date that might enable us to establish other points of contact between the puranic and the inscriptional series. Fortunately there are literary references that can help us in testing the dates of a few other Andhra kings. The following is a quotation from Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Bk. IV. pp. 201-205:

'The dynasty (Andhra) is of considerable chronological interest, as it admits of some plausible verifications. That a powerful race of Andhra princes ruled in India in the beginning of the Christian era we learn from Pliny, who describes them as possessed of thirty fortified cities, with an army of 100,000 men and 2,000 elephants. The Andrae of this writer are, probably, the people of the upper part of the Peninsula; Andhra being the proper designation of Telingana. The Peutingerian tables, however, place the Andre-Indi on the banks of the Ganges; and the southern princes may have extended, or shifted, the site of their power. Towards the close of the dynasty, we find names that appear to agree with those of princes of middle India, of whom mention is made by the Chinese; as, Yue-gnai (Yājñaśrī), king of Kiapili, A.D. 408 (Des Guignes, l. 45), and Ho-lo-mien (Pulomān) king of Magadha in 621 (*ibid.*, l. 56). The Pauranik lists place these

two princes more nearly together; but we cannot rely implicitly upon their accuracy. Calculating from Chandragupta downwards, the Indian date of Yajña and the Chinese Yue-gnai corresponds; for we have:

10 Mauryas	137 years
10 Śungas	112
4 Kanwāyanas	45
27 Andhras	437

731

Deduct, for Chandragupta's date, 312 B.C.

419 A.C.

a date remarkably near that derivable from the Chinese annals.'

135. *Yue-gnai and Yajñaśrī*. If we accept Wilson's identification of Yue-gnai with Yajña we get the date 408 A.D. from the Chinese annals. The puranic regnal period for Yajñaśrī is 403 a.C.-412 a.C. The correspondence of dates is even more striking than Wilson thought. The Ho-lo-mien of the Chinese record, who has been identified with Pulomān by Wilson, cannot, however, be the 30th Andhra king Pulomā. Ho-lo-mien's date is 621 A.D. while the last Andhra king Pulomā reigned from 428 a.C. to 435 a.C. If Ho-lo-mien be an Andhra at all he may be one of the Śrī Pārvatiya Andhras who became rulers according to the purāṇas at a much later period. (Mtp-a. 273. 23.) In the absence of a dynastic list and puranic dates for those kings it is useless to try to identify Ho-lo-mien. The identity of Yue-gnai with Yajña rests on a basis of dates, and is therefore reliable.

136. *Yue-ai and Candrasrī*. 428 A.D. Vincent Smith writing on Kumāragupta observes in a note as follows: 'The only definitely dated political event of Kumāragupta's reign which I can specify is the arrival in China in the year A.D. 428, of an embassy sent by a Rāja named Yue-ai, "Moon-loved" (? Chandrapriya), who was lord of the Ka-pi-li country, which may be identified, as proposed by Lieut. Col. A. Wilson, with the Khasia Hills region to the west of the Kapili river in Assam. If this be correct, Yue-ai is to be interpreted as a phonetic transcript of the common Khasia name U-Ai, to which the Chinese author assigned a meaning in his own language'. (Ehi. p. 316. n. 2.) The identification of the Khasia name U-Ai with Yue-ai is a strained one as also that of Ka-pi-li country with a tract in Assam. It is not likely that an obscure Khasia prince should think of sending an embassy to China. There seems to be no doubt that this Ka-pi-li is identical with the Kia-pi-li, the seat of Yue-gnai referred to in the Chinese annals, quoted by Prof. H. Wilson

in his Viṣṇupurāṇa. Both Yue-ai and Yue-gnai (Yajñasrī), therefore, belong to the same place. The date A.D. 428 and the name Yue-ai, that means 'Moon-loved' according to V. Smith, agree with the date and name of the 29th Andhra king, Candrasrī, who, according to the purāṇas, reigned from 418 a.C. to 428 a.C. The two may therefore be considered to be the same person.

137. *Story of Vikramāditya.* An Indian literary record will help us to test the puranic date of Śiśuka the first Andhra king. There is a well-known Sanskrit work named 'Dvātriṃśat Puttalikā' the authorship of which is popularly ascribed to Kālidāsa. Neither the date of this work nor any correct information of its authorship is relevant to my purpose. I shall only consider a certain tradition recorded in this work. The story, in short, is as follows:

In the town of Ujjayini there ruled a rājā named Bhartrhari. His younger brother was called Vikramāditya. Owing to the suspected infidelity of his beloved wife Bhartrhari got disgusted with mundane affairs and, abdicating the throne in favour of his younger brother, left the kingdom in order to live the life of an ascetic. Vikramāditya who succeeded to the throne was a very learned prince himself and a great patron of learning. He was versed in all the fine arts of his time.

138. *Vikramāditya's Death at the Hand of Śālivāhana.* Vikramāditya was a daring and an ambitious prince. After he had succeeded his brother he went out on a military expedition, made extensive conquests and returned home with immense wealth. (16th anecdote.) He built himself a throne the steps of which were made of 32 statuettes. Vikramāditya's statuette throne enjoyed a reputation that was only rivalled in later times by the peacock throne of the Mughals. Vikramāditya styled himself 'rājādhirāja, parameśvara, lord of the earth up to the seas'. (32nd anecdote.) After many years of Vikramāditya's reign had passed by it so happened that in a town called Pratiṣṭhānagara a girl, who was only two years and a half old, gave birth to a son called Śālivāhana. The father of the boy was Śeṣa the king of the Nāgas. At the birth of the boy evil portents made their appearance in Ujjayini. There were earthquakes, rising of comets and other unusual phenomena. The royal astrologers were consulted. They said the disturbances portended danger to the king. Vikramāditya remembered that as a reward for his religious austerities he had once earned a boon that he could only be killed by a person born of a girl two years and a half old. Vikrama thought that as this was an impossibility he was safe from everybody. The astrologers said that the ways of natural creation were 'unthinkable' so it would be wise to make enquiries. Vetāla, a courtier of Vikramāditya, was deputed for this purpose. He searched many countries for

such a prodigy and ultimately came to Pratiṣṭhānagara, and saw in the house of a potter an infant boy (mānavakam) and a golden girl (kānchan kanyākam) playing together. On being asked the girl informed him that the boy was her son; the girl pointed out a brāhmaṇa who, she said, was her father. The brāhmaṇa informed Vetāla that the boy, who was named Śālivāhana, was born as a result of his daughter's association with Śeṣa the king of the Nāgas. Vetāla returned to Ujjayini and told Vikramāditya of the fact. On hearing this Vikramāditya started for Pratiṣṭhānagara with a sword, and when he attempted to kill Śālivāhana the latter struck back with a rod with such force that Vikramāditya was hurled back to Ujjayini where he died of his injuries. (Vāhuśruta anecdote.)

139. *Vikramāditya's Defeat at the Hand of Śālivāhana.* There is a different version of the above story in the 24th anecdote which states that Vikramāditya sent an order by a letter to Śālivāhana asking him to attend his court, but Śālivāhana refused. Thereupon Vikramāditya started with an immense army to punish him. Śālivāhana, who was then living in a potter's house, created fighting units consisting of elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry out of potter's earth, gave them life by recanting mantras, and went to meet Vikramāditya. Śālivāhana was at first defeated but he soon got a reinforcement from the king of the Nāgas who sent a huge army of Nāgas to help him. Vikramāditya's battalions were completely routed; he went back to Ujjayini where he lived for nine years more in penance doing homage to Vāsuki (the lord of the serpents or Nāgas) before he died. He did not raise another army to attack Śālivāhana again because of a promise he had made to an agent of the latter. The first version has been inserted in the chapter named 'bahuśrutopākhyāna' which means 'oft-heard story'.

140. *Śiśuka the conqueror of Vikramāditya.* It is quite easy to get at the truth that has been preserved in the interesting traditional accounts of the Dvātriṃśat Puttalikā. The potter's earth, out of which armies could be raised, is the State. It is quite common in Sanskrit literature to denote 'kingdom' by the term 'earth'. (cf. kṣitipati = lord of the earth.) The golden girl represents the deity of the State that was full of riches. She is only two years and a half old in the story showing that the State was a newly acquired one. She was born of a brāhmaṇa: the Kaṇva king, whom the first Śālivāhana displaced, was a brāhmaṇa. The new king was born as a result of an association of the State with the Nāgas who also helped the king in overthrowing Vikramāditya. The most interesting portion of the whole account is the fact that Śālivāhana is represented as an infant, as a 'mānavaka', an expression that is an exact equivalent of the name of the first Śālivāhana Andhra king 'Śiśuka'. 'Śiśuka' means a little infant. No doubt is left as to which Śālivāhana is referred to in the story, especially when we

remember that this 'mānavaka' lived in Pratiṣṭhānagara which is certainly identical with Pratisthana or Paithan, an important seat of the Andhras.

141. *Contemporaneity of the first Andhra King and Vikramāditya.* Śiśuka the first Śālivāhana Andhra king may, therefore, be safely regarded as a contemporary of the famous Vikramāditya of Ujjayini. Vikramāditya is certainly not an imaginary figure as many have supposed. In Indian tradition the first Śālivāhana king has often been confused with the sixth Śālivāhana king, as I shall show later on, but the story in the Dvātrīṃśat Puttalikā shows no such admixture. The account refers to the first Śālivāhana king solely. An effort may now be made to construct a historical account of the first Śālivāhana king Śiśuka from traditional materials referred to here. I see no valid reason for disbelieving this tradition.

142. *Vikram Samvat.* 57 B.C. It is well known that Vikramāditya of Ujjayini was the founder of the Samvat era the epoch of which is 57 B.C. At this period, according to the purāṇas, the Kaṇvas were the paramount power in India, and Bhūmimitra, the second Kaṇva king, was on the imperial throne. (See Table IV.) It seems that Bhartṭhari, the elder brother of Vikramāditya, was a vassal of the Kaṇvas as, according to tradition, he was merely a 'rājā'. Vikramāditya who succeeded him was an ambitious person. He broke away from the suzerainty of the Kaṇvas, conquered surrounding territories and proclaimed himself an independent 'rājādhirāja'. According to other traditions he turned out the Śakas and waged an unrelenting campaign against them, and earned for himself the sobriquet 'Śakāri' or the 'enemy of the Śakas'. He started an era apparently in commemoration of his independence. As Vikrama was a great patron of learning he attracted many learned men to his court among whom were astronomers. It was through the help of the astronomers of Vikrama's court that the Samvat era obtained wide currency. The Kaṇvas were apparently too weak to interrupt the victorious career of such a daring person as Vikramāditya and he continued to reign unmolested by them.

143. *Andhras and the Nāgas.* About 21 b.C., taking advantage of the weakness of the last Kaṇva Suśarmaṇ, another powerful vassal, who was ruling in the provinces round about Paithan, Śiśuka by name, usurped the throne. Śiśuka the Andhra, it appears from the tradition, belonged to the Nāga tribe and he was helped in his military activities by the Nāgas. In this connection Rapson's remarks are interesting. Referring to the Andhra rulers Cuṭukaḍānanda and Mudānanda, Rapson says 'If Aṃgiya-kula-vadhana and Mudānanda are correctly explained as referring to the Angas and Mundas of Eastern India, it must be supposed that the Andhras were associated with other Dravidian peoples in the conquest of the West'.

(Cca. p. xxiii. n.) The word Nāga is also associated with some of the Andhra princes, e.g., Kharṇḍa-Nāga-Sātaka, Śiva-Kharṇḍa-Nāga-Śrī. (Cca. p. liii.) The Nāga symbol is to be found in some coins associated with the Andhras. (Cca. p. 53.) The elephant symbol, so common in Andhra coins, is very likely a Nāga symbol as one of the meanings of the word Nāga is elephant. In the Balaśrī inscription the comparison of Gautamīputra to both a serpent and an elephant is significant. (36.)

144. *Śiśuka's Accession in 21 b.C.* When Śiśuka usurped the imperial throne in 21 b.C. Vikramāditya naturally got restive and his ambition blazed up. He thought he could easily oust the śūdra usurper who was not yet firmly settled on the throne and become the monarch himself. He took two years and a half in preparation, and led an expedition against Śiśuka who was then in Paithan. The enemy, however, proved too strong for him. Unexpected hordes of Nāgas came to the help of Śiśuka, and Vikramāditya's army was totally routed. He became a tributary to Śiśuka and had to pay him homages. Vikramāditya is likely to have been thus vanquished about $(21 - 2\frac{1}{2} \approx) 18$ b.C. He died 9 years later, about 9 b.C., according to tradition. Vikramāditya must have succeeded his brother, who was himself young at the time of abdication, at a very early age. Supposing he was 24 years old when he proclaimed himself an independent king and started the Samvat era, he is likely to have been born about $(24 \text{ years} + 57 \text{ B.C., the epoch of Vikrama era} =) 81 \text{ B.C.}$ He would thus have been $(81 - 9 =) 72$ years old at the time of his death. There is thus nothing improbable in the traditional account that would go against the supposition that Śiśuka and Vikramāditya were contemporaries. On the other hand, the coincidence of dates is almost a certain proof of the contemporaneity of these two kings. The province of Mālava annexed by Śiśuka seems to have been lost to the Andhras some time afterwards. It was reconquered by Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra, as will be seen later (168), appointed Caṣṭana to its governorship.

145. *External support for the Puranic dates of the Andhras.*

XL. Four-point
Contact

There is thus a four-point contact, between the puranic data for the series of 30 Andhra kings on the one hand and inscriptional and literary evidence on the other, showing simultaneous concord of names and dates at each point. Table X shows the agreement of dates and names at a glance.

TABLE X. FOUR-POINT CONTACT

PURĀṆAS			OTHER SOURCES	
No.	Name of King	Dates	Dates	Names and Reference
1	Śīśuka . . .	21 b.C. 2 a.C.	Later than 57 B.C. by 'many years of Vikrama's reign'.	'Mānavaka' or Infant Śālivāhana. (Dvā- trimśat Puttalikā.)
46	Śrī Śātakarṇi	74 a.C. 130 a.C.	106 A.D. 130 A.D.	Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. (Inscrip- tion, Cca. p. xxx.)
27	Yajñaśrī . .	403 a.C. 412 a.C.	408 A.D.	Yue-gnai (Chinese annals, Vip-w. IV. pp. 201-205.)
29	Candraśrī . .	418 a.C. 428 a.C.	428 A.D.	Yue-ai (Moon-loved). (Chinese record, Ehi. p. 313.)

146. *Andhra Empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C.* The puranic series of dates for the Andhras extending from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. thus finds support from external evidence at four points, one located at the beginning, one nearly at the middle and two almost at the end of the period. The distribution of the points of agreement is almost ideal from the statistical point of view. The reliability of the dates for the entire puranic series is thus seen to be very great, particularly when we take into consideration the strength of the internal puranic chronological evidence. (108.) We may therefore safely accept the proposition that the Andhra empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. We may with equal confidence reject the statement of modern scholars that the Andhras ruled from 230 B.C. to about 225 A.D. In accepting the date of Śīśuka to be 21 b.C. we would not be doing any greater violence to epigraphy than what has already been done by Rapson, Vincent Smith and others in their rejection of Bühler's estimate of the date for Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. (60.)

147. *Rapson's argument is not tenable.* The argument advanced by Rapson that 'the establishment of the Traikūṭaka era in A.D. 294 may reasonably be supposed to mark the date at which the Ābhīras succeeded the Andhras in the government of this province (Mahārāṣṭra)' (Cca. p. xlv) rests on misconceptions. The mere starting of an era by somebody does not necessarily mean the end of the paramount power ruling at the time. Rapson contradicts himself when he writes 'There can

be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras'. (p. clxii.) 'It must therefore remain for the present doubtful whether the Traikūṭaka kings founded an era of their own, or whether they continued to use a chronological system established by their predecessors'. (p. clxi.) It is to be noticed that Rapson did not take into account the possibility of the Ābhīras' or the early Traikūṭakas' acting as satraps of the paramount Andhra power.

148. *Traikūṭaka date supports Puranic account.* It is not at all necessary to assume the fall of the Andhras in any province at any period merely because of the existence of a kṣatrapa or of a mahākṣatrapa in that locality at the time. Provincial governorships frequently changed hands without in any way affecting the paramount power. The presence of the title 'mahārājā' or something similar is of course a strong presumptive evidence of the independence of the person using the title. It is quite likely that the Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas used an independent era; that they also used the title 'rājā' is also evident, but neither Īśvardatta (Cca. pp. 124, 125) nor Īśvarsena the Ābhīra king (ls. 1137), both of whom dated their records in regnal years, has the honorific 'śrī' attached to their names. They have not been called mahārājās anywhere. On the other hand, the inscription and the coins of the Traikūṭaka kings show that Indradatta, his son Dahrasena and Dahrasena's son Vyāghrasena all three bore the title 'mahārājā' and the last two who were living at the time of the records have in addition the honorific 'śrī' attached to their names. These three kings were certainly independent. The date Traikūṭaka era 207 = A.D. 456, recorded by the second king, would seem to imply that the first ruled about 430 A.D. This date fits in extremely well with the date of the fall of the Andhra empire. The available dates for the Traikūṭaka kings thus give an additional support to the puranic account. I shall have to say something more about the Ābhīra kings later on. (183.)

149. *No dark period following the Andhras.* The fact that the Andhra empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. is a proof of the non-existence of the dark period in Indian history. The 'dark period' is certainly an artifact. There is a continuous historical account, although not very rich in details, available from the time of the Andhras to the rise of the Guptas. According to the purāṇas the Guptas did not enjoy so extensive an empire as the Andhras did. No rival dynasties reigning simultaneously with the Andhras have been mentioned, while it is specifically said that the Guptas ruled over the country along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha only, and that the Manidhānya

kings, the Devarakṣita kings, the Guha kings and the Kanaka kings reigned over different territories (the names of which have been mentioned) contemporaneously with the Guptas. (Vap-a. 99. 383-387.) It appears from the available Gupta accounts that they did not depend so much on provincial governors for controlling their territories as the Andhras did. The direct rule of the Guptas would account for the extensive minting of coins by them, many of which still survive. If the Gupta chronology as accepted today be correct, it must be admitted that the later Andhras and the early Guptas were contemporaries. The Andhra empire on this supposition began to break up from about the time the Andhrabhṛtyas came to the throne. The puranic evidence, however, is that the Guptas rose to power after 435 a.C. In view of the trustworthiness of the puranic statements, so amply demonstrated in the case of the Andhras, the chronology of the Guptas requires a careful re-examination before it is taken to be final.

150. *An important document.* Before I make an attempt to locate, in the puranic list, the positions of other Andhra kings mentioned in inscriptions, some of the palæographic records will have to be considered to determine the limits of deductions that can be drawn from them. The inscription of queen Gautamī Balaśrī is perhaps the most important document for the elucidation of Andhra history. Balaśrī's inscription is No. 1123 in the Lüders List. I quote below the translation of this inscription from the report of Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Bombay Gazetteer (1883, Vol. XVI, pp. 550-. Inscription 2). This inscription 'is in eleven long lines of large and distinct letters. Except two holes for a hold-fast made in the last two lines, and a crack in the rock which runs from top to bottom, the inscription is well preserved'. It has not been possible in Bhagvanlal Indraji's translation to maintain the sequence of the original lines. Portions of lines 9 and 10 have been incorporated in line 1 in the translation. The translation is not literal in all places either. I have attempted to indicate roughly the numbers of the original lines of the inscription in the translation for ease of reference.

*Nasik, Pandu-Lena Caves, Inscription 2. Translation
by Bhagvanlal Indraji. (For transliteration of the
inscription, see ap)*

1. On the thirteenth (13) day of the second (2) fortnight of the summer months in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious King Pulumayi, son of Vāsithi (Sk. Vāsishthī),
- 9, 10. a dwelling-cave, a meritorious gift, in its great perfection equal to the best of celestial chariots, was caused to be made on the summit of Tiraśmi hill (a summit) like the top of mountain,

by the Great Queen Gautamī Balaśrī, a lover of truth, charity, forbearance, and respect for life; eagerly engaged in penance, self-control, mortification, and fasts; fully bearing out the title 'Wife of the Royal Sage'; mother of the illustrious Śātakarṇi

1. Gautamīputra (son of Gautamī), King of Kings, equal in greatness to the Himavat, Meru,
2. and Mandara mountains; King of Asika, Susaka, Mulaka (or Mundaka), Surath (Sk. Surāshtra), Kukura (Sk. Kukkura), Aparāta (Sk. Aparānta), Anupa (Sk. Anūpa), Vidabha (Sk. Vidarbha), Ākara and Avanti; lord of the Vijha (Sk. Vindhya), Richhavat (Sk. Rikshavat), Pārichāta (Sk. Pāriyātra), Sahya, Kaṇhagiri (Sk. Krishṇagiri), Mancha, Siritana (Sk. Sristhāna), Malaya, Mahinda (Sk. Mahendra),
3. Setagiri (Sk. Shadgiri), and Chakora mountains; whose commands are obeyed by the circles of all kings; whose face is like the pure lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose (army) animals have drunk the water of three oceans; whose appearance is as beautiful and lovely as the disc of the full moon;
4. whose gait is as stately as that of a great elephant; whose arms are as muscular, rounded, broad, long, and beautiful as the body of the lord of serpents; whose hand is fearless and wet by the water held in granting freedom from fear; who is prompt in the service of his mother (even when she is) free from illness; who has well arranged the place and the time for the three pursuits of life (trivarga);
5. who is a companion of all the townsmen (his subjects) equal in happiness and in misery; who has humbled the conceit and vanity of Kshatriyas; who is the destroyer of Śakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas; who makes use of (nothing but) the taxes levied according to justice; who never desires to kill an enemy though at fault; who has increased (the prosperity of) the families of Brāhmanas and others;
6. who has rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta (Sk. Kshaharāta); who has established the glory of the Śātavāhana family; at whose feet all (royal) circles have bowed; who has stopped the fusion of the four castes; who has conquered multitudes of enemies in numerous battles; whose banner of victory is unconquered; whose excellent capital is unassailable to (his) enemies;
7. whose great title of King descended from a succession of ancestors; the depositary of the Śāstras; the

- asylum of good men; the abode of wealth; the fountain of good manners; the only controller; the only archer; the only hero; the only holy man; equal in valour to Rāma,
8. Kesava, Arjuna, Bhimsena; who invites assemblies on the festive occasion (which take place) on the declining ayana; equal in majesty to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarisha; who has immeasurably, without loss, without being confounded, and in a way (the like of) which never happened, conquered the host of enemies in the front of the battle, witnessed by Pavana, Garuda, Siddhas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Vidyādhara, Bhūta, Gandharvas, Charanas,
 9. the moon, the sun, the constellations, and the planets; who has pierced the surface of the sky like the summit of mighty mountain; (and) who has raised the family to great wealth.
 10. This great queen, the mother of the great King and the grandmother of the great King, dedicates this dwelling-cave to the congregation of the mendicant assembly of the Bhadrāyāni school.
 11. For painting the cave,.....the hereditary lord of Dakshināpatha (?), desirous to serve and desirous to please the venerable lady, has given to Dharmasetu the village of Pīśāchi-padraka, with all its rights, to the south-west of the Tiraśmi hill.

151. *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as Overlord and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi as Provincial Governor.* It will be noticed that the titles 'king of kings' (rājarano) and 'mahārājā' have been used in connection with the name of Gautamīputra while Vāsiṣṭhīputra has been called 'rājā' and 'mahārājā' (lines 1 and 10). In line 9 Gautamīputra has been called simply Śrī Śātakarṇi which is the name ascribed to him by the purāṇas. Vāsiṣṭhīputra has neither the title 'king of kings (rājarano)' nor the designations 'savarājāloka-mandalapati' (line 3), nor 'savamandalābhivādita-carana' (line 6) meaning 'the lord of all the circles of kings' and 'at whose feet bow circles of all sorts' respectively. The epithets and titles leave no room for doubt that Gautamīputra was the paramount lord and Vāsiṣṭhīputra had a subordinate position. Under these circumstances one would naturally expect the inscription to be dated in regnal years of the paramount king, but it is not so; the most plausible explanation is that Balaśrī had been living with her grandson who was a provincial ruler under his father. In view of the importance of the woman in matriarchal families it is also probable that Balaśrī was the regent who governed the province in the name of her grandson.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra must have enjoyed a position similar to that of the mahākṣatrapas; he had other provincial rulers with the title 'rājā' under him. This is why Gautamī Balaśrī calls herself the 'grandmother of a mahārājā' (line 10) in the inscription. There is no means of ascertaining exactly which regnal year of Gautamīputra would correspond to the year 19 of his son which is the date of the inscription. I shall presently show that an approximate estimate is possible.

152. *Gautamīputra's Territory.* The extent of Gautamīputra's territory, as defined in the inscription, has been described by many scholars and I need not go into it again. (Cca. pp. xxx-.)

153. *Puranic Tradition in Gautamīputra's Times.* Lines 5 and 6 demand special attention. The epithet 'khatiyadapamānamadanasa', which means 'one who has humbled the pride and honour of the kṣatriyas', suggests that the king himself was not of the kṣatriya caste. Had he been a kṣatriya the inscription would have said 'who has humbled the pride of *other* kṣatriyas'. This epithet lends support to the puranic statement that the Andhras belonged to the śūdra caste. (Bgp-b. 12. 1. 20.) The writer of the inscription, it seems, had the intention of conveying the idea that although the king was not a kṣatriya he had all the qualifications of the best kṣatriya king that ever ruled this earth. The king was keenly alive to the welfare of his subjects, was great in military prowess, exacted only legitimate dues, would not kill his enemies even when they had committed some offence against him, he protected the purity of the castes, his valour and munificence were as great as those of the illustrious puranic kings of the past (lines 6-9.) This description of Gautamīputra is not to be considered as a mere panegyric. It is a fair description of the king's true character as will appear presently. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the reference in the inscription to Keśava, Arjuna, Bhimasena, Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambariṣa, as also to Pavana, Garuda, Siddhas, Yakshas, Rākṣasas, Vidyā-dharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāranas, the moon, the sun, the constellations and the planets, clearly prove that the puranic tradition was in the first century A.D. as strong as, or even stronger than, it is today. Those who believe that the purāṇas were written down for the first time in the third century A.D. might, with advantage, consider this inscriptional record.

154. *Gautamīputra and his conquered enemies.* In line 5 the expression 'sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasa' and in line 6 'khakharātavaṁśa nirabasesakarasa' do not necessarily mean that Gautamīputra had exterminated all Śakas, Yavanas, Palhavas and Khakharātas. The word 'niśūdana' may mean 'one who removes' (MMW. Sed.) and the word 'vaṁśa' has usually been used in the purāṇas with reference to the genealogy of kings that were independent. We may therefore, with perfect justification, take

the two expressions referred to above to mean respectively 'one who has taken away the independence of the Śakas, Yavanas, Palhavas', and 'one who has completely put an end to the independence of the Khakharāta dynasty'. This interpretation is supported by the sentence intervening between the two expressions. This sentence means that 'the king imposed only such tribute as could be earned fairly and lawfully, he *never killed* his enemies even when they had committed some offence against him, he furthered the prosperity of brāhmaṇas, of people of other castes (avara) and of his own relations (kutumba)'. It will be remembered that Gautamīputra gave his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi in marriage to the daughter of Rudradāman who was the grandson of Caṣṭana, a relation of Kaṇiṣka (Jayaswal and B. Bhattacharya. *j.bors.* V. p. 511 and VI. pp. 51-53.) Rapson is of opinion that Caṣṭana was probably a Śaka. (*Cca.* p. civ.) Vincent Smith describes Rudradāman as a 'Śaka Satrap'. (*Ehi.* p. 139.) The marriage of Puṣumāvi must have taken place some time after the Balaśrī inscription was incised. (176, 177, 178, Table XI.) Very likely Gautamīputra had contracted other Śaka connections as well. The reference to 'kutumba' in the inscription, occurring in the place it does, is significant. There is no need therefore to assume that Gautamīputra killed Naha-pāna and rooted out his family.

155. *Gautamīputra's ancestors.* Gautamīputra was never defeated in any of the numerous battles that he fought with his enemies (line 6); this was something unusual even for great kings; hence the sentence 'in a way the like of which never happened conquered the host of enemies' in line 8. He was the 'only archer, the only hero, the only wise man (eka bamhaṇasa)' (line 7). The same line states that Gautamīputra's great title of king descended from a succession of ancestors. Gautamīputra, as I have already shown, was the sixth Andhra king. It is stated in the purāṇas that the first Andhra king Śiśuka was a servant (governor) of the Kaṇvas. It is likely that Śiśuka's ancestors were in the same post and enjoyed the title of rājā; hence the reference to a long succession of ancestors.

10. THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚAKA ERA

156. *Śakas were no new-comers.* The Balaśrī inscription, when considered along with the puranic account and the Śālivāhana traditions, throws unexpected light on the origin of the Śaka era. It is usually assumed that the Śakas, who ruled as satraps during the Andhra period, came as invaders from outside India and having conquered the territory settled down as rulers. There is no justification for the assumption that the general body of the Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas were new-comers. Originally, it is true, these people came from outside India but this

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invasion or the invasions or the immigration must have occurred several centuries earlier than the Andhras. Mention of the Śakas is to be found in Indian literature as having existed in very ancient times.

157. *King Sagara and the Śakas.* It is recorded in the purāṇas that king Vāhu, who belonged to the Ikṣvāku dynasty, was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas. The Haihayas were helped in this military adventure by various tribes such as the Tāljanghas, the Śakas, the Palhavas, the Pāradas, the Kambojas and the Yavanas. Vāhu's son Sagara (the same Sagara as mentioned in the Balaśri inscription) succeeded in reconquering his father's territory. He took a terrible revenge on his father's enemies. He killed the majority of the Haihayas he could get hold of and punished their allies in various ways. It appears from the puranic description that even at that remote time these foreign tribes were already Hinduized. They had given up their original culture and were practising Hindu rites. Sagara prevented brāhmaṇas from helping these foreigners in their religious activities. He issued an edict ordering compulsory shaving of head of all Yavanas, shaving of half the head of the Śakas, wearing of long hairs by the Pāradas and of beards by the Palhavas, as visible distinctive marks of adult persons of these different races. Apparently the Indians used to shave their beards in Sagara's age. (Vip-b. IV. 3. 18-21.) In our own times also we have ordinances that compel a Jew to set up distinctive marks of recognition before his business concern or a Hindu youth to carry a distinctive coloured card. The Śakas, Pāradas and other foreigners, punished by Sagara, have been classed with kṣatriyas. There were in ancient times Śaka brāhmaṇas also who took to astronomy and astrology as their chief pursuit. Even at the present day descendants of these brāhmaṇas exist in Hindu society. The Śakadvipi brāhmaṇas, as they are called, are looked down upon by other brāhmaṇas.

158. *Indianization of Foreigners.* The names of the Śakas of the Andhra period, their religious endowments as recorded in inscriptions, their matrimonial relations, all point to a complete Indianization which must have taken a long time to permeate the general Śaka populace. At the time of the Andhras, the Śakas and Palhavas professed any one or a mixture of the three Indian systems of religion, viz., Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, just like persons of true Indian descent at the time. Besides the inscriptional records of the Khakharātas and of the western satraps of the Caṣṭana family, all of which are well known, we have inscriptions recording religious endowments of other Śakas as well, and also of Palhavas and of Yavanas belonging to the various strata of the society. A reference to Lüders List will show the frequency of such endowments. Lüders No. 1137 records the gift of Viṣṇudāta the Śakanikā, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, made at the time of Mādhariputra Īśvarasena the

Ābhīra, the son of Śivadatta the Ābhīra. The gift is intended for all classes of monks residing on Mount Triraśmī. Both the husband and the son of Viṣṇudāta were 'ganapakas' or heads of guilds or corporations. Lüders Nos. 1148 and 1149 record gifts of the Śaka Dāmachik who describes himself as a 'leghaka' or a scribe. Lüders No. 965 records that Rudradāman had a Palhava, named Suviśākha, as a governor under him. The name Suviśākha indicates Indianization. Lüders No. 1140 refers to a gift for Buddhist monks made by Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhamma-deva a Yavana. No. 1154 records the gift of Yavana Irila, No. 1156 that of Yavana Charṇḍa, No. 1182 that of Yavana Chita, No. 1096 that of Damma-Yavana, No. 1093 that of Yavana Sihādhaya and No. 669 that of the Yavana Heliodora of Garudastambha fame who was a devotee of Vāsudeva. I am sure a careful search will reveal other records. No inscription or record referring to the original Śaka or Palhava culture has been discovered in India as far as I know.

159. *Indian names and racial traits of the Śakas.* An occasional Persian or a Scythian name does not prove that the general body of the Śakas maintained their original culture. There is a similarity, sometimes an identity, between ancient Persian and Sanskrit names, e.g., Sarvilaka, Zarathustra, etc. Names ending in 'pāna' as in 'Nahapāna' also occur in the purāṇas. There was a king of the Aṅga dynasty named 'Anapāna' (Vap-a. 99. 100), variants of which are 'Khanapāna' and 'Khalapāna'. (Bgp-b. 9. 23. 6.) The name Ghsamotika (Caṣṭana's father) is probably a misreading for Yasomotika an Indian name. The name of Śiśupāla's father Damaghosh in the Mahābhārata reminds one of Damaghsada the satrap. Dāmodara, Dāmoṣṇisha (Mbh. Sabhā. 4) are Hindu names having the component 'Dāma' that occurs so frequently in the names of the western satraps. Although the Śakas and Palhavas were thoroughly Indianized they maintained their racial traits and were adepts in acquirement and management of territory. A parallel instance is to be found in the Rajput settlers who immigrated into Bengal about three or four centuries back. Before the advent of the British many of them were independent rulers and at the present time most of the Rajput Sinha Rays, who cannot be distinguished in appearance and culture from the average Bengali, are occupying the position of landlords and show special aptitude for the control and management of property.

160. *Śakāditya and Vikramāditya.* The Śakas and Palhavas of ancient India, like the Jews of the modern world, were sometimes put in responsible positions of State and sometimes persecuted by the reigning powers. The Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas ruled as independent princes also. Mention of a Yavana king Kāla by name is to be found in the Mahābhārata; he was a terror to the Yādavas; he was killed by the machinations

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of Kṛṣṇa. Vikramāditya was a relentless enemy of the Śakas while tradition ascribes the title of 'Śakāditya' or the 'Śaka Sun' to Śālivāhana. (MMW. Sed. Śaka.) Śālivāhana has been also called 'Śakendra' and even simply 'Śaka'. The following quotations from the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier-Williams and from Śavdakalpadrumah will serve to bring out all the traditions with respect to Śālivāhana. Under 'Śālivāhana' Monier-Williams says 'Name of a celebrated sovereign of India (said to be so called either from having ridden on a Yaksha called Śāli, or from Śāli or Śāla, the Śāl tree, Śālivāhana being represented as borne on a cross made of that or other wood; he was the enemy of Vikramāditya and institutor of the era now called Śaka, q.v.; his capital was Pratisthāna on the Godavari)'. The Śavdakalpadrumah writes under the same heading: 'rājāviśeṣah. sa tu śakakartā vikramāditya śatruśca', i.e., 'name of king. He is the maker of the Śaka era and enemy of Vikramāditya'.

161. *The Śaka Era.* It will be apparent from my previous discussions on Vikramāditya that Śālivāhana the founder of the Śaka era, with its epoch at 78 A.D., cannot possibly be the Śālivāhana that was the enemy of Vikramāditya who flourished about 57 B.C. Tradition has confused the first and sixth Śālivāhana kings. Śīśuka, the first Śālivāhana Andhra king, was the enemy of Vikramāditya; so Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, the sixth Śālivāhana Andhra king, must have been the originator of the Śaka era if we are to believe the puranic dates and the tradition. Under 'Śaka' Śavdakalpadrumah writes: 'sa ca nṛpaḥ śakāditya iti śālivāhana iti ca nāmṇā khyātah. tasya maraṇadināvādhi vatsara gaṇanāṅkah śakāvdeti nāmṇā pañjikā-yām likhyate', i.e., 'he is the king Śakāditya also called Śālivāhana and renowned as such. From the date of his death starts an era that is recorded in the pañjikās (calendars) as śakāvda'. Under 'Śaka' Monier-Williams writes '..... described by Kulluka as degraded tribes of Kṣatriyas..... they are sometimes regarded as the followers of Śaka or Śālivāhana.....'. Under 'Śaka-kāla' is written 'the Śaka-era (beginning A.D. 78 and founded by king Śālivāhana). Under 'Śakāditya' is given 'Name of king Śālivāhana'. On the other hand, 'Śakāntaka' is 'destroyer of Śakas, Name of king Vikramāditya'. 'Śakāri' is 'enemy of the Śakas, Name of king Vikramāditya'. The synonyms for 'Śakāvda' are 'Śakakāla', 'Śaka-nṛpati-samvatsara', 'Śaka-bhūpa-kāla', 'Śaka-vatsara' and 'Śakendra-kāla'. The above quotations will make it abundantly clear that according to tradition 'Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi' bore the sobriquets 'The Śaka', 'Śakendra' and 'Śakāditya', and that it was he that originated the Śaka era. According to certain traditions he was himself the founder of the era while according to other accounts the era was established in commemoration of his death.

162. *Khakharāta and Śakarāt.* The Gautamī Balaśrī inscription mentions that Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, who was a great fighter, took away the independence of the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas and of the Khakharātas. The Khakharātas have received a separate and specific mention in the inscription, and in their case only the term 'vaṁsa' meaning a 'reigning dynasty' has been used. This shows that a special importance was attached to them (line 6). It may be assumed that the Khakharāta family was a distinguished reigning dynasty. The origin of the name Khakharāta has not been satisfactorily explained. I venture to suggest that the name in its Sanskrit form is 'Śakarāt' which means 'Śaka emperor'. The title of 'Ekarāt' or 'the sole monarch' as applied to Mahāpadma Nanda may be cited as a parallel. (Vap-a. 99. 327.) Being a compound word it was subjected to Prākṛita modifications of the type from which the simple word 'śaka', when used alone, was immune. According to this supposition 'Śakarāt' became 'Śakarāta', then 'Khakarāta', 'Khakharāta', 'Khaharāta' and 'Chaharāda', the last form occurring in Kharosthi characters only. Naha-pāna, the Kṣaharāta, in spite of his Persian sounding name, was according to this supposition a Śaka. His son-in-law Uṣabha-dāta was certainly a Śaka. (bg. Vol. XVI. p. 577. line 2 of Inscription 14.)

163. *Prestige of the Andhra Dynasty was re-established by Gautamīputra.* If I have made a correct guess it may be assumed that a powerful Śaka dynasty existed at the time of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, and that the kings of this dynasty used the title 'Śakarāt' meaning 'Śaka Emperor'. The Śakarāts, it may be further assumed, usurped some of the territory that belonged to the Andhras. This may be supposed to have happened some time after the death of Śiśuka the first king. It is impossible to guess, in the present state of our knowledge, who must have been the first Śakarāt. Gautamīputra vanquished the Śakarāt emperor of his time and won back the ancestral dominion. We find in line 6 of the inscription, immediately following the expression 'khakharāta va[m]sanirabasesakarasa' (one who has completely ousted the Khakharāta dynasty), the words 'sātavāhanakulayasa patiṭhapanakarasa' which mean 'one who has established the prestige and glory (yasa) of the Śātavāhana family'.

164. *Gautamīputra's efforts at popularity.* The name and fame of Vikramāditya and his romantic career must have been prominent in the public mind at the time of Gautamīputra. The Andhras, on the other hand, being śūdras and being usurpers of the throne belonging to a brāhmaṇa dynasty by the crime of murder were naturally looked upon with a certain amount of irreverence and disrespect by the people. An expression of this public attitude is to be found in the nicknames of the early Andhra kings as found in the purāṇas. Gautamīputra, after

his great victory over the Khakharātas, must have thought of retrieving the position of his family. To win popularity he became generous towards his enemies (line 5), he celebrated religious functions and organized feasts and public festivities in lavish style imitating the munificence of past renowned puranic kings (line 8). He declared himself a patron of the Śakas he had conquered, assumed the title of Śakāditya after having ousted the Śakarāts or Khakharātas, perhaps as a counterblast to the memory of Vikramāditya. While Vikramāditya was an avowed enemy of the Śakas and was known by the sobriquet 'Śakāri', Gautamīputra declared himself a friend and patron of the Śakas. In later years he married his son to the daughter of Rudradāman who was certainly of non-Indian descent and probably a Śaka. (154.) Gautamīputra was also known as 'Śakendra' or 'lord of the Śakas'.

165. *Conciliatory Policy of Gautamīputra.* A parallel to Gautamīputra's conciliatory policy towards the Śakas is to be found in English history. When the Anglo-Saxons began to settle in different parts of England the surviving Britons were gradually driven westward and came to be known as the Welsh or 'strangers'. A Welsh prince, Llewellyn by name, rose in rebellion against Edward I but was killed in battle about 1281 A.D. The other Welsh chieftains submitted to Edward, and Wales was joined to England. Edward was desirous of securing the willing loyalty of the newly acquired province. He promised to the chieftains to give them a ruler who was 'born in their own land, could not speak a word of English, and never did wrong to man, woman or child'. When he was asked to carry out his promise, he showed his infant son, Edward, who was born in Carnarvon in 1284. The chieftains accepted little Edward as their prince. From that time the eldest son of the English sovereign has always received the title of Prince of Wales. It was exactly by a similar process that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the conqueror of the Śakas, came to be regarded as 'Śakāditya', 'Śakendra' and even 'the Śaka' by the general populace of his time.

166. *The Starting of the Śaka Era.* To commemorate his victory Gautamīputra started an era which came to be known both as the Śālivāhana era and the Śaka era. This served to act as a second counterblast to Vikramāditya's reputation. Just as Vikramāditya's era got popular through the astronomers and astrologers of his court who prepared almanacs fixing the times and dates of different Hindu festivals and religious functions in terms of Vikrama Samvat, so in the case of the Śaka era also State astronomers helped to popularize its use by incorporating it in the almanacs. Both the Vikrama Samvat and the Śālivāhana Śakāvda are mentioned side by side in Indian calendars even at the present time. Although Śālivāhana Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi could not oust the Vikrama era, he succeeded

in establishing his own era on a permanent footing. The Kali era, which I have already shown to be a modified form of the Nanda era, the Vikrama Samvat and the Śālivāhana Śakāvda are the only three Hindu eras that have acquired an all-India currency. They have survived in calendars to this day. J. F. Fleet is also of opinion that the Śaka era was popularized by the astronomers. (The Śaka Era. *jas.* 1910. p. 822.) The tradition that says that the Śaka era was started to commemorate the death of a great Śaka king is also true in the sense that Gautamīputra became Śakāditya after having conquered the reigning Khakharāta or the Śaka emperor. It is likely the Khakharāta king died in the fight. The death of this king would thus naturally coincide with the victory of Gautamīputra. In connection with the question of the origin of the Śaka era the following quotation from 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum'. Vol. II. Part I. 'Kharosthi Inscriptions' by Sten Konow, Introduction, p. xxvii is interesting: 'After some time (*Kālāntareṇa kenāi*) Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Śaka dynasty (*uppādittā sagāṇa taṁ vamsaṁ*) and established his own era (*payadāvīo niyao samvachchharo*). But also his dynasty was uprooted (*tassa vī vamsaṁ uppādiṭṭa*), by another Śaka King (*Sagarāyā*), who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (*paṇatise vāsasae Vikkamasaṁvachchharassa voline parivaṭṭiṭṭa thavīo jeṇaṁ samvachchharo niyao*). It is then added that this incident has been narrated (*eyam pāsam-giyaṁ samakkhāyam*) in order to give information about the (origin of the) Śaka era (*Sagakālaṇaṇa-attham*)'. (*Kālākāchāryakathānaka*, a work of unknown date.)

167. *Western Satraps were Tributaries to the Andhras*. The regnal dates of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi ranging from 74 A.D. to 130 A.D., within which period the epoch of the Śaka era falls, as also the traditional and the inscriptional evidence go to support the assumption that the Śaka era was started by the sixth Andhra king Śrī Śātakarṇi. Once this is admitted it will be seen that there is no alternative but to recognize that the western satraps, who dated in Śaka era, were tributaries to the Andhras. In this connection the title 'Śakendra' (Lord of the Śakas) that tradition ascribes to Śālivāhana appears to be significant. (161.) Rapson writes 'That the dates of the Western Ksatrapas are actually recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., there can be no possible doubt (v. *R.I.C.*, §83; *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 365). The question of the origin of this era has, therefore, an important bearing on the history of this dynasty. The titles 'kṣatrapa' and 'mahākṣatrapa' certainly show that the Western Ksatrapas were originally feudatories; and the era used by them is presumably, as is regularly the case in similar instances, the era of the dynasty to which they paid allegiance'. (*Cca.* p. cv.)

168. *Appointments of Bhūmaka, Caṣṭana and Puṣumāvi as Provincial Governors.*

XLV. Gautamī-
putra and Western
Satraps

The evidence in favour of the Andhra origin of the Śaka era is fairly conclusive. We may now safely attempt a little historical reconstruction to elucidate the position of the western satraps during the time of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi ascended the throne in 74 a.C. After having established himself firmly he led an expedition sometime before A.D. 78 against the Khakharāta king, one of whose ancestors had wrested a part of the Andhra dominion. Gautamīputra succeeded in completely ousting the Khakharāta monarch from all his possessions and also in subjugating various other tribes of Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas. He acquired immense wealth by his military victories (line 9, Balaśrī inscription.) He started an era in commemoration of the victory in A.D. 78. In pursuance of the conciliatory policy that he adopted towards his vanquished enemies he appointed Bhūmaka, a scion of the Khakharāta family, to the governorship of the province of Mahārāṣṭra and Caṣṭana, probably a member of some other family (Kardamaka?) conquered by him, to the satrapy of the Mālavas. These appointments seem likely to have been made shortly after 78 A.D. About this period he also placed his mother Gautamī Balaśrī as the regent in the Dakṣiṇāpatha in charge of his minor son Puṣumāvi. Sometime between 100 and 130 A.D. his son was married to the daughter of Rudradāman the grandson of Caṣṭana. All the satraps under Gautamīputra including Uṣabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, dated their records in terms of the Śaka era. Gautamīputra neither killed Nahapāna nor did he restrike Nahapāna's coins in commemoration of his victory over him. Nahapāna, Caṣṭana, Uṣabhadāta and Rudradāman were all satraps under the protection of the suzerain Gautamīputra. None of the western satraps were independent kings although they used the title of 'rājā' and minted coins in their own names.

11. QUEEN BALAŚRĪ, QUEEN JIVASŪTĀ AND GAUTAMĪPUTRA
ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆĪ

169. *Gautamīputra's Inscription.* I shall now consider the inscriptions in which Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi figures. I give below the translations of two inscriptions by Bhagvanlal Indraji, numbered 1125 and 1126 by Lüders. Nāsik, Pandu-Lena Caves, Inscription 4 (p. 558-bg. Vol. XVI. ls. 1125). Translation by Bhagvanlal Indraji. (For transliteration of the inscription, see ap):

XLVI. Gautamī-
putra and Uṣabha-
dāta. Jivasūtā
Inscription

- (1) To the Perfect one. From Benākataka of Govardhana, which is the camp of victory of the Vaijayanti army, the illustrious lord Śātakarṇi, son of Gautamī,

- (2) commands the minister Vishnupālita in Govardhana, that (whereas) there is at the present day a field in the village of Aparakakhadi (Aparakakshāti?) owned by Rishabhadatta,
- (3) and (measuring) 200 nivartanas, this our field (measuring) 200 nivartanas, we give to the Tekirasi ascetics of this (mountain). We grant rights (immunity?) in connection with this field.
- (4) It is not to be entered, not to be injured, not to be worked for salt (?), to be freed from all ordinary local dues (?). These are the immunities granted to this field.
- (5) This document has been written here by Suviya (Suvirya); it has been commanded by the minister Sivaguta (Śivagupta); touched by the great lord.
- (6) The plate (which was) kept (was) given on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 18 for the use of recluses.

170. *Jivasūtā's Inscription*. Inscription 5. (ls. 1126.) (Line 6 of Inscription 4 continued.) (For transliteration of the inscription, see ap):

- (6) To the Perfect one. The gift by the minister Sāmaka from the Queen.
- (7) Health to be inquired of Sāmaka, the minister at Govardhana, at the command of Jivasūtā, the queen Dowager, the great queen of King Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi,
- (8, 9) and he to be told 'Here we had given a field in the east in the village of Kakhadi to the recluse mendicants living in the cave, charitably given by us in mount Tiraśmi. That field is being cultivated (but) the village is uninhabited.
- (10) Such being the case we now give a hundred (100) nivartanas of the royal field in our possession on the confines of the city to the recluse mendicants of Tiraśmi.
- (11) We grant parihāra (immunity?) to this field. It is not to be entered, not to be injured, not to be dug for salt, and to be free from the ordinary dues of the country, with all kinds of immunities. Such being the immunities let none take the field. 'Do you record here the parihāra (immunity?) of this field', is the command of Suviya (Suvirya). In the year 24
- (12) on the fifth (5) day of the fourth fortnight of the monsoon months, the writing on the plate has been engraved here at the command of the Queen. The documents for the ascetics (had been) prepared

in the year 24 on the tenth day of the second fortnight of the summer months.

171. *Jivasūtā the name of Gautamīputra's Queen.* With reference to the inscription No. 1126 Rapson writes 'This is an order of the king to be communicated to Syāmaka, the minister in Govardhana, "in the name of the king Gautamīputra and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living". The name of this queen, Bala-Śrī, is known from her inscription dated in the 19th year of her grandson Puṣumāvi'. (Cca. p. xlviii.) According to Bhagvanlal Indraji there is no reference to Balaśrī in this inscription; the queen who makes the gift is named 'Jivasūtā'; she is the great queen of king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and not his mother. The word 'jivasūtā' in line 7 of the inscription has been supposed by Rapson and some other scholars to mean 'whose son is living'. The original passage is 'raño gotamiputasa satakaṇisa mahādeviya ca jivasutāya rājamātuya vacanena, etc.' The meaning is quite clear. Indraji's rendering of 'jivasutā' as the name of Gautamīputra's queen is certainly the correct one. The translation of 'jivasutā' by the words 'whose son is living' leads to an absurd expression, viz., 'in the name of the king Gautamīputra and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living'. As, according to this interpretation, the inscription distinctly states that the order is in the name of king Gautamīputra there is no sense in saying that the queen-mother's son, who must be the same king, is alive. I propose the following translation: [Line 6] Siddham (Perfection). The minister Sāmaka at Govardhana to make the [following] gift from the Queen. [Line 7] According to the directions of King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's Queen Consort [who is] also the Queen-mother Jivasūtā, Sāmaka at Govardhana is to be enquired of [his] good health and then [line 8] he is to be told, etc.

172. *Gautamīputra did not act as a Provincial Governor.* We may, therefore, safely assume that while inscription ls. 1125 records the gift of king Gautamīputra, inscription ls. 1126, which is a continuation of No. 1125, records that of his queen. The expression 'rājamātuya' refers to the fact that Jivasūtā was the mother of Puṣumāvi. Jivasūtā must have belonged to the Vasiṣṭhi gotra. The time interval between the dates of the two inscriptions Nos. 1125 and 1126 is six years. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi enjoyed a reign of 54 years from 74 a.C. to 130 a.C. It may be assumed that he did not act in the capacity of a provincial governor any time previous to his accession. The long reign of 54 years is not an impossibility. Inscription No. 1125, which is dated in the 18th year of the king, was therefore executed some time about $(74+18=)$ 92 a.C., and the inscription of the queen Jivasūtā about 98 a.C.

173. *Camp of Victory.* It is not necessary to assume that the word 'vijayakhadhāvāra' occurring in line 1 of No. 1125, the

literal meaning of which is 'the camp of victory' implies that the king had just returned from an actual victorious campaign. The word 'jayaskandhāvāra' is a common one occurring in many inscriptions and copper-plate grants. (cf. Dahrasena's copper-plate record. Cca. p. lxiii.) It merely indicates 'the place of residence' of the king at the time. The royal camp is likely to have been called 'the camp of victory' irrespective of the state of peace or war, particularly in the case of a king who never suffered defeat (line 6. ls. 1123). The visits to Govardhana were certainly made in the course of pilgrimage, and the queen accompanied the king on the first occasion also; in line 8 of inscription No. 1126 the expression 'amhehi..... puvakhetam datam', which means 'we gave a field as a gift', refers to the previous joint visit of the king and the queen although in the inscription (ls. 1125) only the king's name is to be found.

174. *Significance of gift of Uṣabhadāta's lands made by Gautamīputra.* The land that the king made a gift of previously belonged to one Uṣabhadāta (line 2, ls. 1125). This Uṣabhadāta may or may not be the Uṣabhadāta the son-in-law of Nahapāna. There is nothing in the inscription to suggest that Uṣabhadāta's lands were taken possession of by Gautamīputra after the former had been defeated in battle. Had such been the case there would have been found some reference to victory in the passage. It was customary for kings to make gifts of lands belonging to persons who might be his subjects by paying the proper price to the owner and acquiring them. Uṣabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, records in inscription ls. 1131, line 4, that he paid 4,000 karsapānas to a brāhmaṇa as price for the field that he donated. It is likely, therefore, that Gautamīputra similarly paid the price of the land to Uṣabhadāta when he took it from him. Even when any land happened to be in the king's direct possession the king was expected to pay its price to the State treasury from his personal funds before he could make a gift of it.

175. *Renewal of privileges was not necessary.* If we compare the Karle inscriptions of Gautamīputra (ls. 1105) and Uṣabhadāta (ls. 1099), we shall find that a village named Karajika or Karajaka, that had been given as gift to the monks of Vāluraka cave by Uṣabhadāta, was also donated by Gautamīputra probably in the year 18 of his reign. This fact has been interpreted to mean that the edict in inscription No. 1105 'was issued by Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi as a result of his victory over Nahapāna' for the 'renewal of privileges previously granted by Ṛṣabhadatta'. (Cca. p. xlix.) During the Andhra period it was customary to invest all gifts for the purpose of administration in guilds of various classes of artisans. Thus there would be no occasion for the 'renewal of privileges' even when there was a change of the ruling dynasty. It is to be noted

that Uṣabhadāta's inscription is undated, and that in Gautamīputra's inscription no mention is to be found that the village of Karajaka previously belonged to Uṣabhadāta. Since both the inscriptions are to be found close to each other they can both be read by a person visiting the place. It is and was not possible for visitors to find out who was the earlier donor and to whom the merit of the gift should belong. Had the change of donor taken place as a result of victory of one over the other the inscription of the victor would have recorded the fact. The only plausible explanation is that the village must have been donated by Uṣabhadāta originally and that it was paid for by Gautamīputra when he made a second gift of it. It was not possible for anybody, who knew that Gautamīputra was the king, to make any mistake regarding the final donor, because Gautamīputra and Uṣabhadāta stood in the relation of overlord and satrap; they were not two independent kings.

176. *Uṣabhadāta's Overlord.* In the inscription, Lüders No. 1131, Uṣabhadāta says that in obedience to the order of 'bhattāraka' (postscript 1) he led an expedition against the Mālayas. It has been supposed that the word 'bhattāraka' refers to Uṣabhadāta's overlord who was his father-in-law Nahapāna. It must be remembered that Nahapāna did not use the honorific 'śrī' with his name, he called himself a kṣatrapa and could never claim the epithet 'bhattāraka' which means 'the great lord' (Sed) and which was used only by independent kings. In his inscription Uṣabhadāta apparently referred to Gautamīputra at whose order he set out against the Mālayas. We do not find in any inscription anything that might go against the supposition that the western satraps were tributaries to the Andhras. I have already discussed the significance of Rudradāman's claims, in the Girnar inscription, Lüders No. 965, of having defeated the lord of the Deccan twice in battle. (50.) Rudradāman's victory as well as his daughter's marriage must be dated sometime before 130 A.D.

177. *Puṣumāvi's Regnal Years. Date of Balaśrī's death.*

XLVII. Gautamī- putra, Puṣumāvi and Balaśrī	An attempt may now be made to determine the correspondence of dates between the regnal years of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and those of his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi.
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Unfortunately the available data are not adequate for a definite conclusion. We find Puṣumāvi's date 19 in the Balaśrī inscription. If it is assumed that Balaśrī was the regent in charge of Puṣumāvi and that she was placed in Dakṣiṇāpatha immediately after the great victory of Gautamīputra, the accession of Puṣumāvi, who must have been a minor at the time, to the provincial throne would be dated about the year 78 A.D. There would thus be a difference of 4 years only between the regnal dates of the father and the son, Gautamīputra having become king in 74 a.C. In the Jivasūtā inscription, Lüders 1126,

the names of Gautamīputra and his consort Jivasūtā occur together while in the Balaśrī inscription the name of Gautamīputra is mentioned along with that of his mother. According to Indian custom so long as the mother-in-law is living the daughter-in-law would not find any prominent mention anywhere. It may be pointed out that in inscription No. 1125, of which the Jivasūtā inscription is a continuation, so to say, there is no mention of the queen although, as I have already pointed out, the queen accompanied the king on the pilgrimage. (173.) Six years intervened between the two inscriptions. It may therefore be surmised that Balaśrī died in the interval, and Jivasūtā allowed her name to be recorded after her mother-in-law's death. The date of Balaśrī's death on this supposition would fall between $(74+18=)$ 92 a.C. and 98 a.C. The 19th year of Puṣumāvi's reign at which date Balaśrī was alive would be $(78+19=)$ 97 a.C. There is therefore no discrepancy between the two assumptions. The death of Balaśrī may be fixed at 98 a.C. Again, supposing Gautamīputra was 20 years old at the time of his accession, and supposing he was born at his mother's 20th year, Balaśrī's birth date would be $(74-20-20=)$ 34 a.C. Balaśrī would thus be about $(98-34=)$ 64 years old at the time of her death. In inscription, Lüders No. 1124, Vāsiṣṭhiputra has been called 'navanarasvāmī'. The word has been taken to mean 'the new lord' by Indrajī. If we accept this interpretation we might say that Puṣumāvi took over independent charge of the province after the death of his grandmother, that is why he was called 'the new lord'. The inscription is dated in his 22nd year. Therefore Balaśrī died between the years 19 and 22 of Puṣumāvi's reign, i.e., between 97 a.C. and 100 a.C. This tallies with the other suppositions.

178. 78 A.D. as Key-date of Gautamīputra's Times. The

XLVIII. Chronology of Gautamīputra's Times

assumption that Puṣumāvi's regnal years began in 78 A.D. may therefore be accepted.

The dates for Gautamīputra (74 a.C.-130 a.C.), Puṣumāvi (78 A.D.-148 a.C.), Bhūmaka,

Nahapāna, Uṣabhadāta and Āyāma (78 A.D.-124 a.C.) Ysamotika, Caṣṭana, Jayadāman and Rudradāman (78 A.D.-150 a.C.) and the fact that the western satraps were feudatory to the Andhras will explain the shuffling of territory that is supposed to have taken place by Rapson and others. (Cca. pp. cxx, cxxi.) The epoch of the Śaka era 78 A.D. is the key-date of Andhra chronology of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi's times. See Table XI.

TABLE XI. CHRONOLOGY OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆĪ'S TIMES

- 34 a.C. Gautamī Balaśrī's birth (approximate date.)
 54 a.C. Gautamīputra's birth (approximate date.)
 73 a.C. Puḷumāvi's birth (approximate date.)
 74 a.C. Gautamīputra's accession.
 78 A.D. Gautamīputra starts Śaka era.
 78 A.D. Puḷumāvi as provincial governor of the Dakṣiṇā-patha under Balaśrī.
 78 A.D. Balaśrī as regent in charge of Puḷumāvi.
 78 A.D. Bhūmaka or his son Nahapāna is appointed Satrap of Mahārāṣṭra.
 78 A.D. Yaśmotika or his son Caṣṭana is appointed Satrap of Mālava.
 92 a.C. Gautamīputra makes a gift of Uṣabhadāta's lands.
 97 a.C. Balaśrī inscription.
 98 a.C. Balaśrī's death.
 98 a.C. Jivasūtā inscription.
 119 A.D. } Uṣabhadāta's inscriptions
 123 A.D. }
 124 A.D. Āyāma inscription
 130 a.C. Gautamīputra's death
 130 a.C. Puḷumāvi's accession
 148 a.C. Puḷumāvi's death
 150 A.D. Rudradāman's coin.

Caṣṭana's date lies between 78 a.C. and 124 a.C. Rudradāman's daughter's marriage with Puḷumāvi took place some time between, say, 100 a.C. and 130 a.C.; Rudradāman defeated his son-in-law also some time between these dates.

12. QUEEN NĀYANIKĀ AND GAUTAMĪPUTRA YAJÑASRĪ ŚĀTAKARṆĪ

179. *Nanaghat Inscriptions and Epigraphic Evidence.* I shall now consider the Nanaghat inscriptions of queen Nāyanikā or Nāganikā. These inscriptions are numbered 1112 to 1118 in the Lüders List. There is difference of opinion among scholars as regards the relation the different individuals, mentioned in the inscriptions, bear to one another. The incubus of epigraphic oracle has prevented historians from arriving at unbiassed opinions in their discussions of these famous inscriptions. I have already shown that we can safely brush aside epigraphic verdict if it clashes with other evidence (51-61), and this remark is particularly applicable to the present case.

180. *The Images and Names.* These inscriptions are found on the walls of a large cave at the top of the Nanaghat pass that leads from the Konkan to Junar in West Poona. The cave was very likely a rest-chamber for ascetics. On the two side-walls are long lines of inscriptions recording various gifts made in connection with Vedic sacrifices by the queen Nāyanikā, mother of prince Vedisiri. On the left wall there are 10 lines of inscriptions and on the right wall also 10. On the back wall there were originally 9 relieve figures now entirely destroyed. Above the

heads of the figures are inscriptions, apparently showing the names of the personages represented by the figures. The inscriptions over the respective positions of the 9 figures are given below:

- (1) Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano srimata
- (2) Devi Nāyanikāya rano cha
- (3) Siri Sātakaṇiṇo
- (4) Kumāro Bhāya
- (5) (Inscription lost)
- (6) ()
- (7) Mahārathi Trānakayiro (Bühler) or
Maharathagrianka Yiro (Indraji)
- (8) Kumāro Hakusiri
- (9) Kumāro Sātavāhana

181. *The Date of Nanaghat Inscriptions.* The inscriptions on the side-walls mention (i) Kumāra Vedisiri and another person apparently (ii) a king whose name ended in 'siri' and (iii) whose wife was the mother of Vedisiri and Sati Sirimata and lastly (iv) a mahārathi. The names over the heads of the figures and in the inscriptions on the side-walls have been supposed to correspond. Vedisiri is perhaps referred to as 'kumaro sātavāhana' the name over figure 9, Sati Sirimata as 'Kumaro Hakusiri' the name over figure 8, and the mother of Vedisiri and Sati Sirimata as 'Devi Nāyanikā' the name over figure 2. Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhana has been supposed by most scholars to have been the father of the king whose name ends in 'sri' in the inscription. This is an entirely gratuitous assumption. I am inclined to place the inscriptions and Devi Nāyanikā and others some time between 412 a.C. and 418 a.C. for reasons mentioned below. The conservatism of State engravers as also the presence of other inscriptions near at hand, which served as epigraphic models to them, would explain the old form of the Nanaghat script.

182. *Seven Andhrabhṛtyas and twenty-three Andhras.* The purāṇas state that there were 19 Andhra kings (Mtp-a. 273. 16) followed by 7 Andhrabhṛtyas who were also of the Andhra race. (Mtp-a. 273. 17, 18; Vap-a. 99. 358, 359.) This gives us $(19+7=)$ 26 successive kings. The purāṇas do not say anything specifically about the last 4 kings. Since all the 30 kings were Andhras and since only 7 have been definitely stated to be Andhrabhṛtyas the remaining 23 must have been Andhras other than Andhrabhṛtyas. Of these 23 the first 19 ruled before the 7 Andhrabhṛtyas. The reign of the Andhrabhṛtyas began with the 20th king and ended with the 26th. The last 4 kings must therefore be Andhras of the old stock. This puranic account may fit the inscriptional records if we assume that the Viḷivāyakuras and Śivalakuras were Andhrabhṛtyas. King No. 23, who has been called Gautamīputra and who has been wrongly identified with the Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions, could then be

taken to be Gautamīputra Viṣivāyakura. His predecessor king No. 22, called Śivasvāti or Śivasvāmi, would be identified with Māthariputra Svāmi Sakasena or Sakasada, and kings No. 20 and No. 21 with Vāsiṣṭhiputra Viṣivāyakura and Māthariputra Śivalakura respectively. The Baleokouros of Hippokouros of Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) cannot be any of these Viṣivāyakuras as the dates for kings No. 20, No. 21 and No. 23 range from 307 a.C. to 361 a.C. It is probable that the Viṣivāyakuras had been ruling as hereditary provincial governors from an early time before they came to occupy the imperial throne. However nice the fit may be, it should be kept in mind that in the absence of dates in inscriptions and coins of these kings their respective identities with the puranic kings remain always a proposition of doubtful value even when similarity of names can be found. We may tentatively accept these identifications so long as any conflicting evidence is not forthcoming.

183. *Andhra sub-clans and the meaning of the word Viṣivāyakura.* According to Vāyu 99. 358 the L. Andhra Sub-Clans Andhras were divided into five sub-clans which were all contemporaneous. The sub-clans may be surmised to have been as follows: (1) the Śātavāhanas, (2) the Cūtus, (3) the Mudās, (4) the Viṣivāyas and (5) the Ābhīras. Regarding the name Viṣivāyakura it may be pointed out that the word 'vāya' means 'leader'. (Sed.) 'Viṣivāya' means 'leader or lord of viṣi'. 'Kura' is the same as 'kula' or 'kuda' or 'kada' (as in Cūtukadānanda) and means 'sub-clan' or 'family'. There is an author named Viṣinātha Kavi who wrote a drama called 'Madanmañjari Nāṭaka'. (Burnell, 170a. A classified index to the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.) The name 'Viṣinātha' is identical in meaning with 'Viṣivāya'. Viṣinātha might have been very well the name of a local Śiva image. The ancient town of Vellore (North Arcot) used to be known as Vella (MMW. Sed), and Viṣinātha was probably the deity of the place. If this guess be correct Śivalakura and Viṣivāyakura would refer to the same sub-clan; the sub-clan derived its name from the presiding deity of the place. According to the purāṇas there were 10 Ābhīra kings who were also Andhrabhṛtyas. Their rule, like that of the other 7 Andhrabhṛtyas mentioned in the same śloka, was contemporaneous with the rule of the Andhras and was included in the total period of Andhra reign. (Vap-a. 99. 358, 359; Mtp-a. 273. 17, 18.) The Ābhīras were thus Andhras and belonged to one of the royal sub-clans. Īvarsena, Īvardatta and the other Ābhīras were not interlopers as has been supposed by some scholars. That the Ābhīras belonged to a royal sub-clan of the Andhras explains the fact that Īvardattā, although he was a mere mahākṣatrapa, dated his records in regnal years. It is probable that there were 10 Ābhīra kings of the Traikūṭaka family counting backwards from Dahrasena.

184. *The last 4 Śātavāhanas.* We may therefore assume that the reign of the Śātavāhana sub-clan ended with the death of the 19th king. After this the imperial Andhra throne passed into the hands of other Andhra sub-clans whose rule ended with the 26th king. The Śātavāhanas were re-established on the throne from the time of Yajñaśrī the 27th king till the end of the dynasty in 435 a.C. Pulomā was the 30th and the last Śātavāhana king.

185. *Hindu Religious Revival.* It is likely that although the early Andhra kings of the Śātavāhana sub-clan followed Hindu ideals and traditions, as can be seen from the Balaśrī inscription, the later Andhrabhṛtyas were more inclined towards Buddhism and Jainism. The large number of gifts made to monks of these faiths may be taken as an index of their popularity. When the Śātavāhanas re-established themselves as paramount lords they tried to revive Hindu religious practices. The name Yajñaśrī the first of the later Śātavāhanas is itself an indication of Hindu religious revival. It may be surmised that the Nanaghat inscriptions were executed at the order of Nāyanikā, the queen of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, after the death of her husband at the time when Vijaya the 28th king was on the throne, i.e., between 412 and 418 a.C. Vijaya might have been a brother of Yajñaśrī. Nāyanikā was perhaps the regent in charge of her minor son Vedisiri who was the provincial governor of the Dakṣiṇāpatha (line 2, left wall). She appears to have acted in the same capacity for her son as Balaśrī had done for Puḷumāvi.

186. *Meaning of the name Hakusiri.* Nāyanikā celebrated vedic sacrifices on a lavish scale. Her son was named Vedisiri the Sanskrit equivalent of which would be Vedaśrī. Her other son was named Hakusiri which is very likely the Prākṛita form of Sūktaśrī meaning 'the grace of vedic sūkta or mantra'. Sūktaśrī would be converted into Śaktuśrī and then into Hakusiri in Prākṛita. Bühler writes: 'Hakusiri, which, according to the method of spelling used in ancient inscriptions, may stand for Hakkusiri, would correspond exactly to Sanskrit Śaktuśrī, "he whose glory is the (sacrificial) barley-flour"' (aswi. V. p. 64. n.) The occurrence of the name 'Sati Sirimata' in line 4, left wall, has led Bühler and others to identify him with Kumāro Hakusiri of the relievo figure. Bühler writes: 'Now if Śakti is the Sanskrit etymon of Sati, it is quite possible that Haku, which, according to the method of spelling adopted in the old inscriptions, may stand for Hakku, is another stronger prakrit corruption of Śakti'. (*ibid.*, p. 68.) In my opinion the original name of the prince was Sūktaśrī which suffered change in two directions, one as already stated and the other as follows: Sūktaśrī—Śaktiśrī—Śatiśrī—Satisiri. Bühler is perhaps right in guessing that Hakusiri, who was the elder brother of Vedisiri,

'was dead at the time when the inscription was incised'. (*ibid.*, p. 69.)

187. *Vedaśrī, Vadaśrī and Cadasāti*. It is quite in the fitness of things that the two sons of Yajñaśrī should have been named Sūktaśrī and Vedaśrī. In the purāṇas the name of the 29th king shows several variant forms, e.g., Candraśrī (Viṣṇu), Caṇḍaśrī (Mtp-a.), Daṇḍaśrī (Vap-a.) and Vadaśrī (Radcliffe Mtp.; Vip-w. IV. p. 201). The last name Vadaśrī may be taken to be a corrupt form of Vedaśrī. In coins we find the name 'Vāsithiputa Śiri Cada Sāti'. Referring to the coins of this king Rapson remarks that his name is spelt in two ways, *viz.*, either with a dental or with a lingual d. (Cca. p. 30 n.) The name of the king has been called Vada Śātakaṇṇi by Vincent Smith. (*ibid.*) Support is thus found from coins for almost all the variant names recorded by the purāṇas. Chinese records describe this king as Yue-ai, *i.e.*, Candraśrī.

188. *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vedaśrī*. Yajñaśrī has been called Gautamīputra in inscriptions and coins. Gautamīputra's wife cannot belong to Gautama gotra. She may be a Vāsiṣṭhī. The queen of the sixth Andhra king the great Gautamīputra was a Vāsiṣṭhī. It appears that Nāyanikā, the queen of Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra, was also a Vāsiṣṭhī; her son Vedisiri may be taken to be the Vadasiri of the coins who was a Vāsiṣṭhīputra.

189. *Śisuka is probably the correct name of the first Andhra King*. Now coming to the name Simuka that appears over the first relievo figure Bhagvanlal Indraji writes 'Dr. Bühler has suggested that Simuka the first statue in the Nanaghat chamber is Śisuka, the first name which occurs in the Matsya Purāṇ list. This suggestion seems probable and is supported by the consideration that the Śipraka of the Vishnu, the Sindhuka of the Vayu, and the Śisuka of the Matsya Purans appear to be all corruptions of the Nanaghat name Simuka, arising from a misreading of the letter *mu*, a mistake which seems to have been made about the fourth or fifth century. At that time *mu* might be read either as *pra*, *shu* or *dhu*, and each Puran writer adopted the reading he thought to be the best. And as Sishuka and Sidhuka seemed meaningless names they were changed into Śisuka and Sindhuka'. (bg. XVI. p. 612.) Chances are against the assumption that the first Andhra king had a name without a meaning. During the Andhra period even Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas sported Sanskrit names. If in the fifth century A.D. it was possible to read *mu* as *shu* the reverse was also true. As the Nanaghat inscription was executed some time after 412 a.C. it might be that the original name Śisuka in the copy was read as Simuka by the engraver. Then again there is another possibility. The letter 'śa' occurs rarely in Prākṛita words and it is likely that many variants of this letter existed one of which resembled 'ma'. To my eye the letter supposed to be 'ma'

LII. Simuka and Śisuka.

in the word read as 'Simuka' appears to be somewhat different from the other ma's, e.g., in the word 'kumara' occurring in the Nanaghat inscription. The upper part of the middle letter in the word read as 'Simuka' resembles more a V than the half circle of other ma's. There is just the possibility that the letter is 'śa' and not 'ma'. The resemblance would be explained by the supposition that the inscription was executed at a time when the two letters could be confused. The occurrence of sporadic forms of letters in inscriptions is not a rarity. Vincent Smith writes 'Many alphabetical forms specially characteristic of Gupta inscriptions are found sporadically in Kuṣāna records (see No. 46 of List of Inscriptions) while on the other hand, Gupta documents often exhibit archaic forms specially characteristic of the Kuṣāna age'. (The Kuṣān Period of Indian History, Jras. 1913. p. 35.)

190. *Nanaghat Inscriptions were very likely executed by the Queen of Yajñaśrī.* The assumption that the Nanaghat inscriptions were executed by the queen of Yajñaśrī is thus seen to be supported by the following arguments: (i) the names Sūktaśrī and Vedaśrī of the princes are in conformity with the name Yajñaśrī of the father. The worn out name of the king in the inscription ends with a 'sri'; (ii) vedic rites in place of Buddhist ceremonies were likely to have been inaugurated by royal personages on the re-establishment to the throne of the Śātavāhana sub-clan. This occurred at the time of Yajñaśrī, i.e., about 403 A.C.; (iii) the placing of relievo figure of Śīśuka the first Śātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, along with those of the other members of Yajñaśrī's family to emphasize the fact that the Śātavāhana sub-clan was re-established; (iv) the identification of Vedisiri with the 29th king; and (v) lastly the probable occurrence of a sporadic form of the letter 'śa' peculiar to the fifth century A.D. in the inscription. In spite of the plausibility of the above arguments it must be kept in mind that since the Nanaghat inscriptions bear no date the identifications cannot be considered as certain. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Yajñaśrī's queen Nāyanikā, the Sanskrit form of whose name is Nāganikā, belonged to a Nāga family. Śīśuka the first Andhra king was also connected with the Nāgas.

191. *Peculiarities of the Joghalembhi Hoard.* Gautamīputra

LIII. Yajñaśrī
and Restruck Coins
of Nahapāna

Śrī Yajña Śātakarni like his illustrious ancestor and namesake Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni, the sixth Andhra king, was a powerful monarch. The variety of his coins and the extent of their provenance clearly show his superior position among the Andhra kings. For some reason which cannot be definitely specified restruck and double-struck Andhra coins begin to make their appearance at the time of the Viṣivāyakuras downwards. The restruck coins of Nahapāna, however, are

generally ascribed to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the sixth king, wrongly supposed to be the 23rd king. I have an impression that these coins, all of which, without any exception, are to be traced to a single hoard, viz., the Joghaltembhi find, were restruck at the time of Yajñaśrī. About 300 years had elapsed at the time of Yajñaśrī since Nahapāna issued his coins. Somebody found the hoard and had a portion of them restruck in order to be able to use the coins. That there was no original coin of Gautamīputra or of anybody else in the hoard is a strong proof of the fact that the restamping was done after the hoard had been found. Nahapāna's coins seem to have been restruck with different dies. It is likely that in order to avoid the confiscation of any part of the hoard by the State under the treasure trove act of the times (29) the discoverer was getting the coins restamped in small quantities in different places representing them to be his heirloom. This must have been a slow process. The discoverer died leaving the hoard hidden, and a part of it unstamped. Scott writes 'The great variety of dies used in making the counter-impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places'. (The Nasik-Joghaltembhi-Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins, Rev. H. R. Scott, *Jbbrs.* XXII. p. 241.) Rapson writes 'The latter class, (restruck coins of Nahapāna) which comprises more than two-thirds of the total number of coins found, has, struck over the ordinary types of Nahapāna, the Andhra types, obv. "Caitya with inscr." : rev. "Ujjain symbol", which appear together on lead coins of Puṣumāvi, Śiva Śrī, Canda Śāti and Śrī Yajña, but which had not previously been found associated on coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. So far as is known at present, these types were not used for any independent silver coinage, but were simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency'. (Cca. p. lxxxix.)

192. *Coins bearing the Legend 'Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi'.* The facts noted above will be best explained by the supposition that Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi did not issue any coin having ascended the imperial throne without a probationary period of provincial governorship. On the other hand, Yajñaśrī had a long period of provincial reign, viz., 18 years or more, and it is he that is responsible for all the coins bearing the legend 'Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi'. The conchshell symbol, if it has been correctly deciphered, that exists in the coin ascribed to Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (Cca. p. 17), is peculiar to Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi; this is another argument in favour of the assertion that Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, the sixth king, the so-called conqueror of Nahapāna, did not mint any coin at all.

13. SOME TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS

193. *Difficulties in identifying the 'Pulumāvi' of the Coins.*

LIV. Kṛṣṇa and
Vāsiṭhīputra Śiva-
śrī Pulumāvi

The inscriptions and coins of other Andhra kings or of their satraps need not be considered for the present as they do not throw any fresh light on Andhra chronology; neither do they help us in establishing the identities of puranic Andhra kings. I should like to point out that king Kṛṣṇa of the Nasik inscription, Lüders No. 1144, and of the coin (Cca. p. 48) may not after all be the second puranic king of the same name. There is another Kṛṣṇa, apparently also of the Śātavāhana sub-clan, in the puranic list, viz., No. 16 who has been called Nemikṛṣṇa (Vap) or Gorakṣakṛṣṇa (Vip-w.) He may very well be the person mentioned in the inscription and the coin. Martin has described two coins of Pulumāvi with the legends 'Śivaśrī Pulumaviṣa' and 'Vāsiṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumaviṣa' respectively. (Numismatic Supplement for 1934, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 318, p. 61 N.) These coins raise grave doubts about the hitherto accepted identifications of the several Pulumāvis appearing in the puranic list; in view of this find, ascribing a particular coin to a particular Pulumāvi becomes a very difficult if not an impossible task. There is nothing to show in the coins themselves whether all of them that have the legend Pulumāvi belong to the same king or to different kings bearing the same name. The name, found in Martin's coins, 'Sivasri' suggests the later Andhras. According to the Ānandāśram Matsya the name of the 25th king is Śivaśrī Pulomā; Viṣṇu calls him Śātakarṇi Śivaśrī, the Radcliffe manuscript calls him simply Śivaśrī. Very likely the coins with the legend 'Vāsiṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumavi' are to be ascribed to this king. K. N. Dikshit has lately described a copper coin with the legend 'Raño Sivasiris Āpilakasa'. (Jrasb. Numis. Supplement. XLVII. pp. 93, 94 N.) This coin may be ascribed to the eighth king tentatively.

194. *Filling up the gaps.* I have already established four points of contact between the puranic and the inscriptional series of Andhra kings on the basis of independent dates on both sides and of similarity of names. An attempt may now be made to indicate the inscriptional and coin names of some of the remaining 26 kings. The identifications of these kings are bound to be tentative as no dates other than puranic are available. Neither is there any other indication that might definitely fix their individual positions in the puranic list. A reference to Table XII will show the proposed identifications.

LV. Some Tenta-
tive Identifications

TABLE XII. IDENTIFICATIONS

No.	Date	Purāna	Inscription and Coin	REMARKS
1	21 b.C.	Śisuka	Simuka	Contemporary of Vikramāditya. Is. 1113. Identification certain.
2	2 a.C.	Kṛṣṇa	Kaṇha	(Is. 346, 1144; Cca. p. 48?). See king No. 16.
3	20	Śrī Mallakārṇi	....	Puranic variants—Śrī Kantakārṇi, Śrī Sātakārṇi.
4	38	Pūrṇotsanga	....	....
5	56	Skandhaṣṭambhi	....	....
6	74	Śrī Sātakārṇi	Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakārṇi.	Is. 1123, 1125, 1126 (Cca. pp. 17, 68?). Identification certain.
7	130	Lambodara	Vāsisthiputra Śrī Pulomāvi.	Son of No. 6. Is. 1123 (Cca. pp. 20-24?). Identification certain.
8	148	Āpitaka	Śivaśrī Āpilaka	(Jrasb. Numis. Suplmt. XLVII. p. 93. N. ?).
9	160	Meghasvāti	....	....
10	178	Svāti	....	....
11	196	Skandhasvāti	....	....
12	203	Mrigendra Svātikarṇa	....	....
13	206	Kuntala Svātikarṇa	....	....
14	214	Svātikarṇa	....	....
15	215	Pulomāvit	....	....
16	251	Gorakṣakṛṣṇa	....	Puranic variant—Paturnān. See kings Nos. 7, 24, 25, 30.
17	276	Hāla	....	Puranic variants—Nemikṛṣṇa, Vikṛṣṇa. See king No. 2.
18	281	Pattalaka	....	Associated with Hāla—Saptasātaka.
19	286	Purindrasena	....	....
20	307	Sundara Sāntikarṇa	Vāsisthiputra Viṭivāyākura.	Śātavahāna rule ends. Mtp-a. 273. 16. First of the Andhrabhṛtyas. (Cca. p. 5?)

21	312	Cakora Svātikarṇa	Mātharīputra Śivalakura	Cca. p. 7. Restruck coins of previous king.
22	312	Śivasvāti	Mātharīputra Svāmi Sakasena.	Puranic variant—Śivasvāmi (ls. 1001, 1002?)
23	340	Gautamīputra	Gautamīputra Viḷivāyākura.	Cca. p. 13. Restruck coins of kings Nos. 20, 21.
24	361	Pulomā	....	See kings Nos. 7, 15, 25, 30.
25	389	Śivaśrī Śāntikarṇa	Vāsisthīputra Sivaśrī Pulomāvi.	Mtp-a. 273. 13. Martin's coins.
26	396	Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi	Śrī Sivamaka Sāta	(ls. 1279?) The last of the Andhra-bhrtvas. Mtp-a. 273. 17, 18.
27	403	Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi.	ls. 987, 1024, 1146, 1340. Cca. pp. 34-45. Vip-w. IV. pp. 201-205. Identification certain.
28	412	Vijaya	....	....
29	418	Candraśrī Śātakarṇi	Vāsisthīputra Śrī Candra Sati.	ls. 1341, R., p. 30. Ehi. p. 316 n. Puranic variant—Vadaśrī. ls. 1112. Identification certain.
30	428 435	Pulomā	....	See kings Nos. 7, 15, 24 and 25. End of the Andhra Empire.

14. RECONSTRUCTED ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

195. *Chronological History.* The chronological history of the Andhra period may now be summarized. For further details and for information of the social and the economic condition of the people during this period reference may be made to the writings of other workers on Andhra history.

LVI.
Recon-
structed
Andhra
Chronology

196. *Reconstructed Andhra History.* About 66 b.C. Devabhūti, the last of the Śuṅga kings, was murdered by his brāhmaṇa minister Vasudeva who usurped the throne. Vasudeva belonged to the Kaṇva family. The Kaṇvas traced their descent to the ancient Puru dynasty. The Kaṇvas were originally kṣatriyas and became brāhmaṇas later on. (Vip-b. IV. 19. 2, 10.) In spite of their kṣatriya blood the Kaṇvas were weak rulers. Towards the end of Vasudeva's reign a provincial governor, with his capital at Ujjayini, Vikramāditya by name, broke free from the Kaṇva yoke, annexed adjoining territories and declared himself an independent king. In 21 b.C. another provincial governor of the Kaṇvas, named Śiśuka, killed the last Kaṇva king Suśarman and captured the imperial throne. The short reign of the Kaṇva dynasty came to an end in 21 b.C. Śiśuka was an Andhra and a śūdra by caste. His capital was at Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paithan. Very likely he was a Nāga originally belonging to Andhradeśa. He came of a clan called Śātakarṇi, and the sub-clan or family to which he belonged was named Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana. The Śātakarṇis followed the matriarchal social system prevalent in the Deccan. Śiśuka's ancestors were hereditary provincial governors from the time of the Śuṅgas. The long association of the Śātakarṇis with the people of the west was responsible for their giving up the matriarchal form of inheritance although in other matters they observed matriarchal custom. Amongst the Śātakarṇis the succession often devolved upon brothers in preference to the son. This compromise between the patriarchal and the matriarchal system of inheritance was probably one of the most important factors that led to the appointment of princes of the royal blood as provincial governors and the appointment of dowager queens as regents when the princes happened to be minors.

197. *Bid for Sovereignty.* When Śiśuka ascended the imperial throne in 21 b.C. he found a formidable rival in Vikramāditya. A bid for sovereignty ensued between these two powerful and ambitious princes. Vikramāditya was overthrown in about 18 b.C. after a great fight and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Śiśuka during the rest of his life. It appears that the province of Mālava, conquered at so much cost, was lost to the Andhras some time after the death of Śiśuka probably as a result of the rise of the Kuṣāna power. After Śiśuka's death in 2 a.C. his brother Kṛṣṇa became the king. Nothing definite is

known about the princes who came after Śiśuka till we come to the sixth king who was called Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi.

198. *The Great Gautamīputra.* Gautamīputra was a great king. He ascended the throne in 74 A.C. He succeeded in reconquering all his ancestral dominions, in subjugating the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas that had formed small independent principalities, and in conquering other kṣatriya kings of his time who had defied Andhra supremacy. His greatest military exploit was the conquest of the Khakharātas, a family of powerful Śaka emperors. Gautamīputra re-established the prestige of his family. He was generous towards his defeated enemies, and he appointed them as provincial governors under him. He had several Śaka governors as satraps. He appointed Caṣṭana the Śaka to the governorship of the reconquered province of Mālava and Bhūmaka, another Śaka, to the rulership of Mahārāṣṭra. Gautamīputra came to be known as the friend of the Śakas and was called Śakāditya. He founded an era to commemorate his victories in 78 A.D. The era was known as Śakāvda and also as the Śālivāhana era.

199. *Provincial Governors under Gautamīputra.* All provincial governors and satraps under Gautamīputra, unless they belonged to the royal family, had to record State events in terms of his era. The provincial governors, however, were allowed great latitude in all matters. They waged wars on their own account, and minted coins. The imperial authority did not interfere in these affairs. It remained satisfied so long as it regularly got its dues. This arrangement lent strength to the imperial Andhras and was perhaps one of the reasons that contributed to the long reign of the Andhra dynasty.

200. *The Andhras and the Kuṣānas.* The relation of the Andhras to the Kuṣānas is not at all clear. That two powerful empires should exist side by side without coming into conflict with each other is rather strange. It is stranger still that no record of their mutual relationship should be left in coins and inscriptions. If it is proved that the Kuṣānas used the Śaka era then that would be a strong presumptive evidence in favour of the assumption that the Kuṣānas were feudatories to the Andhras for a part of their empire at least. Gautamīputra's mother records in an inscription that her son conquered the Khakharātas who, as there are reasons to believe, were a very powerful dynasty of kings. If the use of the Śaka era by the Kuṣānas is substantiated it would be possible to identify either Kadphises I or Kadphises II, whoever of these two died in 78 A.D., with the Khakharāta mentioned in the inscription. It is interesting to note in this connection that although Kaniṣka has been described as 'rājātirāja' in inscriptions in pursuance of his family custom, he does not use this title in any of his coins. No separate Indian name for the Kuṣānas exists; they were grouped together with the Śakas, a name familiar to Indians for

many centuries past, having come through the same route, one in the wake of the other. According to Laufer, the Yue-chi, the people to which the Kuṣānas belonged, were Scythic Iranians. (Ehi. p. 264. n.) The Kuṣānas could thus be known as Śakas. The Kuṣāna kings appear to have been called Śakarāts or Śaka emperors; Khakharāta is probably the Prākṛita form of Śakarāt. All this however is mere conjecture at the present state of our knowledge, and we must wait for further information before any definite opinion can be pronounced in this matter.

201. *The End of the Andhra Empire.* The Śātavāhana sub-clan enjoyed uninterrupted reign from 21 b.C. to 307 a.C. when the Andhrabhṛtyas, who were provincial governors under the Śātavāhanas and very probably related to them, came into power. The old Andhra stock of Śātavāhanas occupied the imperial throne again in 403 a.C. when Yajñaśrī became king. Yajñaśrī was a great prince and he tried to revive the glory of the Śātavāhana family. He, it seems, was a supporter of Hindu religion as distinguished from Buddhism and Jainism. The Hindu revival that attained its acme about the time of the Guptas started in Andhra times. The Andhra empire which began in 21 b.C. came to an end in 435 a.C. having lasted for four centuries and a half. Minor Andhra princes continued to reign in isolated provinces either as independent kings or as provincial governors under other kings for a long time afterwards. If the date of the Gupta era has been correctly fixed the great Andhra empire must have shown signs of disintegration with the rise of the Guptas from about 320 A.D.

202. *Andhras as Patrons of Learning.* The Andhras appear to have been enlightened rulers under whom arts and commerce flourished. They were patrons of learning. The names of two Andhra kings, viz., Śiśuka and Hāla, are connected with literary works. The science of astronomy received great encouragement at Vikramāditya's court and it was at his time that Ujjayini became the zero point from which longitudes are calculated in Indian astronomical works. This was a great achievement of Vikramāditya. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, who founded the Śaka era, must have followed the scientific traditions of Vikramāditya's times. The use of the Śaka era in later astronomical works shows that the Andhras had a share also in the revival of Hindu astronomy that began in the first century before the Christian era.

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APPENDIX

BALAŚRI INSCRIPTION. PANDU-LENA CAVES. NASIK

Lüders No. 1123. Transliteration according to
BLI. bg. XVI. 1883. pp. 550, 551. Inscription 2.
[For translation see (150)]

- Line 1. siddha[m] raño vāsithiputasa siripu[m]māyisa savachare
ekunavise 19 gimhāna pakhe bitīye 2 divase terase
13 rājaraño gotamīputasa himavatmeru—
- Line 2. ma[n]darapavatasamsārasa asikasusakamu[ak]asura-
ṭhakukurāparātaanupavidabha ākarāba[n]tirājasa
vi[ñ]jha[r]chavatapāricāta sahyakaṇhagirima[n]-
casiriṭanamalayamahi[n]da—
- Line 3. setagiricakorapavatapatisa savarājalogama[n]ḍala-
patigahītasāsanaśa divasakarakaravibodhitakamala-
bimala sadisabadanasa tisamudatoyapītavāhanasa
paṭipunacadama[n]ḍalasasirika—
- Line 4. piyadasanasa varavāraṇavikamacāruvikamasa bhuja-
gapatibhoga pīnabaṭavipuladīghasu[n]darabhujasa
abhyodakadānakilinanibhayakarasa avipanamātu-
sususāka[ra]sa suvibhatativagadesakālāsa—
- Line 5. porajanānivisesasamasukhadukhasa khatiyadapamā-
namadanasa sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasā dha-
mopajitakaravinīyogakarasa kitāparadhepi satujane
apānahi[m]sārucisa dijjāvarakuṭubavivadha—
- Line 6. nasa khakharātava[m]saniravasesakarasa sātavāhana-
kulayasapatīthāpanakarasa savama[n]ḍalābhivā-
ditaca[r]aṇasa vinivatitacātuvāṇasa[n]karasa aneka-
samarāvajitasatusaghasa aparājītavijayapatāka-
sa[sa]tujanadu padhasaniya—
- Line 7. puravarasa kulapurisa para[m]parāgatavipulārāja-
sadasa āgamānaṁ nilayasa sapurisaṇa asayasa siriya
adhīthānasa upacārānaṁ pabhavasa eka[n]kusasa
ekadhanudharasa ekasūrasa ekabamhaṇasa rāma—
- Line 8. kesavājunabhīmasenatulaparakamasa chanayanusava-
samājakārakasa nābhāganahusajanamejayasakara-
yayātīrāmā[m]barīsasamatejasa aparimitamakha-
yamacitamabhutaṁ pavanagaruḍasidhayakha-
rakhasavijādharabhūtaga[n]dhavacāraṇa—
- Line 9. ca[n]dadivākaranakhatagahaviciṇasamarasirasi jitari-
pusa[n]ghasanagavarakhadhāgaganatalamabhivigā-
ḍhasa kulavipulasirīkarasa sirīsātakaṇṣa mātuya
mahādevīya gotamiya balasirīya sacavacanadāna-
khamāhimsānīratāya tapadamaniya—
- Line 10. mopavāsataparāya rajarisivadhusadamakhilamanu-
vidhīyamānāyakārīta[m] deyadham
sikhahasadise tiraṇhupavatasikhare vimānavarani-

visesamahidhikalena eta ca lena mahādevi mahā-
rājamātā mahārājapa(pi)tāmahi dadāti nikāyasa
bhadāvanīyāna bhikhusaṅghasa

- Line 11. etasa ca lenasa cittaṇanimita[m] mahādeviya ayakāya
sevākāmo piyakāmo ca nā..... [dakṣiṇā] pathe-
saro pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti gama[m]
tiraṇhupavatasa aparadakhinapase pisājipadakam
savajātabhoganirāṭhi.

GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI AND JIVASŪTĀ INSCRIPTIONS
PANDU-LENA CAVES. NASIK

Lüders No. 1125 and No. 1126. Transliteration
according to BLI. bg. XVI. 1883. pp. 558-560.

Inscriptions No. 4 and No. 5.

[For translation see (169, 170, 171)]

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi Inscription.

- Line 1. sidham senāye vejyaṇṭiye vijayakhadhāvārā govo-
dhanasa benākatakāsvāmi gotamiputo sirisadakāṇi
Line 2. ānapayati govodhane amaca[m] viṇhupālitaṁ gāme
aparakakhaḍiyaṁ yaṁ khetāṁ ajakālakiyaṁ uṣa-
bhadātena bhūtam nivatana
Line 3. satāni bo 200 eta amhaketa[m] nivataṇasatāni bo 200
imesa pavajitāna tekirasina vitarāma etasa casa
katasa parihāra[m]
Line 4. vitarāma apāvesa anomasa alonakhādaka arāṭhasa-
vinayika savajātaparihārika ca etahi na parihārehi
pariharahi
Line 5. ete casa ketaparihareca etha nibadho lihi suviyeṇa
āṇataṁ amacena sivagutena chato mahāsāmiyeḥi
uparakhitā
Line 6. datā paṭikā savachare 18 vasāpakhe 2 divase 1 tāpa-
sa(sā)na kaṭā.

Jivasūtā Inscription. "There is a holy cross or svastika mark at
the end of inscription 4 (Gautamīputra inscription given
above) in the middle of line six. Inscription 5 (Jivasūtā
inscription as given below) begins just after with 'siddham'."
(BLI. bg. Vol. XVI. 1883. p. 558.)

Line 6 (of previous inscription continued).

Siddha govadhane amacasa
sa(sā)makasadeyo rājanito

- Line 7. raṇo gotamīputasa satakaṇisa mahādeviya ca jīva-
sūtāya rājamātuya vacanena govadhana [ama]co
sāmako ārogavatavo tato eva(m)

- Line 8. vatavo etha amhehi pavate tiraṇhumhi amhadhamā-
dāne leṇe pativasatāna pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme
kakhaḍḍisu puvakhetam data(m) ta ca khetā

- Line 9. va(vi)kasate so ca gāmo na vasati evaṁ sati yadāni
etha nagarasīme rājakaṁ khetam amhasatakaṁ
tato etasa pavajitāna bhikhūna teraṇhukānaṁ
dadama
- Line 10. khetasa nivataṇa sataṁ 100 tasa ca khetasa pariḥāraṁ
vitarāma apāvesa anomasa alonaḥhādaka araṭha-
savinayika savajātapāriḥārika ca
- Line 11. etehi na pariḥārehi pariḥaratha eta casa khetapari-
hāra[m] ca etha nibadhāpetha subiyena ānata
paṭihārakhiya[m] lāja[ni]yamata lekhe savachare 24.
- Line 12. vāsāna pakhe 4 divase paṁcame 5 pu[va]jitinā kaṭā
nibadhā nibadhō savachare 24 gimhāṇapakhe 2
divase 10

PURANIC ŚLOKAS RELATING TO ANDHRA SUB-CLANS

Vap-a. 99. 357, 358 and 359

pulovāpi samāḥ sapta anyeṣāṁ* ca bhaviṣyati
ityete vai nṛpāśtrīṁśadandhrā bhokṣyanti ye mahīm
samāḥ śatānicatvāri pañca ṣaḍvai tathaiva ca
andhrānām saṁsthitāḥ pañca teṣāṁ varṁśāḥ samāḥ punaḥ
saptaiva tu bhaviṣyanti daśābhīrāstatō nṛpāḥ
sapta gardabhinaścāpi tatotha daśa vai śakāḥ

Prose order or anvaya :

pulovā api sapta samāḥ [bhaviṣyati]/ anyeṣāṁ* [andhrā-
nām] ca [rājyaṁ] bhaviṣyati/ iti ete vai ye trīṁśat andhrāḥ
nṛpāḥ catvāri śatāni tathā vai pañca ṣaṭ samāḥ eva ca mahīm
bhokṣyanti/ teṣāṁ pañca varṁśāḥ punaḥ samāḥ (samakālīnāḥ)
saṁsthitāḥ/ [mūlavarṁśāt anyasmin varṁśe] andhrāḥ sapta
eva bhaviṣyanti tataḥ daśa ābhīrāḥ nṛpāḥ [bhaviṣyanti]/
gardabhinaḥ ca api sapta atha tataḥ śakāḥ daśa vai/ (continued
in the next śloka).

Translation :

Pulovā [will reign] for seven years. There will be
[kingdom] for other [Andhras] also/. Thus for these thirty
Andhra kings that will enjoy this earth for four hundred years
and also five six years in addition/ there will be five families
(varṁśāḥ), further they will reign contemporaneously/ [In
the dynasty other than the main one] there will be seven
Andhras and also ten Ābhīra kings/. Also seven Gardabhina
and then ten Śakas (continued in the next sloka).

Translation for the variant reading 'anyasteṣāṁ' :

And Pulovā [will reign] for seven years. Another [dy-
nasty besides the main one] of those [Andhras] will reign.

* Variant reading—*anyasteṣāṁ*.

Mtp-a. 273. 16, 17 and 18

pulomā sapta varṣāṇi anyasteṣām bhaviṣyati
 ekonaviṃśatirhyete āndhrā bhokṣyanti vai mahim
 teṣām varṣaśatāni syuṣcatvāri ṣaṣṭireva ca
 āndhrāṇām saṁsthitā rājye teṣām bhrtyānvaye nṛpāḥ
 saptaivāndhrā bhaviṣyanti daśābhirāstathā nṛpāḥ
 sapta gardabhilāścāpi śakāścāṣṭādaśaiva ca

Prose order or anvaya :

pulomā sapta varṣāṇi [bhaviṣyati] teṣām [āndhrāṇām]
 [mūlavaiṁśāt] anyāḥ [vaiṁśaḥ] bhaviṣyati/ ete vai ekonaviṃ-
 śatiḥ hi āndhrāḥ mahim bhokṣyanti/ teṣām [ekonaviṃśati-
 sahitāṇām sarveṣām āndhrāṇām] catvāri varṣaśatāni ṣaṣṭiḥ
 eva ca syuḥ/ teṣām āndhrāṇām bhrtyānvaye rājye saṁ-
 sthitāḥ nṛpāḥ sapta āndhrāḥ eva bhaviṣyanti tathā daśa
 ābhirāḥ nṛpāḥ [bhaviṣyanti]/ api ca gardabhilāḥ sapta
 aṣṭādaśa eva tu śakāḥ ca/ (continued in the next śloka).

Translation :

Pulomā will reign for seven years. Another [dynasty]
 [besides the main one] of these [Āndhras] will reign./ These
 nineteen Āndhras will enjoy the earth/. For these [Āndhras,
 including the nineteen] there will be four hundred years and in
 addition sixty years [of reign]/. In the dynasty of the servants
 of these Āndhras, the kings that will be placed in charge of
 kingdoms will be seven Āndhras and likewise ten Ābhira
 kings/. Then seven Gardabhilas and also eighteen Śakas/
 (continued in the next śloka).

PURANIC ŚLOKAS RELATING TO PARIKṢIT-NANDA AND NANDA-
PULOMA TIME INTERVALS

Vap-a. 99. 415, 416, 417 and 418 .

mahādevābhiṣekāttu janma yāvatparikṣitaḥ
 etadvarṣasahasraṁ tu jñeyam pañcaśaduttaram
 pramāṇam bai tathā cōktam mahāpadmāntaram ca yat
 antaram tacchatānyaṣṭau ṣaṭtrimśacca samāḥ smṛtāḥ
 etatkālāntaram bhāvyā andhrāntā ye prakīrtitāḥ
 bhaviṣyaistatra saṁkhyātāḥ purāṇajñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ
 saptarṣayastadā prāhuḥ pratipe rājñi bai śatam
 saptaviṁśaiḥ śatairbhāvyā andhrāṇām te tvayā punaḥ

For translation of ślokas 415, 416 and 417 see (120), and for
 translation of sloka 418 see (104).

Mtp-a. 273. 36, 37, 38 and 39

mahāpadmābhiṣekāttu yāvajjanma parikṣitah
 evaṁ varṣasahasraṁ tu jñeyaṁ pañcāśaduttaram
 paulomastu tathāndhrāstu mahāpadmāntare punah
 anantaraṁ śatānyaṣṭau ṣaṭtrimśattu samāstathā
 tāvat kālāntaraṁ bhāvyaṁāndhrāntādāparikṣitah
 bhaviṣye te prasamkhyātāḥ purāṇajñāiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ
 saptarṣayastadā prāṁsupradiptenāgninā samāh
 saptaviṁśati bhāvyaṁāndhrāṇāṁ tu yadā punah

For translation of śloka 36, 37 and 38 see (120), and for translation of śloka 39 see (104).

Vip-w. p. 230 or Vip-b. IV. 24-32

yāvatparikṣito janma yāvannandābhiṣecanam
 etadvarṣasahasraṁ tu jñeyaṁ pañcadaśottaram

For translation of this śloka see (120).

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**Conquest of Sholāpūr by Burhān Nizām Shāh I.
(914-961 A.H., 1508-1553 A.D.) as described
by Shāh Tāhīr.**

By M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

Sholāpūr is a part of the Bombay Presidency adjacent to Aḥmadnagar on one side, the Nizām's dominions on another, and to a number of States like Aundh, Satara, etc. on the third. Originally a strong centre for the Marathas, the place continues to be so to the present day. The place has a long history behind it. It formed part of the Andhra dominions during the rule of the Sātavāhanas in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Chālukyas who succeeded the Sātavāhanas held possession of the country till their downfall in the 8th century, having been over-powered by the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas, who in turn passed the territory over to the Yādavas in the 12th century. A century and half later, i.e., in the beginning of the 14th century the Emperor of Delhi reduced the country to submission and the territory was ruled by Governors appointed from Delhi. As a result of misrule by the Governors of the Emperor, the nobles revolted and the Bahmanī dynasty came into existence with Hasan Gangū (748-759 A.H., 1347-1358 A.D.). The Bahmanids' sway extended over nearly the whole of the Deccan, but when Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II., became weak, the governors of different provinces of the Deccan declared themselves independent and five new dynasties came into existence, viz. '*Imād Shāhs* (890-980 A.H., 1484-1572 A.D.) of Birār, '*Nizām Shāhs* (896-1004 A.H., 1490-1595 A.D.) of Aḥmadnagar, '*Barīd Shāhs* (897-1018 A.H., 1492-1609 A.D.) of Bīdar, '*Ādil Shāhs* (895-1097 A.H., 1489-1686 A.D.) of Bijāpūr, and '*Qutb Shāhs* (918-1098 A.H., 1512-1687 A.D.) of Golkonda. They divided the whole kingdom of the Bahmanids amongst themselves. The quarrels between the Nizām Shāhs of Aḥmadnagar and 'Ādil Shāhs of Bijāpūr are very well known to students of history and alternately the territory around Sholāpūr passed from one Sultān to the other. From the Manuscript under notice, it is gathered that the territory of Sholāpūr went to Burhān Nizām Shāh I. (914-961 A.H., 1508-1553 A.D.) before it passed to Aurangzib. Burhān Nizām Shāh launched attacks on Sholāpūr four times, and only succeeded in taking possession of the country at the fourth attempt.

First Attack.

Through the efforts of Shāh Ṭāhir, Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh (916–941 A.H., 1511–1534 A.D.) and Burhān Nizām Shāh I. met together, in a friendly spirit, near the fort of Sholāpūr in 930 A.H., 1523 A.D., and the bond of friendship between the two Kings was further cemented by Maryam Bibi the daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (895–916 A.H., 1489–1511 A.D.) and sister of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh being united in wedlock to Burhān Nizām Shāh I. It was given out to Burhān Nizām Shāh by the nobles of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh that after marriage the fort of Sholāpūr would be given to him as the dowry of Maryam Bibi and so naturally, he, after the marriage, demanded the fort from Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh. The latter, however, expressed surprise and ignorance about the matter, and set aside the demand by putting forward the plea that the proposal was not made by him but only by his nobles, and that he was, therefore, not bound by it. Burhān Nizām Shāh, on the advice of Shāh Ṭāhir,¹ therefore, kept silent for the time being and returned to Aḥmadnagar. The rebuke however, which Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh administered to the ambassador of Burhān Nizām Shāh on hearing of the ill-treatment of Maryam Bibi at the hands of Bibi Āmina, the first wife of Burhān Nizām Shāh and the mother of Husain Nizām Shāh, infuriated him. He sent Shāh Ṭāhir to Amīr Barīd I. (910–945 A.H., 1504–1538 A.D.), and Mullā Ḥaidar Astrābādī to 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk (910–936 A.H., 1504–1529 A.D.) requesting their help, and with 30,000 soldiers and sufficient cannons led an expedition against the fort of Sholāpūr in 931 A.H., 1524 A.D. Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh faced the army with only 9,000 archers who exhibited great skill and prowess in the fierce encounter that took place on the borders of Sholāpūr. 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk, unable to withstand the attacks of Asad Khān Balkawānī, a noble of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, fled to Kāwīl. Burhān Nizām Shāh fell down senseless due to an attack of sun-stroke and at

¹ Shāh Ṭāhir bin Shāh Raḍī ad-Dīn was a descendant of Khwāndī Sayyids who traced their origin from the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt. Ṭāhir lived as a teacher in Kāshān, but his great influence with the Shī'as aroused the suspicion of Shāh Ismā'il I. (907–930 A.H., 1502–1524 A.D.), and so he lived in great fear. Ṭāhir, finding his life insecure, fled from Kāshān and came to India in 926 A.H., 1520 A.D. After landing at Goa, and staying some time in Pirindah, he was sent for by Burhān Nizām Shāh (914–961 A.H., 1508–1553 A.D.), King of Aḥmadnagar in 928 A.H., 1522 A.D. He came to the Court of Aḥmadnagar, and soon became the trusted friend and adviser of the king. It is recorded that the king sent him on various political missions to the Courts of Gujarāt, Khāndīsh, Bijāpūr, and Golkonda. He died in 952 A.H., 1545 A.D. or according to *Burhān al-Ma'āthir*, p. 325, in 953 A.H., 1546 A.D., or in 956 A.H., 1549 A.D. as correctly stated by Firishta, Bombay edition, Vol. II, p. 229. For details of his life see my article in Sir E. Denison Ross's *Festschrift* and also Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS., British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 395.

the instance of Shāh Tāhir was carried away from the battle-field in a palanquin by *Khurshīd*, one of the slaves of Burhān Nizām Shāh. Sholāpūr therefore remained unconquered.

Second Attack.

As long as Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh lived (916-941 A.H., 1511-1534), Burhān Nizām Shāh did not even dream of conquering Sholāpūr. But after his death and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's (941-965 A.H., 1535-1557 A.D.) accession to the throne, he gathered together his army and with Amīr Barīd (910-945 A.H., 1504-1538 A.D.) as his faithful ally advanced towards Bijāpūr in 945 A.H., 1538 A.D. To achieve this purpose, he had already set the rumour afloat that Asad *Khān* Balkawānī, a Shī'a noble in the Court of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, being his co-religionist, had invited him to take possession of Fort Balkawān. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh strongly fortified himself within the fort of Bijāpūr and did not give battle. Burhān Nizām Shāh advanced unopposed towards Sholāpūr and attacked Panjtappa which fell an easy prey to him. He handed over the place to *Kh*wāja Jahān and was advancing for further aggrandisements when the sudden death of Amīr Barīd cast a gloom over all his projects. On the advice of Shāh Tāhir, he concluded a treaty with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, returned to him the conquered place and retraced his steps homewards.

Third Attack.

In 950 A.H., 1543 A.D. Burhān Nizām Shāh formed an alliance with Rāmraj Rāo of Bijānagar and Quṭb Shāh with a view to attacking Sholāpūr. Accompanied by Shāh Tāhir, they advanced towards Sholāpūr with a very strong contingent. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, who was fully conscious of the perils of being thus besieged on all sides, immediately negotiated with Burhān Nizām Shāh and ceded Panjtappa as the price of peace. He befriended the other kings by making rich presents to them.

Fourth Attack.

In 955 A.H., 1548 A.D. Burhān Nizām Shāh renewed and further strengthened the bonds of alliance with Rāmraj Rāo of Bijānagar. He sent many valuable presents to him and met him on the border of Rāichūr, where it was decided that Rāmraj should attack the forts of Rāichūr and Madkal, while he himself would proceed against the forts of Sholāpūr and Gulbarga. Reinforced by a detachment of troops of Rāmraj, Burhān Nizām Shāh advanced towards the fort of Sholāpūr and surrounded it. He secured the services of Chilpī Rūmī *Khān*, the gunner of Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarāt, who bombarded the fort continuously

for three months and at last reduced it. *Burhān Nizām Shāh* did not think it advisable to proceed to Gulbarga and returned to Ahmadnagar.

The treatise, now published for the first time, describes the fourth attack on Sholāpūr. It appears from the text that it was written by Shāh Tāhir on the order of Burhān Nizām Shāh and copies of the same were sent to other kings for information. It is in Persian language and only one copy of this treatise is preserved in the Bankipore Library. (See the Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. II, p. 94, No. 2119.) So far as I know, no second copy is available in any known library of either Europe or India.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the territory passed into the hands of Aurangzīb in 1688 but when the Marathas became powerful in the 18th century, the country round Sholāpūr passed into the hands of the Peshwās. Subsequently the English conquest of the territory took place about the beginning of the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Tārīkh Firishta* (Bombay Ed.), Vol. II, pp. 201-202, 226-227, 233-234; *Burhān al-Ma'āthir*, pp. 304-306, 312, 379; Bilgirāmi, *Tārīkh Dacan*, Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 315-316, 378-379; and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XXII, pp. 296-297.

صورتِ فتحِ نامه که شاه طاهر دکنی بجهت فتحِ سلاپور نوشته

چون بمقتضایِ خواهیِ آذا آرادَ اللهُ شَيْئاً هَيَّأَ اسْبَابَهُ اراده
الهی بتهیه اسبابِ شاهی - و ترتیبِ مقدماتِ پادشاهی تعلق گرفته
بود - روز بروز آثارِ آن از مَکَمَنِ غیب در منصفه ظهور جلوه
می نمود - و حصولِ آن مقصود - و وصولِ بآن مقامِ محمود موقوف
وقت بود - تا درین وقت بموجب و لِلَّامُورِ مَوَاقِیتِ مُقَدَّرَةِ دست
تقدیر تختِ فیروز بختِ دولت و اقبال - و سریرِ آسمان توقیرِ عظمت
و اجلال را بزورِ جلوس - سعادت مانوس ما زیب و زینت داد -
و تاج و هاج سلطنت و کامگاری - و افسرِ ابتهاج خلافت و شهریاری
را بر تارکِ اعتلا و فرقِ فرقدسای همایون ما نهاد - * نظم *

آنکه ما را سوئی دولت ره نمود تاجِ شاهی را ز ما زینت فزود
آنکه آئینِ جهانبانی نهاد بر سرِ ما تاجِ سلطانی نهاد

و منشی دیوان کتب رَبِّکُمْ عَلٰی نَفْسِهِ الرَّحْمَةُ در دارالخلافه
اَنَا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ پروانچه یَخْتَصُّ بِرَحْمَتِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ
منشورِ شاهنشاهی و فرمانِ روانی و فرماندهی و کشورکشائی
بنام نای و اسمِ سامعی ما مرقوم گردانید - و بتوقیعِ وقیعِ نَمِ اَوْرَثَنَا

الْكِتَابَ الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَيْنَا مِنْ عِبَادِنَا رَسَانِدَ - لهذا اسباب استعلا
و استقلالِ دولت و اقبال تا غایت بنوعی از عالم غیب روی نموده -
و شاهدِ این مُدعا - از پردهٔ خفا بر وجهی چهره کشوده که دیده
بصیرت عقل دران حیران - و اندیشهٔ عقلای عالم در فهمِ حکمت
آن سرگردان است -
* نظم *

بسی ره باندیشه کردند طی و لیکن بگنesh نبردند پی
و چون زلالِ شوکت و اقتدار ما درین جویبار - از چشم سارِ عنایتِ
کردگار جاری شده شک نیست که بقای جریانش از شوایبِ انفصال
و انفصام و عوارضِ انقطاعِ مصئون و مأمون بوده ببلجّهٔ ظهورِ
موعود متصل خواهد گردید - و هرگز بنوبهارِ بخت بلند - و شاخسارِ
طالع ارجمند ما که در مهبِ نسیمِ فرخنده شمیمِ أَنَا مَكْنَأُ لَهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ
نَضَارَت گرفته - و از مهبِ تسنیمِ سعادت صمیمِ وَأَتَيْنَاهُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
سَبَبًا طراوت پذیرفته - آسیبِ خزانِ فتور - و آفتِ تندبادِ قصور
نخواهد رسید -
* مصرع *

چو باغِ جنان فارغ از آسیبِ خزانست

و بنابر طبقِ منطوق
* نظم *
عَلَى اللَّهِ فِي كُلِّ الْأُمُورِ تَوَكَّلِي وَ بِالْخَمْسِ أَصْحَابِ الْعِبَاءِ تَوَسَّلِي
دستِ اعتصامِ بحبلِ المتینِ توکلِ استوار ساخته - و متاعِ توسَّلِ

در سفینهٔ پر فتوح مَثَلُ أَهْلِ بَيْتِیْ كَمَثَلِ سَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ انداخته
توجه بهر جهت که کرده ایم و روی همت بهر طرف که آورده ایم
هر لحظه از شاخسارِ فتح - غنچهٔ مراد دیگر کشوده - و بهر دم از
جوببارِ ظفر - نهالِ مقصود دیگر سرسبزی نموده - * نظم *

روی بهرسوی که آورده ایم یافته ایم آنچه طلب کرده ایم
بر دل ما که خرد آگاه بود نقش تَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَى اللَّهِ بود
بهر همین لطف خدای جلیل داده بما مژدهٔ نِعَمِ الْوَكِيلِ
میلِ دلِ ما سوی کاری که دید ساخت بدان گونه که خواهی شنید
از غرایبِ تائیداتِ الهی و عجایبِ معجزاتِ پادشاهی آنست که
درین وقت بمسامعِ جلال - و مدارکِ عِزِّ و اقبال رسید که عادلخان

بمودائی مضمونِ أَوْ لَا يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ يُفْتَنُونَ فِي كُلِّ مَرَّةٍ أَوْ مَرَّتَيْنِ
ثُمَّ لَا يَتُوبُونَ وَلَا هُمْ يَذَّكَّرُونَ خیالِ باطل - و اندیشهٔ
عاطل بخاطر آورده بپای جسارتِ بادیةٔ شرارت پیموده - و دست
بتحریکِ سلسلهٔ فتنه و فساد کشوده - و از وفورِ غرور و وسواس

وَإِذْ زَيْنَ لَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَعْمَالَهُمْ وَقَالَ لَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ الْيَوْمَ مِنَ النَّاسِ
شیطانش اغوا نموده - و از حوادثی که سابقاً از عساکرِ نصرت

مظاهرِ والدِ جلیل المآثر ما أَنَارَ اللَّهُ بُرْهَانَهُ وَ جَعَلَ فِي قَرَادِيسِ
الْجَنَانِ مَكَانَهُ بحالِ او راه یافته بود متنبه نشده - بلکه

بالکلیه ازان فراموش کرده رجوع بواجبی شرور و شروع در محاصره
قلعه سلاپور نموده - ندانست که بموجب اَلْوَلَدُ الرَّشِيدُ يَفْتَدِي
بِوَالِدِهِ الْحَمِيدِ ما نیز ازان وقت که پا در گلستانِ زندگانی - و قدم
در بوستانِ کامرانی نهاده ایم از تماشایِ ریاحین - نظرِ هوس برداشته
بجایِ سروِ چمن - نهالِ نیزهٔ مرد افکن - و عوضِ برگِ سوسن -
دودهٔ تیغِ دشمن شکن را بآبِ حیاتِ پرورش داده ایم - و سوسن آسا
با تیغِ زمرد فام بوده ایم - و چون غنچه و گل با خود و جوشن
عادت نموده ایم - بید و ش از غرهٔ ایام صبا - خنجر گذاری کرده ایم -
و نیلوفر صفت از عنفوانِ نشو و نما با سپر سر برآورده ایم -

• نظم •

دلم را ز اندیشهٔ کارزار
نباشد تماشایِ باغ و بهار
صفِ کین مرا طرفِ گلشن بس است
گل و غنچه ام خود و جوشن بس است
بود سوسنِ باغ ما تیغِ کین
سپرهایِ گل کون گلِ آتشین
خدنگم نهالی بود دلپذیر
نهالِ مرا غنچه پیکانِ تیر
دل از صحنِ گلزارم آید به تنگ
مرا دل کشاید ب میدانِ جنگ

زمانه متعجب بود که مکرر در بلادش سپاهِ نصرت افواجِ لوای نهب و تاراج افراخته - و بمقتضای وَجَعَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ سَافِلَهَا فراز و نشیب اماکن و مساکن او را با هفتم زمین برابر ساخته اند - و هنوز در اراضی دیارش پشته پشته کشته - بر سر هم ریخته - بر بسترِ خاصمت در بجای آرامد - و مِیَاهِ انهارش إِلَى الْآنَ آب از بجای آشامد - اگرچه در آئینه ضمیرِ سعادت تاثیرِ ما که محلِ نقوشِ الهاماتِ غیبی - و مظهرِ عکوسِ کراماتِ لاریبی است - صورت این معنی پرتوِ یقین انداخته بود که چون نَیِّرِ بخت بلند ما در برجِ شرف بر ذروهٔ سعادت و اقبال مستقیم است - و ستارهٔ اعدا در خانهٔ وبال و حسیضِ نقصان راجع بلکه مقیم - محقق است که آفتابِ اوجِ نصرت که همواره بماهجهٔ لوای سپهرِ اعتلای ما مقارن است بر منظرِ مرادِ اعداء پرتوِ ظهورِ نخواهد انداخت - و ماهِ افقِ دولت که پیوسته با شمسِ ایوانِ زرنگار و حشمتِ گردون اقتدار ما سمت اجتماع دارد شبستانِ امتداد دشمنان را روشن نخواهد ساخت - اما چون خاطرِ خُبرت پیشه صواب اندیش میخواست که تنبیه مشارالیه نماید و بموجب جَزَاءُ سَيِّئَةٍ سَيِّئَةٌ مِثْلُهَا فی الجمله در صددِ مکافات آمد - استفتاح این معامله را رجوع بعقلِ متین دوربین نمود - و بختِ کامگار را از برای این کار نصب فرمود - آخر عقلِ پیر و بختِ جوان هر دو باهم یکدل و یک زبان شده بر لوحِ محفوظِ ضمیر بخانهٔ فکر اصابتِ تاثیر طرح تصویر انداختند - و صورتِ حال را

بر مرآتِ رای عالم آرا منطبع و مرتسم ساختند - که چون سمندِ
 عزیمتِ پادشاهی را قایدِ توفیقِ راهنمون - و وفورِ عنایتِ الهی
 مؤیدِ عساکرِ نصرتِ مقرون است - عنانِ عظیمتِ را بدستِ
تفویض و توکل تسلیم نموده و بامدادِ اسعادِ طیبین و طاهرین
 و استعانت و استمدادِ ائمهٔ معصومین صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَیْهِمْ أَجْمَعِینِ
 مستظهر و مستوثق بوده روی بدفعِ واقع او آوردن بصواب انسب
 و بصلاح اقرب می نماید - ارکانِ دولتِ سکندرِ توقیر - و اعیانِ
 حضرتِ ارسطو تدبیر که ظفرِ کردارِ ملازمِ رکابِ نصرتِ شعار
 بودند - و در تدبیرِ امورِ دولتِ قاهره - و تعظیمِ مهامِ سلطنتِ باهره
 بمحضِ حکمتِ عمل مینمودند - و چون میدانستند که خدنگِ ارادهٔ
 نوابِ همایون ما را روش جز موافقِ خواهشِ شست‌کشای
تقدیر نیست - در موقفِ عرضِ بادامی مَا هُوَ الْغَرَضُ زبان‌کشودند -
 و بسرعت شروع درین امرِ دلالت نمودند - و چون شمعِ این اندیشه
 از مشکوٰۃِ ظفر و فیروزی روشن - و برقِ این فکر از وادیِ ایمن
 خیزد و صوابِ پرتو افکن بود - اشارتِ نوابِ گردون اقتدار
 بتهیهٔ اسبابِ عساکرِ نصرتِ شعار نافذ گشت - و فرمانِ واجب
 الاذعان به تنسیقِ امورِ لشکرِ منصور سمتِ جریان یافت - بنا بر حکمِ
مطاع وَاَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ لشکرِ نصرتِ اجتماع - جهد
 مستطاع بظهور آوردند - شیرانِ بیشهٔ ظفر - و پلنگانِ قلّهٔ مردی

و هنر - آمادۀ پیکار و مستعدِ کارزار شده - بِحکمِ فَاَفْعَلُوا مَا تُؤْمَرُونَ
 بآنچه مامور بودند عمل کردند - و چون شریانِ شرارتِ عادل خان
 در حرکت آمده بود بنا بر آن قوتِ طبیعتِ غیرت - سببِ بجرانِ قلعِ آن ماده
 فاسد - و شدتِ ضربانِ عرقِ حمیت - باعثِ فصدِ واثقِ آن معاندان گشت -

تمهیدِ اَلْاِسْعَافُ وَ لَكَ السَّوَالُ و تاکیدِ اَلْاِنْبَاحُ هَاتِكَ الْمَسْئُولُ
 بیایِ صدقِ نیتِ مرحلهِ خلوصِ طویت را پیموده - و بدستِ
 اخلاصِ سلسلهِ عنایتِ ایزدی را تحریک نموده - و لبِ خضوعِ بدعائی

وَ اجْعَلْ لِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَانًا نَصِيرًا کشوده - همایِ همتِ عالی
 نهمت را در هوایِ این عزیمتِ سایه گستر ساخت - و رایتِ عزمِ

بقوتِ بازوی وَ كَفَّ اَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنْكُمْ وَ لَتَكُونَنَّ آيَةً لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ
 افراخت - و توسنِ دیونژاد - قوی نهاد را مسخرِ قدمِ همایون
 ساخته برکوبِ عالی سرافرازی بخشید - * نظم *

خدایِ زمان شاه گردون شکوه بگرمیِ چو برق و به تمکینِ چوکوه
 در آورد پا در رکابِ سطور چو موسی برآمد ببالایی طور
 سمندش چو دیوی بجزلانگری برو جلوه گر پادشاهِ پری
 گرفته بکف تیغِ زهر آب دار چو در دست شیرِ خدا ذوالفقار
 و چون سلطانِ گل که از تُتقِ غنچه بدر آید - یا چون گوهرِ معنی
 که از صدفِ سینه چهره کشاید - محفوفِ دولت و فیروزی -
 و مالوفِ نصرت و بهروزی از دار السلطنتِ احمدنکر بیرون آمده

مانند باز تیزپرواز که مَخْلَبِ تهور بقصدِ تذرو کشاید - یا عقاب عنقا
 شکار که در طلبِ صید طیران نماید - طایرِ همت اجنحه قضا کردار
 کشاد - و سروش غیب مزده وَعَدَکُمُ اللّٰهُ مَغَانِمَ کَثِیْرَةً تَأْخُذُوْنَهَا
 فَعَجَلَ لَکُمْ هَذِهِ در داد - بنابر استیلای این عزیمت - و اشتدادِ
 شوقِ حصولِ این غنیمت - با شیرانی که بیشه جزِ نیستانِ رماح
 ندانند - و نهنگانی که در دریای هیجا جز موجِ خون بخاطر
 نگذرانند - از کمالِ تهور - طمع در کمرِ شمشیر جوزا نمایند - و از
 غایتِ جلادت - تاجِ اکلیل از فرقِ مریخِ خون آشام ربایند - و چون
 تیغِ رو نگردانند - و سر در سر اعدا نهاده سراندازی بتقدیم
 رسانند - * نظم *

همه شرطِ مردی بجا آورند سرِ دشمنان زیر پا آورند
 ربایند از بزمِ جمِ جام را ستانند اکلیلِ بهرام را
 بدشمن که چون کوه افشرده پا کنند آنچه با که کند کهربا
 خروشد زان گونه روزِ مضاف کزان پیچد آواز در کوه قاف
 برند آبِ گیتی چنان در نبرد که از قعرِ دریا برآند گرد

بسعدت و اقبال و اُبّهت و اجلال بجانبِ سلاپور مرحله پیمای
 گشت - در هر منزل از جانبِ عنایتِ الهی منشورِ سعادتِ نامتناهی
 میرسید - و در هر مرحله از سرحدِ کشورِ فتح و اقبال - نامه امانی
 و آمالِ بوصولِ موصول میگردد - و هر لحظه مُلهمِ توفیق ندای

اِنْ تَسْتَفْتِحُوْا فَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ الْفَتْحُ بِمَسَامِعٍ عَلَيْهِ مِيرْسَانِدٌ -
و هر لحظه مبشر تائید مزده آلا اِنْ نَصَرَ اللهُ قَرِيبَ مَسْمُوعٍ
میکردانید - تا ماهچه لوای خورشید ارتفاع - شعشعه اشراقات
فتح و ظفر بران حدود انداخت - عادل خان چون خبر عطف
عنان عزیمت موکب همایون شنید - و از ورود این واقعه مستشعر
گردید - بنای ثبات و قرارش متزلزل - و اساس تمکن و استقرارش
متخلخل گشت - جنود مجتده پادشاهی چون نظر بر لشکر مخالف
انداختند - و از جمعیت آن جمع - مستحق القمع خبر یافتند -
چون باز شکاری که از اجتماع کبک کوهساری خبر یابد - یا آتش
تیز که بتحریک نسیم بسوختن خس و خاشاک شتابد - بعزم رزم
شتافته - صنی آراستند که در استحکام چون بنای اسلام - و براستی
چون صراط مستقیم سید انام بود - نه صف بلکه چون سید سکندری
آهنی بنا دیواری - یا بالوان آلویه و اعلام جویبار فتح را گلزاری -
قلش چون قلوب اولیا قوی حال - و میمنه و میسرهایش را
اصحاب یمین مبشر اقبال و آمال - و مخالفان بدیده تخمین و قیاس
چون صنوف صفوف عساکر فرخنده مآثر را مشاهده نمودند
متحیر مانده دل از دست دادند - و بموجب فَمَا اسْتَطَاعُوا مُضِيًّا
وَلَا يَرْجِعُونَ - چون باز گشتن متصور نبود بر مرگ دل نهاده
بمحاربه ایستادند - و بمضمون عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ قَدِ اقْتَرَبَ أَجَلُهُمْ

غافل گشته در مهلکه کائما یَسَاقُونَ إِلَى الْمَوْتِ جمع شدند - توپ آندازان
سنگ تفرقه در سِلکِ جمعیتِ مخالفان انداخته آتشِ مجادله و محاربه
برافروختند - و از صدای وحشت افزای آن چون زلزله روز
رستخیز - غلغله در خیلِ اعدا افکنده خرمنِ حیوة ایشان را بنایره
سطوتِ سلطانی و صاعقه قهرِ قهرمانی سوختند - و بمقتضای

لَا يَكْفُونَ عَنْ وُجُوهِهِمُ النَّارَ وَلَا عَنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يُنْصَرُونَ تواتر
سنگِ رعد آمار بیحد - و توافرِ صاعقه آتشبار متجاوز الحصر و العَدَّ -

دفعهٔ بنوعی صدور و بر وجهی ظهور نمود که بر طبق مودای
بَلْ تَأْتِيهِمْ بَغْثَةٌ فَتُبْهِتُهُمْ فَلَا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ رَدَّهَا وَلَا هُمْ يُنْظَرُونَ
از غایتِ حیرت معاندان را قدرتِ دفع و استطاعتِ رَدِ آن نبود -

• نظم •

رفت آتشی از یمین و یسار زمین از غبار آسمان از شرار
ازان خیلِ اعدا مشوش همه چو اهل جهنم در آتش همه
ز دود و شرارِ تفنگهای جنگ کانه چو قوس قزح رنگ رنگ
آتشِ جدال بالا گرفت بمرتبه که بمرکز خود پیوست - و گرد
رزمگاه چنان متصاعد شد که بر دامن سپهر نیل گون نشست -

• نظم •

ز گرد و غباری که شد بر سپهر ره خویش بر چرخ گم کرد مهر
شیران بیشهٔ جلادت و مرد افکنی - و دلیران معركة شجاعت و لشکر

شکنی - کمر بخون اعدا بستند - و از غایتِ خونریزی تا کمر در خون
 نشستند - سنان چون غمزه خوبان فتنه انگیز - و تیغ چون دیده
 عاشقان خون ریز شد -
 * نظم *

ز ابروی خوبان کمان یاد کرد ز هر گوشه فتنه بنیاد کرد
 روان ناوکِ فتنه از هر کنار بتاراج جانها چو مژگانِ یار
 سپرها لبالب بخون متصل چو دامنِ عشاق پر خون دل
 کمرهای زرین بخون لاله گون یلان تا کمر غرق دریای خون
 ز خون چشمهای زره قطره بار چو باران که ریزد ز ابر بهار
 ز گردِ ستوران برقی (۱) شتاب فلک زیر خاک آدمی غرق آب

و چون دستِ قضا دیده دولتِ اعدا را بغشاوة اِدار و حَسِبُوا أَن
 لَا تَكُونُ فِتْنَةً فَعَمُوا وَ صَمُّوا ثُمَّ تَابَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ پوشانیده -
 و بمسماز تقدیر ابواب تدبیر ایشان را مسدود گردانیده بود - راهِ نجات
 و نجات ندیدند - و اکثر طعمه شمشیر آبدار - ازدها کردار گردیدند -

و بقیة السیفی که مانده بودند بمودای فَلَمَّا أَحْسَوْا بِأَسْنَا إِذَا هُمْ
 مِنْهَا يَرْكُضُونَ از برق و باد - سرعت و سیر استعاره کرده
 كَأَنَّهُمْ حُمُرٌ مُسْتَنْفِرَةٌ فَرَّتْ مِنْ قَسْوَرَةٍ بِجَانِبِ كَلْبَرِگَه و ساغر
 گریزان گشتند - فَعَلِبُوا هُنَالِكَ وَ انْقَلَبُوا صَاغِرِينَ جانی بهزار

حیله بیرون بردند - و موازنه هشتصد نهصد نفر دستگیر - و از جمله سرداران او خورشید خان اسیر گشت - و مانند صبح کاذب از طلوع صبح صادق رو در حجابِ خفا و نقابِ اختفا کرده خزائنِ درم و دینار را چون نقودِ کواکب بتاراجِ صبحِ دولتِ خورشید انتصار ما رها کردند - و چون سپاهِ شاه عالم پناه رخ بجانب اعدا آورده در عرصهٔ معركة تاختند - حریفان از اسپ استیلا و فیل استعلا پیاده گشتند - و آن مقدار فیل و اسپ که داشتند باختند - و بی تکلف عبارت پردازی - دو هزار و پانصد راس اسپ تازی - و دویست و پنجاه سلسلهٔ فیل بی مثل بدست آمد - و ازان جمله دو فیل بی نظیر که یکی بشاهرخ صغیر و دیگری به کبیر شهرت یافته که هر یک ازان را در دکن با هزار فیل برابر میدانند - دیگر ماهی مراتب و دمامه و آفتابگیر با پانزده عدد توپ بزرگشانه کرده و ششصد ضربه زن و سیصد عرابه از جمله دار الحرب بدستِ عساکرِ منصوره درآمد - و چون عادل خان بحکایاتِ واهی - و هذیاناتِ غیر متناهی* عین الملک از راه رفته - باغوا و اضلال او برین امر خطیر اقدام نموده - و با قدم جهالت بادیهٔ ضلالت پیموده بود و مشارالیه را مقدمهٔ الجیش عسکر خود ساخته - و باقی لشکر را همراه او کرده بمحاربه فرستاد - و معدودی از مبارزانِ سپاهِ ظفرپناه دستِ شجاعت از آستینِ جلادت برآورده دستبردی به مشارالیه نمودند که

• نظم •

گر آن جنگ رستم بدیدی بخواب

شدی از نهیب دلش زهره آب

عادل خان چون صورتِ حال بر طبقِ مقال لَا یَسْتَطِيعُونَ حِيلَةً
و لَا یَهْتَدُونَ سَبِيلًا دید - بر حسب و یَوْمَ یَعُضُ الظَّالِمُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ
از غرامت^(۱) پشتِ دستِ ندامتِ بدندانِ گزید - و زبانِ حالِ تاسف
مآلش بکلامِ یَا وَیْلَتَی لَیْسَنِی لَمْ أَتَّخِذْ فُلَانًا خَلِيلًا متکلم گردید -
و چون عینِ الملک از خدمتِ این آستانه سرافراز و دولتِ
ملازمتِ این دولنخانه میان امثال و اقران ممتاز گشته بود -
و براس المالِ تربیتِ خسروانه که دولتِ جاوید بدست می توان
آورد متاعِ غرور خرید - و بفقدِ تقویتِ شاهانه که سعادتِ ابدی
حاصل میتوان کرد بضاعتِ شقاوتِ متصدیِ ابتیاع گردید -
فَمَا رَبِحَتْ تِجَارَتُهُمْ وَ مَا كَانُوا مُهْتَدِينَ و از عادل خان
دو لک هون گرفته قدم در وادیِ فساد نهاد - لاجرم بشومی
حرص و طمع بمهلکه آلیوم تُجْزَوْنَ عَذَابَ الْهُونِ افتاد -
و چون عادل خان بی مشورتِ عقلِ صواب کیش و بی رخصتِ
رای صلاح اندیش - تیغِ عداوت و عناد را از نیام فتنه و فساد

(۱) در نسخه خطی لفظ «مت»، پس از کرم خوردن باقی مانده و گمان می برم

که لفظ «گرامت» است •

کشید - آخر بمقتضای و لَا یَحِیْقُ الْمَكْرُ السَّیِّئُ إِلَّا بِأَهْلِهِ نتایج قبح اعمال و سوء افعال او هم باو راجع گردید - * نظم *

هر که همچون استره تیغی بروی ما کشید

باز گشت آن تیغ و هم در سینه او کرد جای

و هبوب ریاح نصرت نامتناهی - از مهب عنایت الهی - غبار بی اعتبار

دشمنان را از چهره فتح و ظفر سترد - و بازویی اسلام - به نیروی

تقویت آیة کرام علیهم السلام اعلام شریعت مصطفوی - و رایات

ملت مرتضوی را به پیشگاه تمکن و خلود برد - صبح ظفر از مطلع

اقبال دمید - و نسیم فیروزی بر رایت نصرت شعار خسرو

گردون اقتدار وزید - * نظم *

حجاج بود مُلک بفتی چنین مبین

آخر برادِ مُلک برآورد روزگار

عادل خان را معلوم شد که ببازویی تدبیر - سر پنجه تقدیر نمیتوان

تافت - و بی مساعدت تائید آسمانی - اسبابِ حشمت و کامرانی نمیتوان

یافت - اگرچه از غرور سر بفتنه و شرور برآورد - اما عاقبت

کشف وار - سر در گریبانِ انکسار کشید - و بوم کردار - در پس

دیوارِ ادبار متواری گردید - نخست چون شمع - شعله سنانِ آتشبار

کشید - اما به بادِ حمله دلیرانِ لشکرِ ظفر اثر منطقی گشت - و چون

زبانۀ آتش - زبان دراز کرد اما به تیرباران سپاه نصرت انبناه

فرونشست - هر چند باطراف و جوانب شتافت - از میمنه میمنی و از
 میسره مسرتی یافت - و از ترتیب مقدمه جز هزیمت نتیجه و از
 قلب جز دل شکسته حاصل نگردید - و از چپ و راست آیت عذاب
 شنید - آخر صرصرِ قضا اثر اَلْعَبْدُ يُدَبِّرُ وَ اللّٰهُ يَقْدِرُ دامِ مَکاید
 و حیلِ اعدا را که بقا و ثبوت حکمِ اِنَّ اَوْهَنَ الْبُيُوتِ لَبَیْتُ
اَلْعَنَکُبُوتِ داشت - از همه گسسته ساخت - و سرپنجه تقدیر کند
 دولت و طنابِ سعادتِ ارجمند ما را که از رشتهای خلود برهم تافته
 بود - ببازوی اعانت بر کنگره مراد انداخت - و شعاع تیغ آتشبار
 از ظلمات غبار کارزار - خورشیدِ نصرت ما را چنان شارق گردانید
 که مواکِبِ کواکب را حیرت دست داد - و غواصِ شمشیرِ آبدار
 از دریای معركة - لآلِی فُتَح و ظفر را چنان برآورد که گوهرِ شب
 چراغِ بحرِ فلکِ اخضر در تعجب افتاد - و هاتِفِ غیب بعد از
 ادای مراسمِ تحسین - زبان بشکرانه این فتحِ مبین کشود - و باین
 ترانه ترنم نمود -

شکرِ خدا که گوهرِ اقبال و درِ فتح
 در پای دولت تو سعادت نثار کرد
 دولت عنان ملک بدست تو باز داد
 اقبال بر سمنند مرادت سوار کرد
 اولیای دولتِ قاهره ازین معنی بغایت آسودند - و در ریاضِ مسرت -
 استنشاقِ نسیمِ شادمانی نمودند - بریدِ شمال چون این مژده بگلزار

رسانید - فراشانِ بهارِ بآئینِ بستنِ ممالکِ بساتینِ برخواستند -
و اورنگِ فیروزه فامِ گلبن را بفیروزی بیاراستند - سبزه خوش
برآمد - و چنار بدست زدن درآمد - سرو از شادی سر بر
فلک افراخت - و بادِ صبا خزاینِ بوستان را که از زرِ گل و سیم
شکوفه آراسته بود - در اقطارِ گلزارِ برسمِ نثار منتشر ساخت -
نرگس همواره در انتظارِ این بشارت چشمِ امید کشوده بود طبقِ
زر باو بخشید - و غنچه که پیوسته از برای حصولِ این امنیت لب
بدعا باز کرده بود خرده که داشت در راه او بطریقِ نثار پاشید -

• نظم •

باز این چه جوانی و جمال است جهان را

این حال که نو گشت زمین را و زمان را

فَقُطِعَ دَابِرُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
آزای^(۱) ایام بکام و مهام بر نهج انتظام -
• نظم •

اسپِ دولت زیر رانِ چترِ ظفرِ بالای سر

فتح و نصرت پیش و پس عونِ الهی را ببین

از چمنِ خارِ نمای گل آرای عسی آن تکره‌ها شینا و هو
خیر لکم نسیمِ بشارت بمشامِ جانِ شکستگانِ معركة مکاره و احزان

(۱) بمعنی گردش ببینید ارباب انگلش لیکسین مصنفه این مطبوعه سنه ۱۸۶۳ع

میرسد - حکمتِ قاهرهٔ الهی تواند بود که عرایسِ مطالب و مقاصد
 بکسوتِ مکاره و شدايد جلوه دهد - و لطایفِ نعمت و عطا را در
 مایدهٔ نعمت و عنا پیش آورد -
 * نظم *

عاشقی کاگاه گشت از لطفِ پنهانی دوست
 هرچه پیشِ راهش آید خار یا گل خیر اوست
 بسیار دولت که سببِ ظهور او آثارِ نکبت باشد - و بسی جمعیت
 و کامرانی که موجبِ آن نامرادی و پریشانی بود - بسا رخنه که اصل
 محکمهاست - بسا اندوه که در وی خرمیهاست *

بسا قفلان که بندش ناپدید است
 چو وا بینی نه قفل است آن کلید است
 و از اشباه و نظایر این احکام - چمنِ دولت و روضهٔ مملکت باین
 نهالِ بیهمال - و غنچهٔ گلشنِ جاه و جلال آراسته شد - و ریاحینِ
 آمال - از نکبتِ آن گلدستهٔ شرف و اقبال شگفته گشت -

* نظم *

ز موجِ بحرِ کرم گوهری پدید آمد
 ز اوجِ چرخِ شرف اختری پدید آمد
 بباغِ مجد و معالی گلِ مراد شگفت
 نهالِ دولت و دین را بری پدید آمد

و السلام *

Manuscript copy of the *Dīwān* of *Dārā Shikūh*.¹

By ZAFAR HASAN.

The manuscript, as its name indicates, is a collection of poems composed by the Prince *Dārā Shikūh*, the eldest son of the Emperor *Shāhjahān*. It comprises 133 *ghazals* with 28 *rubā'iyāt* (quatrains) at the end, the former being arranged in the alphabetical order of their final letters (i.e. according to *radīfs* and *qāfiyas*), while the latter, viz. *rubā'iyāt*, having no such arrangement. Unfortunately it is incomplete, as all the *ghazals* of the *radīfs* from *ا* to *ج* and partly of the *radīfs* of *د*, *ر* and *ز* are wanting. Thus some of the folios from the middle of the manuscript are missing, and in the absence of pagination it cannot be said as to how many they were. Noticing however that most of the *radīfs*, which are wanting, are not popular, it is concluded that the missing portion was not of any great magnitude. The portion, as it exists, comprises 48 folios measuring 6½" by 4", and the following is a detail of the *ghazals* contained in it under various *radīfs* :—

<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>	<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>
ا	15	ج	1
ب	6	ح	1
ت	25	خ	1
ث	1	د	28

¹ So far as I am aware it represents the only copy of the work, and it is with a view to making enquiries about any other copy of it that I take this opportunity of bringing it to the notice of the scholars interested in Indian history and Persian literature and poetry.

It is proposed to edit and publish the *Dīwān*, but the manuscript copy in my possession is incomplete and defective, requiring other copies for collation. My own enquiries about any other copy of the work have so far been unsuccessful, and any information on the subject will be greatly appreciated if communicated to me at the address noted below : "Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra."

<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>	<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>
ذ	1	م	2 (see remark against ر)
ر	7 (the figure does not show the total number of <i>ghazals</i> of which some are missing).	ن	15
ـ		و	6
ل - ز	Wanting.	ـ	13
		ی	11 (see remark against ر).

The manuscript is written in *Shikasta* script (running style) on Kashmiri paper. It is not in good condition, having been badly eaten by worms, and consequently many words at the holes made by the worms have partly or entirely disappeared. At the end there is a colophon, but it refers only to the title of the manuscript, viz. '*Diwān-i-Dārā Shikūh*', and does not bear the name of the scribe or the date of transcription. From the ink, which has lost its sheen, it appears that the writing must be quite old, presumably of about the same period when the *Diwān* was composed (middle of the 17th century). It may be noted that the character of Persian scripts, viz. *Nasta'liq* and *Shikasta*, have not undergone any modification through ages, but their original style still persists, and hence a writing in either of those scripts cannot be assigned a date with any amount of certainty on the basis of its character or style.

The manuscript was received more than twenty years ago from a friend of mine, who is no more. It had been in loose sheets which were offered to me in two instalments with an interval of some seven months. According to the statement of my friend those sheets were picked up by him from the heaps of waste papers which were doomed to destruction. Fortunately the first and last folios, having respectively an endorsement and a colophon transcribed on them, were included among the sheets offered to me, and these records, which run as follows, assign the authorship of the work to Dārā :—

Endorsement—

دیوان دارا شکوه بادشاهزاده

قادرى تخلص

Translation—

Diwān of the Prince Dārā Shikūh.

Qādirī, *Takhalluṣ* (poetic name).

Colophon—

تمت تمام شد کار من نظام شد
دیوان دارا شکوه

Translation—

It (the book) is completed and my engagement is over.
Diwān of Dārā Shikūh.

Both the endorsement and the colophon are written in the same handwriting and with the same ink as the manuscript, and their authenticity is beyond any question. They also receive support from the contents of the manuscripts, and the under-mentioned verse bears a testimony to the fact that the poetic name Qādirī, which is repeated in the final verse of each and every *ghazal*, was assumed by Dārā :—

چون بداری خویش دل بسپرد قادری نیز عین دارا شد

Translation—

When he gave heart to his God (Dārā)
Qādirī also became the very Dārā.

(There is a pun on the word Dārā which is a proper name and also refers to God.)

As regards the merit of the *Diwān*, it is an excellent specimen of Persian poetry and literature prevailing in India at the period. The main theme struck in it is *Sufism* (mysticism), which was the hobby of Dārā, but most of the verses are also expressive of his emotion and sentiment—his deep affection and high esteem for his *Pīr* (spiritual guide) Mullā Shāh, for whose sake he makes lavish praises of Kashmir, Lahore and the Punjab; his reverence for saints, particularly those of the *Qādiriya* sect to which his *Pīr* belonged; his religious belief and faith; his dislike for *Mullās* on account of their narrow-mindedness; and his moral principles and character. Sometimes his flight of imagination carries him beyond the Islamic fundamentals, and he speaks after the fashion of old Muslim mystics in enigmas, which are susceptible of more or less orthodox interpretation. Allusions are also to be found to his aspirations for throne and to the effect that he considered himself superior to his brothers and that he had assumed certain royal prerogatives during the lifetime of his father Shāhjahān. A few verses illustrating these points are quoted below :—

I. Verses on the subject of *Waḥdat-ul-wajūd*¹ (the whole existence in the universe consists of one) or *Hama Ūst* (the

¹ Generally speaking, the doctrine of *Waḥdat-ul-wajūd* or *Hama Ūst* is parallel to pantheism signifying that God is everything and everything is God.

whole universe is God) which is the most important doctrine of *Sufism*. There is a large number of verses signifying this view, and the following are selected as specimens:—

هر سو که نظر کنی همه اوست وجه الله عیانست رو برو را

Translation—

Wherever you see all is He, the appearance of God is visible face to face.

(۱) گفت انا الحق و داد خود فتوی

دار گشت و کشید خود را خود

(۲) در پس پرده گفتگو میکرد

پرده برداشت دید خود را خود

Translation—

(1) He Himself said *Anal Haqq* (I am God) and Himself pronounced a judgement, He Himself became gallows and hanged Himself.

(2) He talked from behind a screen, (when) He raised the screen He saw Himself.

(In the first verse there is reference to Mansūr Hallāj, a mystic, who proclaimed '*Anal Haqq*' (I am God) and was sentenced to death for heresy by Khalifa Al-Muqtadir of Baghdād about the year 919 A.D.)

(۱) ای آکل و اکل و شرب و ماکول تویی

وی فاعل کل فعل و مفعول تویی

(۲) در صورت حال و ماضی و استقبال

هم عرض تو بوده و هم طول تویی

Translation—

(1) O! Thou who art eater, meat and drink and the substance eaten. O! Thou who art the doer of every action and the object bearing the effect thereof.

(2) In the form of present, past and future, Thou hast been breadth and also length.

- (۱) هرچه بینی جز او این وهم تست
 غیر او دارد وجودی چون سراب
 (۲) بحر لا محدود ذات واحد است
 ما و تو چون نقش و چون موج بر آب

Translation—

- (1) Anything which you see besides Him is the object of your imagination, things other than He have their existence like mirage.
 (2) The existence of one God is like a boundless ocean, we and thou are like a mark and a wave in water.

- (۱) خویشان را جدا نمی دانم
 لیک خود را خدا نمیدانم
 (۲) قطره را نسبتی که با بحر است
 بیشتر زین روا نمیدانم

Translation—

- (1) I do not think myself separate from God, nevertheless I do not consider myself God.
 (2) The relation which a drop of water bears with an ocean is applicable in this respect, and beyond that nothing is permissible according to my belief.

II. Verses showing an opinion that it is necessary to be disciple of a saint :—

- (۱) طعن کردی تو بر ارادت من
 من ز طعن تو کی شوم دلگیر
 (۲) من چگونه مرید کس نشوم
 از ارادت مرا سرشت و خیر
 (۳) من مریدم بحضرت میران
 هست دشنام پیش من بی پیر

Translation—

- (1) You criticized my discipleship, but I do not resent your reproach.
- (2) How is it possible that I do not become disciple of somebody when my very nature is imbued with discipleship?
- (3) I am a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Mirān and to be without *Pīr* (spiritual guide) is an abuse in my opinion.

III. Verses in eulogy of Mullā Shāh, Dārā's *Pīr* (spiritual guide). Mullā Shāh, whose real name was Shāh Muḥammad, was a native of Badkshān, a city in Afghānistān. He came to India about the year 1023 A.H. (1614-15 A.D.) and settled at Kashmir. He was a disciple of Miṣyān Mir of Lahore, who is also eulogized by Dārā. Mullā Shāh died at Lahore where he was buried near the tomb of Miṣyān Mir¹:—

(۱) حضرت ملا شاه است آن شاه ما

که مرید خاص میان میر هست

(۲) هر کسی را زر کند ارشاد او

طالبانرا فقر او اکسیر هست

Translation—

- (1) Ḥaḍrat Mullā Shāh is my *Pīr*, who is the chief disciple of Miṣyān Mir.
- (2) His teachings make gold of every copper (turn evil people into good); to his followers his poverty is an elixir.

(۱) دلم پروای صد دشمن ندارد

مرا چون شاه دارد در حمایت

(۲) تو کردی قادری را خانه آباد

سلامت بر سرش دارد خدایت

¹ *Bādshāh Nāma* by Mullā 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, Persian text, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1867, Vol. I, Part II, p. 333; *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī* by Maulvi Nūr Aḥmad Chishtī, Hamidia Steam Press, Lahore, 1324 Hijra, pp. 259-261; *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* by Sayyid Muḥammad Laṭīf, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892, pp. 59 and 175-176; *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, published by W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1894, pp. 278-279. Beale says Mullā Shāh died at Kashmir.

Translation—

- (1) My heart cares not a hundred enemies, when Shāh keeps me under his protection.
 (2) You rendered the house of Qādirī flourishing, may God keep you over his head.

هست ملا شه آن وجود شریف که برو هر نهان عیان باشد

Translation.—

Mullā Shāh is that sublime personality to whom every hidden thing is clear.

توتیا گشت بهر هر دیده شاه را هر که خاک راه بود

Translation—

He, who regards himself as dust of the road of Shāh, found place in the eyes of everybody like antimony.

IV. Verses lamenting the death of a saint named Muḥammad and giving the date of it as Tuesday, 15th of Ṣafar, the year 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.). Muḥammad was also the name of Mullā Shāh, and if these verses refer to his death, the date stated therein does not correspond with that related by other authors, who place the event in 1069 A.H. (1658-59 A.D.),¹ 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.),² or 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.).³ Miṣyān Mīr too bore the name of Muḥammad, but his death occurred in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.). If it is mourned in these verses there is again a discrepancy in date :—

(۱) چون نباشد آسمان با چشم تر

چون سفر فرمود شیخ بحر و بر

(۲) فقر او شاگرد فقر احمدی

بود کتر پیش او از خاک زر

(۳) آن محمد گر نمی آمد برون

اهل شرق و غرب را گردید سر

¹ *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*, p. 261.

² Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 279.

³ Latīf's *Lahore*, p. 59.

(۴) اولیا را مرگ می باشد حرام

لایموتون هست چون اندر خبر

(۵) در هزار و پنجدو چون رفت او

روز سه شنبه ده و پنج از صفر

Translation—

- (1) Why should heaven not shed tears when the chief of the land and sea departed ?
- (2) He followed Aḥmad (Muḥammad, the Prophet) in contentment, and considered gold less than dust.
- (3) Should that Muḥammad not come into existence, the people of east and west would have gone stray.
- (4) To saints death is inadmissible, as 'Lā yamūtūn' (they do not die) is written in Ḥadīth (sayings of the Prophet).
- (5) He died in one thousand and fifty-two, on Tuesday, the fifteenth of Ṣafar.

V. Verses in praises of Miṣyān Mīr, who was the *Pīr* of Mullā Shāh. The real name of Miṣyān Mīr was Shaikh Muḥammad Mīr. He was born at Sivastān in Persia in the year 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.), and came, while he was young, to Lahore where he resided and died at the age of 88 in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.)¹ Mullā 'Abdul Hamīd of Lahore, the author of *Shāhjahān Nāma*, places his death in the year 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.) and says that he was buried at Lahore in the village of Ghīyāthpūr near 'Ālamganj² :—

خطره اندر دلم نمی آمد خطره ها دور کرده میان میر

Translation—

My heart feels no fear as all dreads and doubts have been removed by Miṣyān Mīr.

بود غفرش بخاک حضرت میر که در خود همچو او مستور دار

Translation—

It (Lahore) is proud of the dust (tomb) of Ḥaḍrat Mīr, as it has him buried in it.

¹ *Safinat-ul-Auliya* by Dārā Shikūh, Persian text, Naval Kishor Press, Cawnpore, 1900, pp. 70-73; *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishī*, pp. 250-272; Laṭīf's *Lahore*, pp. 59 and 174-176; Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 364.

² *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 329-331.

VI. Verses in praise of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir, the founder of the *Qādiriya* sect of *Ṣūfis*, whose tomb is at Baghdād :—

(۱) حضرت میران خداوند جهان

غوٹ جن و انس شاه عارفان

(۲) محی دین شیخ عبد القادر است

آنکه او را عرش باشد آشیان

(۳) رهنای شاه راه احمدی

دستگیر جمله درماندگان

(۴) کی توانم گفت من خود را مرید

قادری باشد سگ این آستان

Translation—

- (1) Ḥaḍrat Mirān, the lord of the world, Ghauth (shelter) of jinn and mankind, and the king of saints,
- (2) Muḥi-i-Dīn Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qādir, who has heaven for his abode, is
- (3) A guide to the highway of the religion of Aḥmad (Islām), and a helper to all of those who are destitute.
- (4) How can I call myself a disciple of his when Qādirī is (i.e. I am) a dog of his threshold ?

VII. Verses in praise of Shāh Bahā'-ud-Dīn, who was a saint of the *Suhrawardiya* sect of *Ṣūfis* and is buried at Multān :—

(۱) قطب دنیا و دین بهاء الدین

نقشبند یقین بهاء الدین

(۲) آنکه در حکم او همی باشد

آسمان و زمین بهاء الدین

(۳) وانکه در پیش او بعجز نهند

پادشاهان جبین بهاء الدین

Translation—

- (1) Quṭb (lord) of the world and religion is Bahā'-ud-Dīn,
and painter of belief is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.
- (2) He, whose subservient are the heaven and the earth,
is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.
- (3) And he, before whom kings low their forehead with
humility, is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.

VIII. Verses in praise of Kashmir, the Punjab and Lahore. These places were highly esteemed by Dārā for the sake of Mullā Shāh and Miyān Mīr. In one of these verses there is a reference to 'Dārāpūr', which was the name given, perhaps by Dārā himself, to the locality where the tomb of Miyān Mīr is situated. Laṭīf in his work entitled '*Lahore, Its History, Archaeological Remains and Antiquities*' (page 176) writes 'According to Dara Shikoh the saint (Miyān Mīr) was buried in the suburbs of 'Ālam Ganj and Darapur'. Mullā 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, the author of *Bādshāh Nāma*, also records that the tomb of Miyān Mīr is situated at Ghiyathpūr near 'Ālamganj,¹ but he makes no reference to Dārāpūr. Apparently the locality assumed this name after the *Bādshāh Nāma* was written. The name is now forgotten:—

چون خدا و صاحب من پیر است
کعبه من حضرت کشمیر است

Translation—

When my *Pīr* is my God and lord, my *Ka'ba* is *ḥaḍrat* (the blessed) Kashmir.

- (۱) خدا پنجاب را معمور دارد
ز خاک اولیا منظور دارد
- (۲) بود آباد دایم شهر لاهور
وبا و قط ازین جا دور دارد
- (۳) همیشه اولیا خیزد ازین ملک
خدا این قوم را مغفور دارد

¹ *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 331.

Translation—

- (1) God keeps the Punjab prosperous, and He graced it on account of the dust (tombs) of saints.
- (2) The city of Lahore ever remains flourishing, and He keeps it free from plague and famine.
- (3) Saints always appear from this country, and God forgives the sins of this sect.

(۱) عشق پنجابم نموده بقرار

زانکه نقش دوست در پنجاب هست

(۲) کعبه من حضرت لاهور دان

سجده من سوی آن محراب هست

(۳) قادری را کعبه داراپور شد

کاندران بسیار فتح الباب هست

Translation—

- (1) The love of the Punjab has made me uneasy, since the remains of the friend are in the Punjab.
- (2) Know ye Lahore as my Ka'ba, my prostration is towards that altar.
- (3) For Qādiri Dārāpūr became Ka'ba, since there is much success in it.

IX. Verses expressing Dārā's religious belief. They signify that he had faith in one God, and believed Muḥammad as the last prophet. They are indicative of his high esteem for the first four *Khalīfs* and *Panjtan* (i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, the husband of the latter, 'Alī, and Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the sons of Fāṭima and 'Alī). The expression of such a belief leaves no doubt that he was a Sunni Muslim:—

ترک زنار کرده‌ام ز آنرو * تار وحدت نبود در زنار

Translation—

I have given up *Zunnār* (Brahminical thread) for the reason that there was no string of *Wahdat* (unity of God) in it.

قادری نیست هیچ جز قادر * وَحْدَهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

Translation—

Qādir! there is nothing but God; He is one and there is no God but He.

متوجه مشو بغیر خدا * رشته هست سبحة و زنار

Translation—

Do not turn your attention to anything but God, rosary and *Zunnār* are only threads.

(۱) ز ذاتش هر دو عالم برقرار ست

ز حکمش کوه و دشت اندر بیانست

(۲) کسی خاموش از ذکرش نباشد

اگرچه سنگ و حیوان و نباتست

Translation—

(1) Both the worlds are extant from Him, by His order the mountain and the desert speak of Him.

(2) None is silent of the recital of His names, though it be stone, animal or herb.

چند بازی تو بر شریعت خود * احمد مرسل از خدا ست سوا

Translation—

How long will you play on your *Sharī'at* (religious law) that Aḥmad, the Prophet, is different from God?

از محمد هزار گل بشگفت * لیک در نام احمد و محمود

Translation—

From Muḥammad thousands of flowers blossomed (a large number of saints appeared among his followers), but under the names of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd (different names).

آن محمد شه رسولان بود * این محمد بود شه شاهان

Translation—

That Muḥammad (the Prophet) was the king of prophets and this Muḥammad (Mullā Shāh) is the king of saints.

تو همنشین من شو دیگر بدار دایم

چون خاتم النبیین با یار غار صحبت

Translation—

You become my companion and always stay with me,
as the last of the prophets (Muḥammad) had an
association with the friend in the cave.

(This is an allusion to Abū Bakr, the first *Khalīfa* who was hidden in a cave with Muḥammad before setting out on their immigration to Madinah. It also indicates that Dārā believed Muḥammad the last of the prophets.)

(۱) نیست بی چاره هیچ کار درست

نیست چیزی چو چار یار درست

(۲) هر بختی منی همی باید

پایه چار استوار درست

Translation—

(1) No work is correct without 'Chārah' (four, it may also mean help), nothing is perfect like 'Chār yār' (four Companions of the Prophet, viz. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṭhmān and 'Alī).

(2) For the good luck of mine are needed four pillars strong and sound.

(These verses show the respect and reverence of Dārā for the first four *Khalīfs*.)

(۱) ذات او هست پنج اهل الله

اهل توحید را امان باشد

(۲) صورتش جامع حقیقت شرع

شرع را او بکامیان باشد

Translation—

(1) His personality, which is the representation of five persons of God (allusion to Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain), is protection to the believers in one God.

(2) His figure symbolizes the truth of Islāmic law, and he makes the Islāmic law successful in serving its useful purpose.

(These verses which are in praise of Mullā Shāh indicate Dārā's belief in Islām and his high regard for *Panj Tan.*)

X. Verses ridiculing *Mullās* (Doctors of Islāmic law). A study of the *Dīwān* shows that Dārā did not hold un-Islāmic views, but he derided such Mullās as interpreted Shari'at (Islāmic law) to serve their worldly purpose :—

(۱) بهشت آنجا که ملائی نباشد

ز ملا بحث و غوغائی نباشد

(۲) جهان خالی شود از شور ملا

ز فتواهاش پروائی نباشد

(۳) دران شهری که ملا خانه دارد

درانجا هیچ دانائی نباشد

Translation—

- (1) Paradise is there where no Mullā exists, and where there is no controversy and debate with any Mullā.
- (2) May the world become free from the noise of Mullā, and may there be no care for the sentences passed by him !
- (3) In the city where a Mullā resides, there is not to be found any man wise.

هرکه می از جام وحدت درکشید

زاهدان شهر را چون خر گرفت

Translation—

He, who drank from the cup of *Waḥdat* (belief in the unity of God), regarded the religious people of the city (foolish) like an ass.

جمله عجب و ریاست این تقوی * کی بود لایق نگار ما

Translation—

All this piety is conceit and hypocrisy, how can it be worthy of our sweetheart ?

XI. Verses showing ethical and moral principles of Dārā :—

(۱) دست زر الود بد بو میشود

جان زر آلود را احوال چیست

(۲) روز و شب گوشت بمرگ مردمانست

مر ترا مردن بود این حال چیست

Translation—

(1) (When) hand soiled with gold becomes dirty of bad smell, how bad is the condition of the soul greedy of gold !

(2) Thou hearest day and night of the death of people, and thou hast also to die, how strange is this behaviour of thine !

قادی دید تا ترا در کل * صلح کل کرده از عناد گذشت

Translation—

When Qādirī saw you manifest in all the existence, he reconciled with all and gave up spite.

تا خودی هست دایم اندوهست

این چنین کرده اوستاد ارشاد

Translation—

As long as one is self-conceited there is grief, this has been stated by the teacher.

راز خود را بغیر دل تو مگوی

رازداری بغیر دل نبود

Translation—

Do not confide your secrets to anybody but heart, no one can keep secret but heart.

(۱) مسافر هر قدر باشد سبکار

نیابد در سفر تصدیع و آزار

(۲) تو هم اندر جهان هستی مسافر

یقین میدان اگر هستی تو هشیار

(۳) بقدر مال باشد سرگرانی

بقدر پینچ باشد بار دستار

(۴) خودی را نیز از خود دور گردان

که هم بار است بار وهم و پندار

(۵) تو تا باشی بدنیـا باش آزاد

ترا چون قادری کرده خبردار

Translation—

- (1) A traveller, unencumbered if he is, feels little worries and troubles,
- (2) You are also a traveller in the world, believe this if are prudent.
- (3) One assumes arrogance to the extent of wealth, as one feels the burden of turban according to its folds.
- (4) Keep vanity away from you, as the load of scruple and conceit is also a burden.
- (5) As long as you are in the world, pass your life independently, as Qādirī has warned you.

XII. Verses expressing Dārā's views approaching to heresy according to strict Islāmic point of view, but an allowance of poetic latitude acquits him of the charge, which is, however, contradicted from his other verses:—

قادری گشت قادر مطلق * از پی هر فنا کمال بقا ست

Translation—

Qādirī became Almighty, after every annihilation is the perfection of eternity.

قادری زود عین قادر شد * چون مدد کرد قادر بغداد

Translation—

Qādirī soon became the very God, when Qādir of Baghdād helped him.

هم محمد توی و هم الله * این عنایت ترا ست ارزانی

Translation—

Thou art Muḥammad and God too, this favour has been bestowed upon thee.

قادرى را ز قدرت كامل * قادر ذو الجلال سازدى

Translation—

With Your perfect providence make Qādirī powerful and glorified ('Qādir-i-Dhū'ljalāl' is an attribute of God) for a while.

XIII. Verses alluding to Dārā's aspirations, the conception of his superiority to his brothers and his bitterness against his opponents :—

قرنها همچو قادری باید * قادری صاحب قران گشته

Translation—

One like Qādirī requires ages to become Šāhib-i-Qirān (lord of happy constellation—this was the title assumed by Tīmūr and Shāhjahān).

(۱) هرچند که نیست سایه از ذات خدا

لیکن نبود سایه شه غیر نما

(۲) دانم چو بگویند مرا سایه حق

ترسم که ازین دوی بد آید حق را

Translation—

(1) Although there is no shadow of God, yet (the title of king as) the shadow of God does not signify otherwise.

(2) I know this when they call me 'The shadow of God', but I fear that this duality may cause an annoyance to God.

(۱) هیچکسی مرا نباید سنجید

من ز آنچه گفته ام نباید رنجید

(۲) هرچند که چار بچه زاید بلبل

بلبل بچه کلان به بلبل گردید

Translation—

- (1) Nobody should weigh me (by my sayings), nor should any one take ill at what I have said.
- (2) Although a nightingale produces four chickens, the first born turns out a nightingale.

(۱) اهل حق را که بد تو میخوانی

کفر بهتر ازین مسلمانی

(۲) شاه ما را که بد میگوی

عزل کردم ترا ز سلطانی

Translation—

- (1) You revile pious persons, infidelity is better than such an Islām.
- (2) As you abuse my Shāh (*Pir*), I deposed you from kingship. (This is perhaps an allusion to one of Dārā's brothers, possibly to Aurangzīb.)

Dārā is known as an author of several works on mysticism and lives of saints, the most famous of which are (a) *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, (b) *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, (c) *Sirr-i-Akbar*, (d) *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, and (e) *Risāla-i-Haqq Numā*.¹ The first two are the memoirs of saints, while the *Sirr-i-Akbar* is an interpretation in Persian of the well-known Sanskrit works entitled *Upanishads*, and the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* a discourse on the harmony of Brahmanism and Islām. In both of these works the author makes a comparative study of these two religions with an attempt to reconcile them, drawing conclusions that their teachings agree in essence, and the disharmony in them is superficial in technicalities only. The *Risāla-i-Haqq Numā* is a small treatise announcing the religious belief of the author, who confesses in it that he holds the Sunnī faith as propounded by the theologian Imām Abū Ḥanifa. Similar declaration has been made by him in the preface of *Safinat-ul-Auliya*. All these works, with the exception of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, have been lithographed or printed in India. Dārā is also related to have been a great patron of art, and the specimens of his writing, still available, signify his keen interest in the art of calligraphy, in which he himself attained a high² proficiency. He is, however, not given the

¹ Manuscript copies of (c), (d) and (e) are also in the possession of the writer of this article.

² *Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisān*, edited by Hidāyat Husain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 54.

credit of being a poet, as no reference to this effect is to be found in any of the memoirs of Indian poets. Laṭīf following *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī* gives a list of Dārā's literary works, and among them makes a mention of '*Diwān-i-Iksīr-i-A'zam*', but beyond quoting the title he says nothing about it.¹ Possibly that *Diwān* with a specific title alludes to the manuscript under notice, and if this is the case, we find a hint of another copy of the work. The fact that Dārā indulged in poetry is borne out by the following verses quoted from his *Diwān* :—

هزار و بیست غزل گفت قادری در عشق
مگر چه سود کسی منتبه نمیکرد

Translation—

Qādiri composed one thousand and twenty poems on the subject of love, but it is to no avail, as none takes warning.

It appears that his compositions in verse did not receive publicity for want of his admirers during the reign of Aurangzib, who denounced him as a heretic. The few copies of his *Diwān*, and poems, that might have been made during his life, were probably thrown in oblivion soon after his downfall and murder. This unfortunate prince is accredited with many accomplishments, and our manuscript makes an addition to them, giving him a place among the poets also.

To make the general readers, not well versed in the history of the Mughal empire in India, familiar with Dārā, it seems desirable to narrate a short account of him. He was the eldest son and heir-apparent of Shāhjahān, who ruled from 1627 to 1658 A.D. The latter had four sons, viz. Dārā Shikūh, Shāh Shujā', Aurangzib and Murād, all of whom were born to him from his favourite wife Arjumand Bānū Bigam, better known as Mumtāz Maḥal, to whose memory he built the celebrated *Tāj Maḥal* at Agra. In the year 1658 Shāhjahān fell ill, and a false report of his death actuated his three younger sons, who were governors of different provinces, to make a revolt against the central authority and extend their claims to the throne. The civil war, which broke out, resulted in the victory of Aurangzib, the third prince, who interned Shāhjahān in the Agra Fort, and put to death or imprisoned the vanquished princes, including Dārā. The latter was declared a heretic, and such a charge was not difficult to be established against him from the utterances which in a mystical sense he was wont freely to make.

¹ Laṭīf's *Lahore*, p. 64; *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*, p. 257.

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The Nāgas in the 3rd-4th Centuries A.D.

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

In 1906, in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 95, Vincent Smith recorded the opinion that 'The history of the third century A.D. in India is wrapped in obscurity, at present impenetrable, and not likely to be dispelled'. He reiterated this conclusion in his *Early History of India*: 'The period between the extinction of the Kushān and Andhra dynasties, about A.D. 220 or 230, and the rise of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (c. 350 A.D.), nearly a century later is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history. . . . Probably numerous Rājās asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states. . . . There is no indication of the existence of a paramount power'.

In 1913, in the *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Pargiter confirmed from the Purāṇas the findings of Vincent Smith from inserr. and coins regarding both the local and transient character of these Hindu Native States: 'These local dynasties are all classed together as more or less contemporaneous'. (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 44.)

In 1933, in *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*¹ Mr. Jayaswal challenges this position and proposes to place a paramount power prior to the imperial Guptas. As it involves a considerable readjustment of known literary and archaeological evidence, the proposed reconstruction deserves a careful scrutiny in order to note progress, if any, from the previous position.

Mr. Jayaswal's thesis takes the form of a mighty Bhāraśiva Nāga empire from c. 31 B.C. to 284 A.D., merged in the Vākāṭaka empire (c. 284 to 348 A.D.); his arguments are mainly three:—

- (a) inserr. and coins point to a great Bhāraśiva empire of the Nāgas (pp. 1-61); c. 31 B.C.-284 A.D.
- (b) inserr. and coins prove the Bhāraśiva Nāga empire merging in the Vākāṭaka empire through a grandson of the Nāgas (pp. 62-132); c. 284-348 A.D.
- (c) literature, specially the Purāṇas confirm (a) and (b).

(a) Actually, however, the entire edifice rests on a single incidental line of two inserr. of the self-same person Pravarasena Vākāṭaka; under (a) and (b), there is no direct reference, not even an indirect reference in a third inserr., no direct or indirect

reference in the inserr. of a second individual, and not a single coin; (c) is absolutely silent.

The two¹ inserr. are: Inserr. Nos. 619-20 of Kielhorn. (Chammak, Siwani and Dudia.)

The line: *daśāśvamedhāvabhṛthasnānānām Bhāraśivānām mahārājaśrī-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya . . .*

The materials for the construction are supplied by the three words in the line:—(i) Bhāraśiva, (ii) Bhavanāga, (iii) daś-āśvamedha.

(i) *Bhāraśiva*.

In 1914, JRAS, p. 323, Vincent Smith said, 'So far as I know, the Bhāraśivas are not mentioned elsewhere'. It has not been found till to-day. The original plates were in the possession of Major Szczepanski and Hazari Gond Malguzar when Fleet gave this first reading from the earlier readings of Indrāji, Bühler and Prinsep. No attempt has been made to verify the reading. The nearest known word in Sanskrit is *bhāraśikha* used in some commentaries on the Nirukta. In box-headed Vākāṭaka of the IV-VII centuries A.D., the similarity between *va* and *kha* is striking.²

(ii) *Bhavanāga*.

' . . . nor is there any other notice of a sovereign named Bhavanāga.' (V. Smith, JRAS, 1914, p. 323.) Fleet, the editor of the Gupta inserr. where names of rulers of Nāga tribes or dynasties are not uncommon (GI., pp. 12, 13, 62 and n., 283, 298) does not take this Bhavanāga to be of a Nāga dynasty. Others before Mr. Jayaswal have speculated on the possible meaning of the name ending in *-nāga*. Speculation, however, is not evidence.

(iii) *daś-āśvamedha*.

' . . . who had performed ten *āśvamedhas* followed by baths of completion.'

It is not necessary to get unduly excited by this *āśvamedha* exploit. An *āśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice could be celebrated by any prince who had subdued his neighbours. In *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 115, Dr. Bhandarkar shows that 'even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice which may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*'. It is difficult to escape from a number of these *āśvamedhas* even within the limited period

¹ Fleet, *CIC*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inserr.*, Nos. 55, 56; pp. 237, 241, 245, 248.

² Bühler's *Tafeln*: Tafel IV, VI-VIII for similarities in non-Vākāṭaka scripts.

under discussion. Thus, Pravarasena I Vākātaka performed 4 even though only a Mahārāja, not a Mahārājādhirāja (Ajaṇṭā inscr., No. 622 of K); Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin Mahārāja performed 11 (Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193; Vol. XI, p. 134), against Samudragupta's 1 *aśvamedha*, his contemporary and reversioner in the south Mayūrasarmā Kadamba (345-370 A.D.) performed 18! Instances could be multiplied. So were Aśvamedhas by the process laid down by the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 88. 14)—

evam-atra mahārāja dakṣiṇām tri-guṇām kuru |
tritvaṃ vrajatu te rājan brāhmaṇā hy-atra kārṇam ||

From 1914 to 1936, not a single new datum has come to light regarding any of the three items (i) to (iii) above. As such a Bhārasīva Nāga Empire must remain, pending further corroboration, a figment of the imagination.

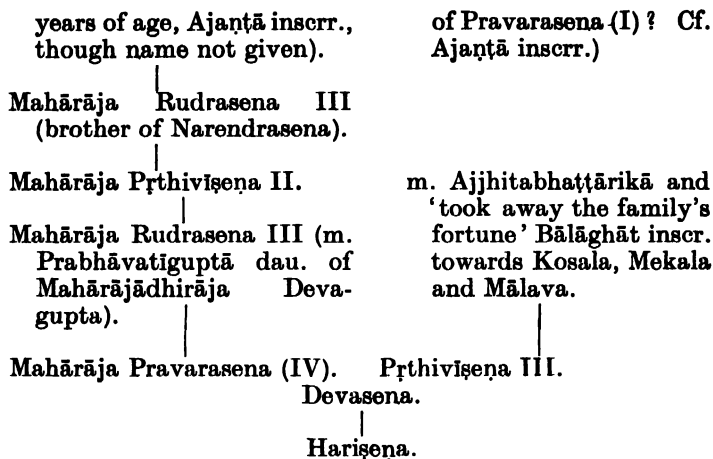
(b) The so-called Nāga-Vākātaka merger is based on the following inscr. of the Vākātakas :—

Chammak (Gupta Inscr., No. 55, p. 235), Siwani (Gupta Inscr., No. 56, p. 243), Dudia (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 258), Bālāghāt (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 268), Pathak's Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XLI, 1912, p. 215), two Ajaṇṭā inscr. (*A.S.W.I.*, IV, pp. 53, 124, 129), Guwārā Ghaṭotkacha cave inscr. (*A.S.W.I.*, IX, pp. 64, 138).

VĀKĀTAKA GENEALOGY.¹

Inscr. Nos. 619-20 (Chammak, Siwani, and Dudia).	Inscr. No. 622 (Ajaṇṭā). Vindhyaśakti.	Pathak <i>op. cit.</i>
Mahārāja Pravarasena (I).	Pravarasena (I).	
Gautamiputra, m. dau. of Mahārāja Bhava- nāga of the Bhārasīvas.		
Mahārāja Rudrasena (I).	Rudrasena (I).	
Mahārāja Pṛthiviṣeṇa (I).	Pṛthiviṣeṇa (I) (Conquered the lord of Kuntala).	
Mahārāja Rudrasena (II), m. Prabhāvatīguptā,		Rudrasena (II), m. Śrī Prabhāvatī,

¹ V. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 322.



Towards the middle of the VIIth century the Vākātakas were replaced by the Kaṭachuris who claimed possession of all the country between Nāsik and Ujain by the end of the VIth century.

This Devagupta, contemporary and father-in-law of Rudrasena III, is known from the Madhuvaṇ and Banskhera inscr., of Harṣa, and from coins,¹ and belongs to the end of the VIth century, c. 600 A.D.

Besides the inscr. mentioned and utilized by V. Smith, Mr. Jayaswal has the advantage of comparing the Poona Plates of the reign of Dāmodarasena Pravarasena by Queen-Mother Prabhāvatī Guptā, Mahādevī, wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Mahārāja Śrī Dāmodara-Pravarasena, *I.A.*, Vol. 53, 48 and the Patna Museum Plates of Pravarasena, *JBORS.*, XIV, 465, with the Poona Plates of the Regent Queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II and Mahādevī Kuvera-Nāgā, mother of Yuvarāja Divākarasena, *E.I.*, XV, 39. From the phraseology, genealogy and palaeography of the inscr. there appear to be three Prṭhiviṣeṇas and four Pravarasenas among the Vākātakas during five centuries (III–VII A.D.). Jayaswal accepts as truth and follows V. Smith in finding another name for Devagupta (i.e. Chandragupta II) against the testimony of his own daughter Prabhāvatī, and the considered opinion of his faithful editor Fleet. The question is still open and awaits further research.

(c) Literature.

The following books deal historically with the period under discussion:—

- (i) Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, c. 70 A.D.

¹ Cunningham, *CMI.*, Pl. II.

- (ii) Ptolemy, c. 140 A.D.
- (iii) *Mahāmāyūrī*, c. 300 A.D. (*JA.*, Jan.-Feb., 1915).
- (iv) *Purāṇas*, c. 320-335 A.D.
- (v) *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, c. 900 A.D.

None of these contains the remotest reference to a Bhāraśiva Nāga empire, or to any empire in Northern India in the IIIrd and early IVth centuries A.D. (iii) and (iv) make it abundantly clear that a large number of States were ruling at the same time. In fact, even a cursory glance at the *Purāṇa Text* (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-55) demonstrates this last point regarding the local and contemporary nature of these Native States so conclusively, that it would be mere excess of zeal to labour the point.

Thus the position summed up by Pargiter and Vincent Smith still holds good—but with a difference. Information concerning these local dynasties is lending itself to surer method and fuller interpretation.

Evidence about the Nāgas as detailed below would show the progress made in this direction.

VAIDIŚAKA NĀGAS.

The *Purāṇas* are clear about the chronology of these Vaidiśakas:—

- (a) Pulomāvi is the last of the Andhras. (Mt 273, 1-17; Vā 99, 348-58).
- (b) Andhrabhṛtyas, Ābhīras, Gardabhinās, Śakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras (Vā 99, 358-65; Mt 273, 17-24).
- (c) Śeṣa-Nāgas (Vā 99, 366-69).

Inscriptions and coins place the first of the Andhras c. 150-151 B.C. (Khāravēla inscr. and coin of Śrī-Śāta identified with Śrī-Śātakarnī of the Nanaghat inscr.) Vidiśā passed from the Mauryas to the Śuṅgas and was the capital of Agnimitra (*Mālavikāgnimitram*). Kautsigputra-Bhāgabhadra, a contemporary of Antialkidas was the king of Vidiśā. (*Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 127.) This 9th Śuṅga king (Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra acc. to the Besnagar inscr.) was succeeded by Devabhūmi who was murdered by Vāsudeva Kāṇva. From Vāsudeva, Vidiśā passed to the Śātavāhanas c. 27 (B.C.). Thus about the 1st century B.C. the Śātavāhanas were ruling in Eastern Malwa with their capital at Vidiśā. The Andhra coins suggest that Western Malwa may have been conquered by the Andhras at a much earlier period. (Rapson, *Cat. Ind. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. xciii.)

(a) The last of the Andhras was overwhelmed by the Śaka invasion which started under the Kushānas, c. 25 B.C. Rapson

agrees with Cunningham that the Vidiśā coins 'of Besnagar and Eran (i.e. of Ākara, East Malwa, nearly all square, are markedly different¹ from those of Ujain (i.e. of Avanti, West Malwa) being invariably round pieces'. (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xcii.)

(b) *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, c. 70 A.D., describes Scythia at the apex of the Indus valley as a region torn by Indo-Parthian dissensions (ed. Shroff, pp. 32, 37, 39, 166). Cave No. 3 Nāsik inscr. No. 2 (*EI.*, Vol. VIII, p. 61) records 'Gautamīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, rooted out the Kṣaharāta race and restored the Śātavāhana family'. He was an Andhrabhṛtya about 124 A.D. (cf. the Joghalmembhi hoard of 13,250 coins of Nahapāna of which 9,270 restruck by Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra ruled over Ākarāvanti, i.e. Avanti (West Malwa) and Ākara (East Malwa) with Vidiśā as its capital. The Śaka power was again consolidated under two lines of rulers; the 'Northern Satraps' from the Indus to the Jumna, and the 'Western Satraps' in Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa. Thus both before and after 124 A.D., Nahapāna of Malwa (including Vidiśā) and Hagāna, Hagāmāṣa, Rājuvula, Śodāsa, Kharahostes and Kalni of Mathurā before, and the Kṣaharātas of the family of Chaṣṭana in Ujain and Vidiśā, and the Kushāṇas at Mathurā (cf. Gaṇeshrā inscr. Mathurā mound No. 2, 1910-11, JRAS, 1912, p. 122) were related. In the first quarter of the IIIrd century, Malwa (West and East) was in turn ruled by the Western Kṣatrapas under the Kushāṇas and by the Mahārāṭhis under the Śātavāhanas. (Rapson, *IC.*, p. 23). The same state of affairs was in vogue in the Ist and IIrd centuries; 124 A.D.—Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi *versus* Nahapāna, 150 A.D.—Rudradāman *versus* Śātakarṇi. (Rapson, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, p. cxix.) These Mahārāṭhis of Malwa bear the names of Cuṭu, Nāga and Pallava. (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.)

(c) With the weakening of the Kṣatrapas in the 2nd quarter of the IIIrd century, the Nāga Mahārāṭhis of Eastern Malwa asserted their local supremacy in Vidiśā, while the Western Kṣatrapas continued to issue coins till 348 A.D. Rudrasena III, son of Rudradāman II (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 247). These Vaidīśaka Nāgas are described in the Purāṇas as born of Śeṣa-Nāga.

The evidence of the Purāṇas regarding these local dynasties is so continuous in its chronology (Vā 99, 348-58, 358-65, 366-69) and it is so consistently corroborated by the inscr. and coins referred to above that there must be special reasons for proposing any other arrangement.

An alternative arrangement is suggested by Mr. Jayaswal in his *Hist. of India*, pp. 14-15. His reasons are not convincing.

¹ For an analysis and comparison of the Western and Eastern, i.e. Ujain and Vidiśā Andhras and Kṣatrapas, see Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. clxv-cviii.

A fatal objection to Mr. Jayaswal's dating of the Vaidīśaka Nāgas (Śeṣa-Bhogin, Rāma-candra, Dharma-varman and Vaṅgara) between 110-90 B.C. is the definite mention of Nakhavān as a past king in the Purāṇa list (Vā 99, 368) as a predecessor of Sadā-candra or Rāma-candra.¹ When Vā, Bḍ, and Bh all give the name as Nakhavān, Nakhapāna (i.e. Nahapāna), it is no use saying that Vṣ omits it. As a matter of fact Mt omits the whole list, from Śeṣa downwards. The reason attributed to Vṣ by Mr. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 9) that it (Nahapāna) was not to be read in the line of the Nāgas, is gratuitous as none of the Purāṇas takes it that way. The Sanskrit text has been correctly translated by Pargiter as—'who will be a second Nakhavant (or Nakhapāna's offspring)' (*Pur. Text.*, p. 72). Nakhapāna is thus a predecessor. Mr. Jayaswal offers no explanation for departing from this obvious rendering. In any case Nahapāna (with a long coin series, Rapson, *CIC.*, pp. 65-70) cannot be placed earlier than 119-124 A.D.,² surely not in the 2nd-1st century B.C. Thus the Vaidīśaka Nāgas commencing from Śeṣa have to be placed not earlier than IIInd century A.D., preferably in the 1st quarter of the IIIrd century A.D.

Inserr.

Besides the 4 mentioned in the Purāṇas (Śeṣa,³ Bhogin, Sadācandra, Dhanadharma and Vaṅgara), the following names occur in inserr. pertaining to this locality.—

- (i) Nāga-Nikā (*Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64). Nanaghat inscr.
- (ii) Mahārathi Agnimitra-Nāga, (*EI.*, VII, p. 49).
- (iii) Skanda-Nāga-Śātaka or Śivaskanda-Nāga (Kaṇheri; Lüders List, No. 1021).

'There can be no doubt that the mother of Skanda-Nāga is to be identified with the donor mentioned in the Banavasi inscr. and was the daughter of king Haritiputra Vishṇukada Cuṭu Śatakarni.' (Rapson, *CIC.*, p. liii.) Kaṇheri is in Aparānta. The name of the mother is Nāga-Mula-Nikā. In the Banavasi inscr., IIInd century A.D., the king's daughter is named Nāgaśrī and she makes the gift of a Nāga.

The Maḷavalli inscr. of a Kadamba king (No. 1196, Lüders List) mentions Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 252). The Nāgas were succeeded by the Pallavas about 225 A.D.-338 A.D. (Bappadeva-

¹ Pargiter, *Pur. Texts*, p. 48.

² Rapson, *CIC.*, p. xxvi.

³ Śeṣa, though called a Nāga-rajā, does not appear to have ruled in Vaidīśa, Vā. 99, 367.

Viṣṇugopa) near Kāñci. In Malwa Vaidiśa they found local rivals in Bhūtinanda and others (Vā 99, 369-70).

The interrelation between the Mahārāṣṭri Nāgas and the Kṣaharātas in Aparānta is shown by the following inserr.: (1) Rudradāman's daughter married a Śātakarṇi (Kaṇheri); (2) Śiva-Skanda-Nāga's daughter married a Pallava who founded the Pallava power (Velūrpālayam plates); (3) Rudradāman's minister was a Pallava (Girnar inscr.); (4) Hiraḥaḍagalli plates are dated in the reign of Śiva-Skanda-Pallava, while the Banavasi inscr. mentions Śiva-Skanda-Nāga.

Coins.

In ascribing coins to these Vaidiśaka Nāgas, it is necessary to emphasize that Indian coin-types are essentially local in character. Each locality retains its types, fabric and main characteristics often unchanged not only by changes of dynasty, but even by the transference of power from one race to another. Under the Græco-Indian and Indo-Scythic princes, Guptas and Hūnas, distinct varieties were in circulation in different districts at the same time. *Provenance* therefore is essential for adequate assignment. Generally speaking Prinsep and Cunningham are correct in tracing Gupta and post-Gupta coin-types directly from the Kushāṇa coinage. Rapson has similarly traced the silver coins of Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and successors to the hemi-drachms of the Greek princes of the Panjab who were their predecessors (*IC.*, p. 21). In the latter case, however, a clear distinction can be drawn between the coin-types of Ākara—East Malwa with capital at Vidiśā, and Avanti—West Malwa with capital at Ujain. Thus a distinction could be made between the square coins of Vidiśā and the round ones of Ujain (Rapson, *CAI.*, p. xcii), apart from the wider symbols of 'Chaitya,' 'Ujain symbol', and 'tree within railing'. On this basis it is possible to affiliate the Andhras, Andhrasbhrtyas, Eastern Malwa Kṣatrapas and Vaidiśaka Nāgas to an earlier, possibly indigenous, coin-type, whereas the Western Kṣatrapas appear to belong to the Græco-Indian and Indo-Parthian coin-type substantially modified by the Śaka-Kushāṇa coinage of central and western India. Weights also cause no confusion as in every age in India 'The various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units' (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. vii).¹

Judged by the above criteria, at least one of the coins published as of Nine Nāgas, by Cunningham in *CMI.*, Plate II, Nos. 13-25 is of a Vaidiśaka Nāga. It is the square coin of Vyāghra, No. 22 in the plate. The rest seem to belong to the Nava-Nāga group with centres at Padmāvati (Narwar),





¹ Rapson, *CIC.*, pp. clxxxi-clxxxii.

Kāntipuri, Mathurā and possibly Champāvati. (Vā 99, 382). The coins of the founder Nava of this later Nāga line contemporary with the early Guptas c. 300–350 A.D. stand in the peculiar position of lingering Vaidiśa affinities and are square,¹ whereas the other Nāga coins on Plate II, Nos. 13–21, 23–25 are round and may belong to the Nava Nāga families further to the north, e.g. Mathurā, whose Kṣatrapas were related to the Western Kṣatrapas of Ujain.

NAVA NĀGAS.

The Purāṇas place the Nava-Nāgas in Padmāvati, Kāntipuri, Mathurā and possibly Champāvati (Vā 99, 382–88; Vṣ iv, 24, 18) ruling as contemporaries of the Gupta kings along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and the Magadhas, and along with other contemporary kings—evidently before 350 A.D. the conquest of Samudragupta. Cunningham was misled by the term Nava and interpreted it as *nine*. He even stretched a point or two in favour of his supposition. Thus in his *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. X, 1880, p. 37, he says: 'There were also amongst them eight specimens of the satraps of Saurāshtra, eight Nāgas of Narwar, and one coin of Chandra Gupta'. In 1894, in his *Coins of Medieval India*, he published these under the heading 'Nine Nāgas of Narwar', Pl. II, p. 9.

Coins of Nava.

As early as the 7th June, 1837, three coins of Nava were known and confidently read as *Navasa* by Prinsep. Prinsep had the perspicacity to note the peculiarity of the group: 'Another distinct group (that made known first by Mr. Spiers) from Allahabad (pl. xxvi, figs. 12–15, vol. iii, p. 436, see Art. vi)... On three more of the same family, we find  *Navasa*. On one it seems rather  *Narasa*, both Nava and Nara being known names. On another  *Kunamasa*; and on another, probably,  *mahāpati*, "the great lord", (*Ind. Antiquities* of Prinsep, ed. by E. Thomas, 1858, Vol. II, pp. 3–4).

The facsimile given below will show that this Nava coin of Prinsep is similar to the coin published by V. Smith in *CCIM.*, pl. XXIII, Nos. 15–16, and reproduced by Jayaswal in *Hist. Ind.*, Pl. I, p. 20, and read as *Navasa*.

Coins of Nava Nāgas.

(a) of Padmāvati.

(i) Deva—(V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 178); Cunningham, *CMI.*, Pl. II, 21.

(ii) Gaṇapati—V. Smith, *CCIM.*, Pl. XXI, 10, c. 350 A.D.
Cf. Samudragupta's Allahabad inscr.

¹ The square incuse in a round is significant.

(iii) Kha + ; Vā + + ;

Bhīma;

Bṛhaspati;

Skanda-Nāga. Cunningham, Pl. II, p. 9.

Vyāghra may be a Padmāvatī, descendant of the earlier Vaidīśaka Nāgas.

(b) of Kāntipuri, Mathurā, Kosam.

(i) Traya-Nāga—V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 205.

(c) of Champāvatī. (Not known.)

'The coins of the other Nāga chiefs are wanting', V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 164. Some of them are evidently lying undiscovered in the published coins of various so-called Mālava coins; *CCIM.*, pp. 161-164. This is true for both the Vaidīśaka Nāgas and the Nava Nāgas. The commentary on Vātsāyana's Kāmasūtra (IIInd-IIIrd century A.D.), adhikaraṇa 3 explains the term Mālava as properly East Malwa, West Malwa being called 'the country of Ujjain'. The similarity in fabric between the coins of the Mālavas and of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī has been pointed out by Cunningham, Fleet and Rapson.¹ A careful re-reading of the coin-legends may supply further information² regarding more of these Nāga kings and incidentally the fiscal arrangements of these Hindu Native States of the IIInd, IIIrd and IVth centuries A.D.

Inscr.

The Gupta inscr. often mention the Nāgas as local rulers in the IVth-Vth centuries A.D.

(i) Nāgas defeated by Samudragupta. Fleet, *GI.*, pp. 12, 13. Gaṇapati-Nāga; probably Nāgadatta and Nāgasena. *Ibid.*

(ii) Nāgas defeated by Skandagupta; *GI.*, p. 62 and n.

(iii) Nāgas defeated by Tivaradeva; *GI.*, p. 283.

(iv) Mahārāja Maheśvaranāga of the Nāga race.

No more is heard in the VIth-VIIth centuries A.D. in the plains of Northern India, regarding the independent existence of these local Nāga dynasties, tribes or families. In Kashmir, however, the Nāga dynasty of Durlabha, (c. 625 A.D.) counts at least 8 rulers for about 125 years with a coin-type based on the Śaka through the Gupta, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya having annexed Vidiśa in the year 401 A.D. (Udayagiri Hill inscr.)³ *

¹ Rapson, *IC.*, p. 13; V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 164.

² Jayaswal, *Hist. Ind.*, pp. 24-28.

³ Fleet, *GI.*, pp. 16-25.

* This article is published without the plate describing the Genealogy of Śaka-Kushāna Coinage. The plate has been omitted owing to the rubbings of most of the coins being imperfect and unsuitable for reproduction.—A.B.S.

The Vaghers of Okhamandal.

By S. T. MOSES.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

The Okhamandal district was the first to be surveyed, soon after my assuming charge as the Director of Fisheries, Baroda State, and among its inhabitants, the historic and interesting community of Vaghers early attracted my attention. During the recent Pearl fishery which was organized more as a relief work for the Vaghers, I was brought into frequent and intimate contact with them. This paper embodies the information collected about them and the results of my observations. Hundred men had their anthropometric, etc. measurements taken.

THE CASTE AND ITS TRADITIONAL ORIGIN.

The Vaghers are undoubtedly among the earliest inhabitants of Okhamandal, a district which receives its name 'Okha: bad, Mandal: district' from the barren and unpicturesque nature of the country and the atrocities of the residents in the past. The older and more correct derivation is from Okha, the beautiful daughter of Banasur the king of Arabia Felix, to whom Anirudh, the grandson of Krishna, the Yadava king of Dwaraka, was sold as a slave by pirates. Okha fell in love with the slave and the illicit intimacy infuriated Banasur who threw Anirudh into a dungeon. Krishna came out with a rescue party, defeated Banasur, had the marriage ceremony performed legally, and returned to Dwarka with Anirudh and his bride who gave her name to the district.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Okhamandal are the ancestors of the Vaghers, who were divided into three tribes all of whom were supposed to have sprung from the 'dirt' of God; Kabas from the sweat of the shoulders, Modas from that of the face and Kalas from that of the waist. These are alluded to in the Greek history of over 2,000 years ago. The Kabas were famed in the days of Krishna as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtra, now named Kathiawar. The Kalas are said to be the direct ancestors of the present-day Vaghers. There has, however, been great admixture, particularly with races of Rajput origin.

The earliest conqueror of Okhamandal was the mighty king of the Yadavas, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, who left Muttra with his army and subjugated Okhamandal after a hard struggle with the Kabas, etc. He established his capital at

Dwaraka, now a famous centre of pilgrimage with its 'Krishna' temple built by his grandson's grandson Vajranabh. Many are the legends current about the origin of the Vaghers. A demon Kashasura who harassed Krishna while sporting in the river Gumti near Dwaraka was severely punished by him. The unfortunate demon was crushed and forced into the earth. The first to issue from this hollow was a man imbued with all the traits of the buried demon and this was the ancestral Vagher. Another story is connected with the Gopis of Krishna and Arjuna. Once, in a peevish mood, the Gopis left Krishna and went away to Gopitalav (it was here that they drowned themselves later, when they heard the news of the death of their Lord) at Samleshar near Mulvel. Arjuna was sent to make peace and persuade the Gopis to return. The delicate nature of the errand made Arjuna vain and so Krishna, to humble him, created four males from the sweat of his body and these robbed Arjuna and the Gopis of all their belongings. The progeny of these four are the Kaba and the Kala ancestors of the Vaghers.

Originally two Rajput clans, Herol and Chowra, are said to have ruled over Okhamandal. Later Rathors, when banished from Marwar, wended their way to Okhamandal at the invitation of both these clans, who desired them to settle their feuds. At a feast the Rathors treacherously attacked the Rajputs and those who survived were forced by circumstances to take refuge with the Vaghers and get incorporated with them. Later a Vadhel prince of Cutch was enamoured of a Herol girl brought up in a Vagher family and this marriage, disliked by the other Rajputs as a mesalliance with an inferior and despised tribe also called in those days 'Machiaras' or fishermen, united all the three tribes together, though the descendants of that couple have the title 'Manek', a name prominent in later history. Besides Manek other surnames the Vaghers have are Bhagar, Bhatad, Dima, Gad, Hathal, Kara or Kala, Ker, Sumania, Choobani, Siriya, Gigla, Kere, Jam, Jegatiya, Dugaya, Baya, etc. each of which represents a division.

THE NAME 'VAGHER' AND ITS ORIGIN.

The word Vagher is usually split into 'Va' : a prefix meaning without, and 'Gher': smell, and refers to the criminal tendencies of the tribe who were as sanguinary as the tiger, which is said to be devoid of the sense of smell. Another legend explains the name differently. Once a god visited Okhamandal and found it unbearably hot. The area today is so very windswept that even the trees are unable to stand erect and are bent all in the same direction, i.e. towards the temple, an ocular proof that even trees in Okhamandal pay obeisance to Dwarakanath. The heat was very intensive and he demanded to be fanned by the men who surrounded him exclaiming 'Vagher'. 'Va'

means wind and 'Gher' is the imperative form of the verb 'Ghervu': surround. They kept the breeze going around him and when he had been cooled down, he was so pleased with the ministrations of the people that he bestowed upon them the appellation 'Vagher'.

OCCUPATIONS.

The original occupation of the Vaghers was fishing, as it is in certain parts even today. From a peaceful fishing tribe, the natural conditions of the country developed them into turbulent freebooters ever ready for piracy or broil. Outlawry and robbery are neither easy nor attractive today and the persuasions of the authorities have succeeded in making them adopt the honourable and legitimate profession of agriculturists. Many follow fishing and pearl-fishing or sailing as a side-occupation in addition to looking after their lands. Vaghers who boast of high descent repudiate all connection with the fishing occupation. In fact it is an old insult which Emperor Aurangzeb repeated when he told Shamla, a Vagher chief, 'You are not a Manek but a Machiara'. The Emperor made fun of fishing and asked the chief to show him his art. The chief stood before the Emperor with all his implements and queried 'Should I kill the large fish or the small fish?'. Aurangzeb, it is said, pacified him by granting him his request to release some prisoners.

The Vaghers of Dwaraka, for instance, are fishers and use cast-nets as also hook and line. They also introduce poison into tanks or bunded portions of the river and catch the intoxicated fish. The general antipathy towards fish-killing and fish-eating is so great that these Vagher fishermen were afraid to come with their catches to the Dwaraka resthouse where we were camping, lest the orthodox should beat them. But all the same, even the fish-catching Vaghers were ready to join in the defence of their temple when a false rumour about intended desecration with fish was started. At the November fair 'Annakot' in the Dwaraka temple, a special feature is the offering of various food-dishes with which the inner temple is filled. My first visit to Dwaraka was at a time when there was a slight excitement about the visit of the Harijan Sevak Sangh there. The idea of a Government department being constituted for fishery work being novel, a curious rumour spread that fish caught under Government orders were to be taken as offerings by the Harijans to the temple!

Pearl-fishing is, however, of a recent date. The Jamnagar Vaghers, who are Muslims, are divers and they fish for true pearl-oysters in the Jamnagar seas. In the Baroda waters, the oysters fished are the window-pane oysters, whose existence was discovered by Mr. James Hornell in 1905. Pearl-fishing here is mere wading and picking up of oysters, at low tide, particularly on the days of major spring tides when great areas

of the shallow seas are exposed. The fisher—the work is done by men usually, though a few women also join—with crude mocassins of rough hide, shod on his feet, to prevent their damage by cuts from the sharp-edged shells, and cruder gloves fitted to his right hand, forces his way into the mire with a stout stick, with which he plumbs the depth and feels his way. A gunny hangs by a rope slung across his shoulder and when the oysters are felt by the feet, he picks them up by hand and puts them into the gunny bag. At the end of every period of 10 days or less favourable for pearl-fishing and just before the next, the workers offer cocoanuts and burn incense sticks before stone 'Matas' housed very crudely in a field on the outskirts of the village. This ceremony is believed to ensure a good yield of pearls. As pirates, the Vaghers, with other sea-faring tribes of Kathiawar, were the terrors of the Arabian Sea and gave trouble to all governments till recently. Today, however, their main business is agriculture, but the poorer Vaghers do cooly work, they give carts on hire, and cut wood from the outskirts of Okhamandal for sale, etc. They are very useful as guides and the cartman will protect his clients even at the cost of his life. Any Vagher who does not do so, will be looked down upon by the community. Once a Vagher cart is engaged, there is no danger, however lonely and difficult the way, of being robbed by Vaghers or anybody else.

The Vaghers enjoy their lands under the Salami tenure, which requires them to pay only one rupee per annum for a Santi or 48 bighas of land. The conditions are that the Salami holder should own a pair of bullocks and a set of agricultural implements and must behave himself. Participation in any outlawry or rebellion against Government entails forfeiture of the lands, which can never be alienated by mortgage, sale or gift. The staple crops sown are Tel, Bajri and Jovar and these are grown in the monsoon only. The early arrival of the monsoon last year (1938) diverted the pearl-fishers to their fields and thus reduced the output of the recent pearl-fishery which lasted from the end of May to the end of July. Agricultural work commences with every labourer, man and woman, tying to his or her wrist, usually the left, but often also the right, a magic thread, coloured, sold to them by priests, after some incantations. The poorer women do outdoor work in the fields and help their husbands in cutting bushes, etc. for fuel, or in fishing or pearl-fishery work. They do all the household work and fetch water from the well. Water is not only scarce but also saltish, except in places like Varvala. Wells are sunk in sites chosen by expert Vagher water-diviners. Their qualification is, curiously enough, their posthumous birth. The five sweetwater wells near Dwaraka, where the water is brackish, are attributed to five arrows sent by Rama which descended and tapped the correct freshwater sources.

FOOD, DRINK, ETC.

Jowar and Bajri are the main articles of diet. Meat (mutton) is taken as also fish. Milk is taken, camel's milk included. The Vaghers do not eat fowl, beef or pork, nor do eggs enter their dietary. The Gho (monitor) is not eaten though the flesh of the Gho as of the Conch is used in medicine. The men do not drink intoxicating liquors as a rule though they may take opium dissolved in water. They honour the guest by squeezing on his palm a few drops of this fluid from cotton kept in a small vessel and soaked in this solution. The men smoke but ordinarily the women do not. Tobacco is used both for chewing and for snuffing. Some, especially, women discolour their teeth by rubbing snuff on them.

DRESS.

The men wear a turban, a loose coat and baggy trousers which is tight in the lower portion, and shoes, often substantial and countrymade. The coat which has very long arms, has innumerable stitches describing quaint patterns and carry no buttons but are held together by the tying together of 4 thin bands in the usual Gujarati style. The pants consume more cloth than necessary. The women wear a petticoat usually of coarse cloth, a long-sleeved bodice covering the bosom and the shoulders, which is backless and a sadi. The petticoat and the bodice are usually of brightly coloured cloth. The bodice is of differently coloured cloths, the brightest colour marking the exact portion enclosing the bosom proper. It is open behind and is fastened by thread or strings of cloth behind, an economical procedure in great contrast to the enormous waste of cloth in the men's apparel. Ready-made Vagher dresses, coats and pants, are sold in shops at Dwaraka for Rs.1-8 or so. The men of the labouring classes are dirty in their habits and bathe, if at all they do, in their clothes which they wear ceaselessly till they are worn out and fall off in rags. They, however, anoint their hair with oil and comb it before they wrap a headscarf round or put on the huge turban, even it may be a dirty one. Richer females wear ornaments, bangles, ivory, silver and gold and silver anklets, gold ear ornaments (todio), etc. and nose-rings (vindo, fulbai, etc.). The males do not wear any, but small boys wear silver waistlet and rings.

GAMES, ENTERTAINMENTS, ETC.

Both men and women are usually musical. They are patrons of family bards (Barots) who, as strolling players visit villages, perform dramas and sing songs glorifying the deeds of

Vagher chiefs and outlaws. One favourite game of the men is Hargarivadi or Hututu.¹ It is usually played with 6 a side but there can be any number of players, the number being the same both sides. A line is drawn across the middle of an open space and 2 umpires, usually old people, sit at the ends of the line to declare decisions. Each side in turn sends a player into the enemy's country. The invader rushes in humming a tune and if he touches any player of the opposite side and reaches the line without being made captive, the player touched is out and has to stand out of the game till one of the opposite party is out. One down in the opposite camp means the revival of a captive in the other. If on the other hand the invading player is caught within the enemy's territory and is unable to reach the line he is out. The game is over when all players on one side are out. It is played with dash and good nature, and the whole village comes out to see the tamasha. The good-natured sallies and the witty remarks of the spectators are taken in good spirit all round. The womenfolk often during moonlit nights have their 'Garba' when they sing in chorus clapping hands in unison and going round and round in a circle.

TALK.

The speech of the Vaghers is a jumble of Gujarati and Cutchi, all 'wrong talk' as quaintly characterized by my Gujarati peon who could not understand them. It is a mongrel speech and intelligible to those in long residence there. Kathiawadi speech by itself has many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities to distinguish it from Gujarati and when the Vaghers mix with it a corrupt form of their so-called mother-tongue the Cutchi dialect, the result is 'Babel'. 'What is this' is 'Kuro Ay'. 'Where are you going' is 'Kathi vindo'. 'Will you accompany me' is 'Koti vindo'. 'I am ready to come' is 'Ach mo ay', and 'I' is 'Mave'. Their talk is not usually refined or polite and they do seem to be proud. They use the second person singular 'Thu' when talking even to men of high rank but while speaking about themselves use 'Ame' the first person plural! They usually make a military salute (salaam) when State officers visit their villages and make fun of the usual salaam current in all States, tendered by other officials who lower themselves to the ground and make a series of rapid salaams. The womenfolk greet their relatives by cracking their fingers on the temples or on the headscarf just above. Education does not seem to have made much progress among them but some have even studied Sanskrit and are well read in the Shāstrās. One is a graduate of the Bombay University and is in the employ of the State.

¹ Compare Hādūdūdū in Bengal. Ed.

RELIGION.

The Vaghers are Hindus. How often they may worship Dwarkadish at other times, one day in the year—it was the 8th June last year 1938—all the Vaghers from various places congregate, bathe in the Gumti and worship in the temple at Dwaraka. As is the case with many other Hindus, the Vaghers go to the tombs of Muhammadan saints for the cure of diseases. The Jamnagar Vaghers are Muslims and an authoritative statement that the Hindu Vaghers, while strict as regards dining, have no objection to (and do) give their daughters to Muslims who can pay for them is indignantly denied.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, ETC.

The marriage which is usually arranged by the parents is preceded by a betrothal. The marriageable age is from 15 to 20. The bride is generally 14 and the groom about 17. Small girls are not married, post-puberty marriage being the rule. The bride is generally the daughter of the father's sister or the mother's brother. The marriage ceremonies are in no way different from those of the surrounding castes, Brahmin priests officiating here as well. The bridegroom and the parents have to, in one ceremony, drink the milk in which the bride's toes are washed! There is no polyandry. Men seldom marry more than one wife though they are not limited in this respect and polygamy is allowed. Divorce is easy. A man can divorce his wife by writing a slip and giving her a dismissal order 'Rajinama' (resignation). The divorce is recorded in writing in the presence of elders and witnesses and the written document is entrusted to a third party for safe keeping. The divorced woman is free to marry but the new husband has to pay a small fee called 'Vel' to the old husband. Dead bodies are usually burnt but small children receive a burial.

CHARACTERISTICS, PHYSICAL, ETC.

The men are hefty and of medium stature. The analysis of the heights of 100 individuals taken is as follows: 5' 1": 3, 5' 1½": 7, 5' 2½": 2, 5' 3": 13, 5' 3½": 9, 5' 5": 7, 5' 5½": 11, 5' 6½": 29, 5' 7½": 16, and 5' 10½": 3. The men are fine-looking, particularly the old men who part the beard in the middle, and if luxuriant, curl the ends up behind the ears. Among the pearl-fishery workers was an old woman who had a beard tuft and she was always seen to smooth it down with her hand as if to direct every one's attention to her peculiarity. If the men are sturdy, bold and capable of enduring any amount of fatigue, the women are equally well-built and are also hardworking. The Vaghers are, by nature, restless and turbulent but have now very much settled

down, though formerly their impatience under control and predatory instincts made them a continual source of anxiety to the authorities.

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS.

The head as well as nasal measurements were taken on 100 individuals. The analysis of the cephalic indices is as follows: 76·9: 11, 79·1: 3, 80: 5, 80·9: 4, 81: 3, 81·2: 7, 81·5: 3, 82·2: 17, 82·5: 9, 83·2: 15, 84·2: 8, 84·5: 6, and 86·4: 9. The analysis of the nasal indices is as follows: 57·5: 1, 63·1: 8, 72·4: 3, 73·6: 10, 74: 14, 77·7: 13, 78·4: 9, 80: 11, 82·9: 12, 83·3: 11, 85·4: 7, and 100: 1.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VIKRAMPURER ITIHAS (IN BENGALI). HISTORY OF VIKRAMPUR, PART I. By SJ. JOGENDRANATH GUPTA. Second edition. Royal Octavo, pp. xxx+370+28. Well printed on thick *antique* paper. Published by Sj. Sudhansu Sekhar Gupta from P. 651-A, Mahanirvana Road, Calcutta. Price Rs.6.

The first edition of the work came out in 1316 B.S., i.e. thirty years ago, and it has taken more than a quarter of a century for its 2,200 to get sold out. A rather chilling prospect for writers of historical works! Sj. Gupta is to be heartily congratulated on the fact that he has succeeded in bringing out a second and much improved edition, though entirely at his own expense and after the lapse of such a long period. The Pargana of Vikrampur, now cut into two by the Kirttināsā or the Padmā river and incorporated into the adjacent districts of Dacca and Faridpur, is one of the most cultured and thickly inhabited portions of Bengal and contains scores of High English schools and one second-grade college. The great personal and pecuniary sacrifices of Sj. Gupta should certainly evoke sympathetic and admiring appreciation from the Heads of these institutions who can hardly find a better prize-book for their boys than the book under review.

The present reviewer was a college student when the first edition of this book came out in 1910, and he still remembers with delight the avidity with which he went through its pages and also the chorus of appreciation with which the book was hailed. As a local history, it was a pioneering work of great merit and fully deserved the praise that was bestowed on it. But thirty years is a long period and the pace of new archæological discoveries and scholarship has been amazingly quick in Bengal and I wish I could say that the author, busy as he is with his different literary activities, has been able to keep up with that pace. The author in his preface (p. xiii) claims that in writing the history of Vikrampur, he has not confined himself to the history of that Pargana, but has attempted to write the history of the entire province of Bengal, because Vikrampur is identical with ancient Vanga, which again has given its name to the entire province. The reasoning is fallacious as ancient Vanga was undoubtedly a much bigger unit; and the historian of a small Pargana of that unit has hardly any justification for attempting the history not only of the entire unit but of the whole province to which its name was latterly transferred. The historians of Bogra, Faridpur, Malda, Nadia and Hooghly can with equally good reasoning set about writing the history of the entire province because these districts

had been the seats of the capital cities of Paundravardhana, Kotālipād, Lakṣmanāvati, Nadia and Saptagrāma. It is high time that the writers of district and Pargana histories understood their proper scope and what is expected of them. When the history of their locality merges into the general provincial history, they are quite welcome to give greater freedom to their pens, but even then, the bearing of the general provincial history on the local history and antiquities should be stressed upon and given greater prominence. Of late, we have seen some laborious but futile attempts at Bengal-history-writing, and the huge amount of industry and money (in one instance, public money) spent in those attempts can hardly be called anything else than wasted. Such a task is almost impossible of performance without proper and lifelong equipment, and it becomes doubly such when the writer attempts to write the history of all the periods of Bengal's history single-handed, without sufficient grounding in archæology in general and epigraphy and numismatics in particular, both Muslim and pre-Muslim.

Our author's knowledge of the topography and antiquities of the area, the history of which he attempts, is unrivalled and he is eminently readable, nay fascinating, when the local colouring prevails; but he is not unoften out of his depths when he strays into provincial history. He is undoubtedly the pioneer explorer of the area, and the glory of the pioneer will always be his. It is fervently to be hoped that he would bear his limitations in mind when he attempts to bring out the promised second part of his work.

The greater portion of the first chapter deals with the topography of Vikrampur and is generally well-written and informative. The statement (p. 6) that Vikrampur was included in the kingdom of Samatata, and the speculations on the geographical locality of that ancient kingdom are hardly happy. Those who want to include the Bengal sea-coast within that kingdom forget one very simple fact. Samudra Gupta's panegyrist includes it in the list of the *Pratyanta*, i.e. frontier kingdoms lying outside the boundary of his vast empire and no tract on this (the west) side of the great Meghnā or the Brahmaputra river can be included in a frontier kingdom.

We have nothing but praise for the second chapter dealing with the flora and fauna of Vikrampur and the third chapter dealing with the people of Vikrampur, their caste and religion.

The fourth chapter deals with the early history of India and gives a brief sketch of all the dynasties that ruled in succession, up to Harshavardhana and Śaśāṅka,—an unnecessary prelude in a Pargana history. The Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan is needlessly dragged in and its reading given from Dr. Bhandarkar's version, totally ignoring the more correct version of Dr. Barua. A fairly long account of the Palas then

follow, though these rulers had hardly anything to do with Vikrampur. The author attempts to put together everything known about the great Buddhist preacher Dipaṅkara-śrī under the honest belief that the great scholar was a son of Vikrampur, though he fails to adduce any convincing proof that he was really so. Historians should always try to rise above local patriotism. The name is almost always very loosely written as Dipaṅkara-śrījñāna, a mistake repeated by most Bengali writers. The correct form of the name would appear to be Dipaṅkara-śrī and he was called Jñāna-atīśa (the great lord of knowledge) for his learning. The statement about Dipaṅkara-śrī being born in the village of Vajrayogini in Vikrampur has nothing to support it except the fact that a site in the village is still known as *Nāstik-paṇḍiter-Bhītā* (the atheist scholar's homestead). The identification of this atheist scholar with Dipaṅkara-śrī is hardly logical. That the name of the great scholar really ended in śrī is also borne out by the fact that his father is called Kalyāṇa-śrī and his son is named Puṇya-śrī.

The political history proper of Vikrampur really begins with the rise of the Chandras, the most distinguished of whom appears to have been Śrī-Chandra, of whom no less than four copper-plate grants have been hitherto discovered. The rise of Śrī-Vikramapura as a capital town along with the rise of the Chandras is dealt with in the fifth chapter. Kanti Deva of the Chittagong plate is totally ignored and the author knows of only three copper-plates of Śrī-Chandra. The Dhullā plate, of which there is a good notice in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, is totally ignored in the body of the book, a defect sought to be belatedly made good in the appendix. The geographical position of Samatata is again discussed in this chapter with no better result. Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali are all sought to be included in Samatata, the *pratyanta* kingdom of Samudra Gupta's time, and thus made into an impossible geographical unit.

The inscribed image reproduced against page 172 and described as the inscribed image from Bāghāurā is really a very much later image from Kewār.

P. 173, line 4—'Buddhāradhi' should be corrected to 'Buddhardhi', i.e. Buddha + Rddhi.

The Guptas and the Khadgas are needlessly dragged in in this chapter. That the copper-plates of Devakhaḍga were really issued from their capital at Karmmanta is now admitted by all scholars and some puerile old controversy on the subject is needlessly discussed in pages 184 and 185.

The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena is undoubtedly of his 61st year and the author on page 212 makes it of the 31st year following the erroneous reading of Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Rohitāgiri of the plates of Śrī-Chandra (page 217) is probably not Rhotasgarh of Sahabad. but the Lalmai Hill of Tippera. The well-known name of the former is Rohitāśva-gad (fort of Rohitāśva) and the hill called Rohitā is likely to be different.

The sixth chapter deals with the Varmma kings of Vikrampur. The author is totally ignorant of the fact that a new copper-plate (fragmentary) of Samala Varmma was found at Vajrayogini and published by the present reviewer in the Bengali journal *Bhāratbarā*, several years ago. He also does not know that the lost plate of Harivarmma was hunted up by the present reviewer and a fresh reading published in the same journal three years ago. The plate is actually undated, whereas the late Mr. N. Vasu made it out to be of the 42nd year of Harivarmma, thus creating a terrible confusion in the Varmma chronology. The reading of the plate published by the late Mr. Vasu is also wrong in many vital particulars. It is really very careless of the author to ignore these two new sources in writing the history of the Varmmas of Vikrampur. The seal of the Belaba plate of Bhojavarmma has been reproduced against page 220 in an inverted manner. The royal *mudra* of Viṣṇuchakra is clear in the picture, though the author says on page 222 that it has disappeared. The whole chapter requires re-writing.

The seventh chapter deals with the Senas. The erroneous chronology of Mr. R. D. Banerji is sometimes followed and sometimes rejected, with the result that the whole chapter is a mass of confusion. On page 247, Vijaya Sena is made to rule only 35 years when his plate is clearly dated in his 61st year. On page 278, Vallala correctly dies about 1185 A.D. but on page 287 his son Lakṣmaṇa is finished even before the father in 1170, following the impossible chronology attempted to be set up by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The provincial patriotism of the author, like many other writers in Bengal, makes him averse to admit that Lakṣmaṇa Sena did actually fly from Nadia on the invasion of the place by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar; but the correct chronology of the king (1185–1206 on page 296 and 1204 on page 305) accepted in places makes the fact almost a certainty.

P. 307, the Madanpād plate of Visvarupa, said to have been lost, is now in the Dacca Museum.

The eighth chapter deals with Daśaratha Deva and the Muslim conquest and is well written.

The ninth chapter, dealing with the topography of the ancient city of Śrī-Vikramapura and the archaeological treasures discovered in the area covered by the ruins, is very interesting. The map of the old city against page 330 is taken from the reviewer's 'Iconography' without acknowledgment. The measurement of the old tanks (pp. 359-360) on the site is also taken from the same book without acknowledgment. These are

undoubtedly oversights, as acknowledgments to him are really generous and numerous.

The translation of the inscription on the Kowar image (p. 362) is made on the basis of the reviewer's first defective reading. The correct reading appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, which has been quoted, but the translation remains uncorrected!

P. 363, Harivarmma Deva's plate is now in the Dacca Museum, and not lost, as stated by the author.

The plate reproduced against page 368 is really that of the inscribed image from Bāghāurā and not from Kewār, as stated.

The inscribed image of Sadāśiva, referred to on page 20 of the appendix, is in the Indian Museum and not in the Dacca Museum, as stated. But the mistake is really not of the author but of the compiler of the Kern Institute Bibliography.

As in duty bound, the reviewer has pointed out some of the defects of the book. But he has nothing but admiration for the perseverance, industry and tenacity of the author, the great pioneer scholar of the reviewer's land of birth. The plates (41) are excellent and well-chosen. The absence of an index, however, is much to be regretted.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

TRI SINHALA: THE LAST PHASE, 1796-1815. By P. E. PIERIS. Pp. xiii+248, Colombo, 1939.

The history of European intercourse with Ceylon may be described as a grand trilogy having for its theme the gradual, but inevitable, absorption of the island under foreign rule. In the early 16th century the Portuguese, those dauntless pioneers of empire-building in the East under the *ægis* of modern European powers, planted their victorious flag in Ceylon. Their career was closed after a century and a half of brilliant achievement, when the intrepid Hollanders became the heirs of their greatness, only to be ousted another century and a half later by the British power.

In two previous works, *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era* and *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, the zealous author has traced the two earlier phases of the drama. In the present work, which owes its title to one of the characteristic designations of the Sinhalese kings (*Tri Sinhala Adhisvara*), he portrays with equal vividness and pathos the story of the last phase. His narrative, based almost exclusively upon the archives of the Public Record Office in London, seeks to tell 'the true history' of this period, stripped of its outgrowth of extraneous matter. In this attempt, it must be admitted, he has attained undoubted success. His

attitude is that of a Sinhalese patriot lamenting the collapse of 'the kingship which had lasted for twenty-four hundred years'. But his patriotic zeal never leads him to gloss over inconvenient facts. On the contrary, he attempts to explain them in the light of contemporary Sinhalese (and English) laws and public manners, and, with less justice, of the provisions of the ancient Hindu Law as depicted in Kaṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Witness his discussion of the responsibility for the slaughter of European and other prisoners at Kandy in 1803 (pp. 66-69), his criticism of the Kandy King's treatment of the traitorous minister Ehelopola's family (pp. 142-43 and App. H), his remarks on the punishment of the ten spies which immediately provoked the final war of conquest (p. 148 and App. J and K). For the rest he tells in simple unadorned style the full story of the sordid intrigues of the Chief Minister Pilima Talavuva¹ culminating in General Macdowal's² abortive mission to Kandy in 1800, which was followed by the ill-fated British invasion of the kingdom in support of a rival candidate for the throne, Muḍdu Svami.³ Equally full is the story of the subsequent treasonable intrigues of Sinhalese chiefs and ministers with the English, the fruit of which was seen in the comparative ease with which the Kandy kingdom was at last won for the British Empire in 1815. Fourteen Appendices (including, besides those above-mentioned, an informing note on the Regalia of the Kings of Kandy) and an Index enhance the value of the work. The frontispiece consists of a unique drawing reproduced from the Colombo Museum collection, showing the three principal Sinhalese chiefs in conference with the English secretary of the Colombo Government in the Hall of Audience of the Kings of Kandy on the 19th March, 1815.

We offer a few suggestions for improvement of this valuable work in case a second edition is called for. There should be a glossary of Sinhalese terms used by the author along with at least one map of Ceylon of the kind given in J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vols. V and XI at the end. The history of the British conquest of Kandy should be completed by the narrative of the suppression of the rebellion (1817-18) which at one time assumed such serious proportions as to make the Ceylon Governor twice call for reinforcements from India. An attempt should be made to consider the discrepancy of the author's figures for the unfortunate English garrison at Kandy with those of Fortescue: 'Thirty European officers and men, three hundred Malays, twelve Bengal lascars and thirty Indian pioneers' (Pieris, p. 65); 'Fourteen British officers, twenty

¹ Misspelt *Pelime Talauve* in Fortescue, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Ch. V.

² *Macdowall* in Fortescue, *loc. cit.*

³ Misspelt *Moottoo Sawmy*, *ibid.*

British soldiers, about one hundred lascars, two hundred and fifty Malays' (Fortescue, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 154).

U. N. GHOSHAL.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

Vol. II. SANSKRIT POETESSES. Part A. (Select verses.) With a supplement on Prakrit Poetesses. By JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London). With an English Introduction by Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). Published by the author, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Crown 16mo, pp. i-xciii+1-198. Price: Indian, Rs.5; Foreign 7/6.

The present volume with a somewhat confusing title is an anthology of select Sanskrit and Prakrit verses belonging to as many as 42 poetesses. The verses, about 150 in number, are culled from different rhetorical works and anthologies, published as well as unpublished. 'The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains an introduction in English giving information about the personal histories, dates, works and trends of thoughts of the poetesses. In the second part are given some select verses of the Sanskrit and Prakrit poetesses, with annotations and references. The English translation of the verses is given in the third part, followed by ten appendices.'

The plan of the work is attractive but the execution is unfortunately not so satisfactory. The introduction is well written and contains much useful information, though one may not agree with all the views expressed there especially with the interpretations of Sanskrit quotations and verses of the text. It gives critical and historical accounts of not only the poetesses, whose verses have been published in the volume, but also of other poetesses, old and modern. The references to the sources of information, particularly in connection with the personal history of some of the poetesses are meagre and insufficient. A comparatively recent Sanskrit work, the *Guruparamparācaritra* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, which contains interesting traditional accounts about some of the poetesses, might have yielded useful materials; but this has not been utilized. The accounts of the modern poetesses are also rather scrappy and the list is palpably incomplete. It is not clear as to why Anasūyā Kamalā Bai Bapat, authoress of a ritualistic work (p. lix), is included in the list of modern poetesses. The principles followed in the selection of the poets dealt with have not been explained. As a matter of fact, there are numerous references to Sanskrit poetesses and authoresses and it is really difficult to do justice to all of them and give a complete account of the contributions

of women to Sanskrit literature. But a sincere attempt may be made to prepare a comprehensive bibliography of women writers in Sanskrit.

In the second part of the work the verses are arranged not according to the subject-matter as is usually the practice in works of anthology but under the names of poetesses, which in their turn have been arranged alphabetically. The indication of the subject-matter made in thick headlines over the verses is not always expressive and happy. The editor could have given more suitable and appropriate headings. In some cases, e.g. in the case of verse 139, the heading is clearly wrong. The use of the term *vrajyā* (group) to refer to one particular verse (as in the case of verse 2 as well as verse 3) is rather curious. The language of the headlines should have been either Sanskrit or English. But though these have been put in Devanāgarī characters, inflections have not generally been used. The lavish and unusual use of hyphens to distinguish between different parts of a compound word has been carried to the extreme—even to a ludicrous extent.

The third part of the volume containing translation of the verses is extremely disappointing. There are very few verses that have been translated correctly or literally. It bristles with errors of omission as well as of commission. The subtle touches of the original are seldom expressed in the translations which, though generally very free, are not always sensible, clear and attractive. The attempt to translate from corrupt and obscure texts has not been happy and in fact it was hardly necessary, as detailed summaries of the verses have been given in the introduction under respective poets. This is not the place to discuss in details all the numerous defects of the translation. Attention, however, may be drawn to a few and the most palpable of them.

Verse 4d, ननु त्वं मयैवानुनेयः । 'It is I who should plead with you.' Correct—'entreat you'.

V. 25cd, अर्पितवान् भूमिगतो मारकतं कचयुग्मकं सुदृशोः । 'Presented the eyebrows to the beautiful eyes under the guise of a pair of umbrellas.' Correct—'a pair of emerald umbrellas under the guise of the eyebrows'.

V. 34d, अश्वनीनरमणीचेतः, 'a love-lorn damsel's heart'. Rather, 'the heart of the wife of a traveller (i.e. one away from his wife)'.

V. 38c, सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रमा । 'Was it not enjoyable, did it not delight?' Better, 'was she not fit to be dallied with and was he not fit to enjoy?'

V. 43cd, मधुपाः कचयन्ति पद्मिनीनां सखितैरनुरितानि कोरकाणि, 'the bees humming continuously are conversing with the lotus-buds, hidden under water'. Correct—the bees indicate the fact that the buds of lotuses are concealed by the waters'.

V. 73a, नलिन्याः, 'of the lily'. Correct—'of the lotus'.

V. 74b, गोपाक्षीभिरभिष्टुतं व्रजवधूनेचोत्पलैरर्चितम् । 'Worshipped by cowherdresses and adored with looks from their lotus-eyes.' Better, 'praised by groups of cowherds and worshipped by the women of Vraja with lotuses in the form of their eyes'.

V. 74d, भवहर, 'the remover of mundane miseries'. Better, 'the annihilator of worldly existence or one who puts a stop to births (and transmigration)'.

V. 75d, एको लोकत्रयात्मकः । 'You are the soul of the three worlds.' Correct—'You, though one, are the embodiment of the three worlds'.

V. 83cd, इदमपि न कृतं नितम्बिनीनां क्षमपतनावधि जीवित रतं वा । 'That too is equally improper that women, so long as they are capable, should indulge in amorous passions even at the cost of their lives.' Correct—'and it has not been ordained of women that life and sexual intercourse should be up to the (time of the) falling of their breasts'.

V. 101a, भूपालाः शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः के नाम नासादिताः । 'Who amongst the kings of this universe with its sun and its moon has not been subjugated (by you) ?' Correct—'What kings of the solar and lunar dynasties have you not received ?'

V. 108b, कान्तस्याङ्गे प्रसोदादुभयभुजपरिप्लवकटे निज्जीवा । 'Clinging to her lover, with her neck joyfully embraced by his two hands.' Correct—'with *his* . . . and by *her* . . . '.

V. 109b, कान्तेन पान्येन मे । 'By my dear lover.' Correct—'by my beloved who is a traveller (i.e. away from me)'.

V. 137c, एतावत् सखि वेद्मि केवलमहं तस्याङ्गसङ्गे पुनः । 'He is near me—this alone I know.' Correct—'O friend, this much only do I know, but at the touch of his body . . . '.

V. 139cd, विहरसि करट किमस्मिन् परिमलवहलेऽपि केतकीकुसुमे । 'In spite of there being the honey-filled ketaki-flower . . . why are you, O crow! haunting the nimba-tree?' To make it correct omit the first part and say, 'highly fragrant ketaki-flower', in place of nimba-tree. That the ketaki has no honey has already been stated in verso 76 and also definitely mentioned in the half-verse following 139.

Of the ten appendices some are evidently not very useful while the absence of others is keenly felt. Thus while one might do without the separate indexes of the works of poetesses, old and modern, who are individually dealt with in the introduction, a highly welcome addition would have been an appendix containing a critical account of the manuscripts used and an alphabetical index of the sources with an indication of the verses taken from each. There is also room for shortening some of the existing appendices, especially the long but imperfect bibliography, which includes even dictionaries and catalogues of printed books, and contains descriptions not infrequently incomplete, and introduces new abbreviations not mentioned in the list of abbreviations.

In spite of these defects, however, the volume under review is welcome as bringing together a good lot of valuable information

with reference to Sanskrit poetesses. We trust that other volumes of the series will be free from defects of the nature of those mentioned above so that they may be acclaimed by students of Sanskrit literature as well as by students of Indian culture at large, and serve to remove to some extent the long standing misconception as regards the degraded position of women in Indian society.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

The Songs of the Elder of Herat

Translated from the Russian of V. Zhukovsky

By L. BOGDANOV

(L. S. DUGIN)

[The sketch of which a translation is given below originally appeared in the 'Vostochniya Zamietki' (i.e. 'Oriental Notices'), a memorial volume dedicated by the professors and readers of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg to the 'Ecole des Langues Vivantes Orientales' of Paris, on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of its foundation, in 1895.

Copies of the Russian original not being very easily accessible* (only 322 copies, numbered I-XII and 1-310, were published), and only very few among scholars of Persian being familiar with Russian, it was thought advisable not to let this early work of the great Russian savant be relegated to oblivion, the more so, as there are no European editions of Anṣārī's works in existence.]

In those glorious days of Persian letters, when Nāṣir-i Khosrow (d. 481 A.H.), at Kunduz, was unfolding in the 'Book of Light', the 'Book of Happiness', and other works, his ideology,—the outcome of long hesitations and protracted journeyings all over the world; when the famous vizier of the Seljūqs, Niẓāmu-l-Mulk (d. 483 A.H.) was compiling his 'Treatise on Government'; when Jullābī (d. 456 or 464 A.H.) was discussing the tenets of Ṣūfism in his work entitled 'The Uncovering of What is Veiled'; when the austere ascetic Abū-Sa'id ibn Abī-l-Khayr (d. 440 A.H.), at Mahna, was presenting mystical thoughts in the garb of graceful quatrains,** —at that time, at Herat, that 'little garden of the Anṣārs'¹, the 'Elder

* Our thanks are due in this place to Mr. J. van Manen, the former General Secretary of the Society, through whose courtesy in lending the present writer for a protracted period his own copy of that valuable publication (probably, the only copy in existence in India) the present translation was made possible.—The Translator.

** The question of Abū-Sa'id's authorship with regard to the quatrains generally attributed to him has become open to discussion since the publication by Zhukovsky himself (in 1899) of the Persian biography of Abū-Sa'id, in which it is stated that the 'Shaykh' had never uttered any quatrain beside the one quoted by the biographer.—The Translator.

¹ Jāmi, Nafahātu-l-Uns, Indian edition of 1289, p. 232.

of Herat', 'Abdullāh Anṣārī¹, was expounding his teaching and passionately calling mankind to Truth.

Abū-Ismā'il 'Abdullāh ibn Abi-Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Haravī was born on the 2nd of Sha'bān 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) at Herat, to which place his ancestors had come in the days of caliph 'Uṣmān with the latter's famous general Aḥnaf b. Qays. When he was still quite young, Anṣārī showed already an extraordinary aptitude for making verses, which were highly admired by his schoolfellows, who used to suggest themes for his poetic improvisations. Endowed with a remarkable memory and an uncommon zeal for study, to which he devoted the whole day and even part of the night, strictly adhering all the time to a fixed time-table, he studied theology and jurisprudence of the Ḥanbalite sect under the guidance of many *shaykhs*, such as Abū-l-Ḥasan Bishrī,* Abū-l-Faḍl b. Muḥammad at-Taḳī, Yaḥyā b. 'Ammār. It was the latter who foresaw in the then 14 years-old 'Abdullāh the future great teacher. And we see, in fact, that his deep erudition earned for him in later years the title of 'Shaykhu-l-Islām' *par excellence*. He devoted himself with particular zeal to collecting traditions, which he succeeded in recording from 300 of the most strict followers of the *sunna* and 'people of the ḥadīṡ', steadfastly avoiding at the same time 'opinionated people'**, innovators and scholastics and rejecting any traditions, however well substantiated, transmitted by such persons. Such a strict discrimination and undeviating singleness of purpose are considered by many as a proof of Anṣārī's excellence in his capacity of a 'champion of the *sunna* and a destroyer of innovations'.

¹ Biographical data about him are found in: Soyutii liber de interpretibus Korani (ed. Meursinge) p. 15, No. 45, and note on p. 86; طبقات الحفاظ auctore Dahabio (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 24, No. 27; the historical work by al-'Aynī, Asiatic Museum (St. Petersburg) Ms. No. 177 (524), part II, fol. 242r; Rāzī's Haft Iqlīm, As. Mus. Ms. No. 603/bc, fol. 240r; Muḥmal-i Faṣḥī, As. Mus. Ms. No. 581/a, fol. 266r; Bayqarā's Majālisu-l-'Ushshāq, *majlis* 8th, St. Petersburg University Library Ms. No. 915 fol. 46r;—Dārā-Shukūh's Safīnatu-l-Awliyā, As. Mus. Ms. No. 581, fol. 170v; Riḡa-Qulī-Khān's Riyāzu-l-'Arīfīn, p. 30; his Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣḥā, I, p. 65; more particularly Nafahātu-l-Uns, Indian ed. of 1289, p. 212 (Nassau-Lees' ed., No. 394, pp. 376-380.—T.), and *passim*.

* Zhukovsky in his Russian text, spells the name as 'Basharī'. But cf. Nafahātu-l-Uns, Nawal Kishore ed., of 1317 A.H. (1899 A.D.), p. 309, marginal note, where the vocalization is given as: بکسر باء موحده. —The Translator.

** صاحب رای is a term applied by other Sunni sects of Islam to the Ḥanafites: Anṣārī being himself a Ḥanbalite, quite naturally, avoided to record traditions, however reliable, from the lips of the representatives of that rival sect.—The Translator.

According to his own statement, Anṣārī knew by heart as many as 300,000 traditions, being able to quote an appropriate tradition for the most trifling incidents in daily life.

The *shaykhs* whom he mentions as having been his teachers in religious law were many, but he recognizes as his spiritual guide (*pīr*) only Abū-l-Ḥasan Kharāqānī stating clearly that "he would not have known Truth, had he not seen Kharāqānī". That close relationship in *taṣavvuf* between himself and Abū-l-Ḥasan is recorded by Anṣārī in following terms:

عبد الله مردی بود بیابانی، می رفت بطلب آب زندگانی،
 ناگاه برسد بحسن خرقانی، آنجا یافت چشمه آب حیوانی، چندان
 آب بخورد نه عبد الله ماند نه خرقانی، پیر انصاری گنج بود
 پنهانی، کلید او بدست خرقانی

"'Abdullāh was a savage; he went in search of the water of life; suddenly he came across Ḥasan Kharāqānī; he found there a fountain-head of the water of life, and drank so much of it that there remained neither 'Abdullāh, nor Kharāqānī; the Elder Anṣārī is a locked treasury, the key of which is in the hands of Kharāqānī'.—Anṣārī died in 481 A.H. (1088 A.D.) and is buried at Gāzurgāh, a suburb of Herat. His tomb is held in great reverence by all classes of the population, is kept up by Eastern rulers and has been often described in detail by many travellers who visited Khorasan at different epochs.

A considerable literary patrimony was left by Anṣārī, both in Arabic and Persian, but, as far as one can gather from the catalogues of great libraries, only a minor part of his works, either original or in later adaptations, has reached us.

Haji Khalifa mentions the following of his works:

- (1) 'The forty traditions of the Shaykhu-l-Islām' اربعین (I, 235, No. 411);
- (2) 'The Joy of the Disciples and the Sun of the Assemblies' انس المردین و شمس المجالس—a mystical story of Joseph and Zulaykhā —(I, 453 No. 1339);
- (3) A commentary on Abū-Bekr Muḥammad Bukhārī Kalābādī's 'Exposition of the teachings of the Sūfis' التعرّف للذهب الصوّف (II, 316, No. 3083);

* For the designations A, B and C used by Zhukovsky in this article, v. p. 5 under para. I.—The Translator.

(4) The essence of the *ḥadīṡ* "All innovation is heresy"

خلاصة في حديث كل بدعة ضلالة (III, 168, No. 4782);

(5) Three Persian *divāns* (III, 293, No. 5539);

(6) 'In Blame of the scholastic theology' ذم الكلام (III, 335, No. 5822);

(7) Rhymed prose مسجمات (V, 528, No. 11560);

(8) 'The Stations of the Travellers' منازل السائرين which was composed to comply with a request made by the people of Herat; many commentaries on that work have been written (VI, 129, No. 12920);

(9) 'The virtues of imām Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal' مناقب الامام احمد بن محمد بن حنبل (VI, 143, No. 13011).

Suyūṭī mentions his

(10) 'Book of the Discerner' كتاب الفاروق dealing with the attributes of God;

Bayqarā mentions his

(11) Commentary on the Qur'ān, written in 'the tongue of the dervishes', and

Rizā-qulī-khān speaks of his

(12) 'Lights of Certainty' انوار التحقيق, a well-known book containing prayers, sayings, pious precepts and admonitions.

Finally, it is known from the introduction to Jāmi's Nafaḥātu-l-Uns that Anṣārī used to dictate in gatherings of disciples the work by 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Naysābūrī (d. 412 A.H.) known under the title 'Classes of Sūfis' طبقات الصوفية, adding to it sayings of various *shaykhs* and his own arguments and observations, whilst one of his friends or *murīds* would take it down from dictation. In such a way there was produced

(13) a book valuable by its contents for the Sūfis. That work was written in the old language of Herat of that time and had since, in many parts, become hardly intelligible owing to mistakes and blunders committed by the successive copyists. It dealt only with the Sūfis of earlier times and did not contain any mention of Anṣārī himself, his contemporaries and immediate successors. That was the reason why Jāmi, by adding to it abstracts from later works, came to compile his well-known Nafaḥātu-l-Uns. In Jāmi's work Anṣārī is everywhere mentioned simply by his title Shaykhu-l-Islām—شيخ الاسلام مكيود

Of all the above enumerated works of Anṣārī, to my knowledge, only * the *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* has reached us under its original title, and copies of it are extremely rare. An interesting and valuable old Ms. of it, bearing the date 620 A.H. (1223 A.D.), has been described by Flügel in his Vienna Library catalogue (III, 321). On the other hand, one often comes across manuscript copies in various libraries and Eastern editions of certain minor tracts by Anṣārī, which at first would seem not to be contained in the list given above, bearing titles such as: *Munājāt*, *Maqālat*, *Ilāhī-nāma*, *Naṣīhat-nāma*, and a voluminous pseudo-*Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* in Persian.

There is quite a number of such works by Anṣārī in St. Petersburg. They can be divided into three categories:

I. Mss. of the Persian *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, of which there are no copies in the libraries of Western Europe. Two of these Mss. (A and B) belong to myself, having been acquired in 1890 in Bukhara, and the third one (C) is the Ms. III. 2.8 in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. All these copies are modern and only C bears a date—1267 A.H. Beginning:

حمد بید الهی را و درود بیدد پادشاهی را که برداشت
 از دیده دلها رمد و رفَعَ السَّمَوَاتِ بِغَيْرِ عَمَدٍ بگسترانید فرش
 ثُمَّ آسَتَوَى عَلَى الْعَرْشِ و بقدرت از فهم دور و جَعَلَ الظُّلُمَاتِ
 وَالْأَنْوَارَ و پدید آورد دی و بهار و خَلَقَ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ و بیا فرید
 کوه و کمر و سَخَّرَ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ و بیاراست چهره صبح
 وَ هُوَ الَّذِي يُرْسِلُ الرِّيَّاحَ و شمع یقین نهاد در خلد سُبْحَانَهُ
 أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ الخ

The name of the work is nowhere mentioned in the text, but appears in a colophon by the copyist in codex C, and is

* Since then, however, a Ms. of the *Tabaqātu-s-Sūfiyya* has been discovered in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and described in its Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1924), p. 78 under No. 234, and, more in detail, by its learned compiler, in a separate article in JRAS. pp. 1-34 and 337-382.—The Translator.

also found on the initial folio of codex A, added in another, more modern hand. The work is written mostly in rhymed prose interspersed with ghazals, quatrains, maḡnavis and qit'as, and is full of every kind of mystic dissertations, exhortations, parables, traditions (*ḥadīḡ*), etc. and, judging from its contents, could be supposed to be the same as the *Anwāru-t-taḥqīq* mentioned by Riḡā-qull-khān, yet, by its style it could well be taken for the *Musajja'āt* recorded by Ḥajī Khalfā. That it is not the *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* clearly appears from the descriptions of the latter work by Flügel (loc. cit.) and by Ahlwardt (the Berlin Library Arabic Catalogue, III, pp. 11-12, No. 2826).

The three above cited copies do not always coincide. The fullest of the three Mss. is the one belonging to the Public Library of St. Petersburg.

II. The small *risālas* (in the Public Library Codex III. 3.37 and in the initial part of my Ms. C) are similar to the مناجات خواجه عبد الله انصاری published in India in 1286 A.H., and to the Mss. described in Rieu's (I, 35) and Flügel's (III 49 7) catalogues.

III. Other minor tracts, containing invocations to God, wise sayings, rules to be followed by a vizier, etc.; Mss. Nos. 258, 259, 260 of Dorn's catalogue; codex No. 268^a in the Asiatic Museum (of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg); codex No. 386 of the University Library, St. Petersburg, fol. 352^r-364^v and fol. 366^r-274^r. The texts vary a great deal with regard to the wording.

In many cases large parts of the works of groups II and III are integrally included in the pseudo-*Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, which makes one think that all the just mentioned works might have been once parts of one whole, later disintegrating so as to form the more common versions known as the [pseudo-] *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, *Ilāhī-nāma* or *Munājāt*. Such a disintegration could well have been caused by the absence of an obligatory unity in the arrangement of the text of a work consisting of strings of brief thoughts unconnected either by form or context.

Of Eastern editions of the works of Anṣārī (of European editions there is none), besides the already mentioned Indian edition of the *Munājāt*, there exist two more brief Tehran editions (1299 and 1304 A.H.) of the same, and an Indian edition of his quatrains in a collection published in 1297 A.H.

The above materials fully suffice to enable us to understand Anṣārī as a mystic and to give him his proper place in the Šūfī literature of his time and of later epochs. Definitions of mystic concepts and ideas, which were by later writers clothed in a somewhat obscure garb of allegories and parables, leaving to the reader to draw his own conclusions, are presented by him, with

great clearness and fulness, in the form of extremely brief and elegant apophthegms.

'The Friend,' says Anṣārī, 'is a Sea, all the rest are rivers: if thou be seeking pearls, look for them in the Sea, not in the

river' ¹ دوست دریا ست باقی همه جوی اگر در جوی ز دریا جوی نه از جوی

'On the outward—go straight, and that is "Law"

'Inwardly—be pure, and that is "Path"

'After having straightened the external by the internal,

'See God in thy heart, and that is "Realization"'

بظاهر راست رو اینک شریعت

بباطن صاف شو اینک طریقت

چو ظاهر را باطن راست کردی

خدابین شو ز دل اینک حقیقت

' "Realization" is a sea, "Law" is a ship. Without a ship how canst thou cross the sea' ? حقیقت دریاست و شریعت کشتی از دریا

بی کشتی بچه گذشتی²

'What Maṣṣūr (Hallāj) said, I also said. He revealed it, and I concealed it' آنچه منصور گفت من گفتم او آشکارا کرد من نهفتم³

Hallāj said: 'I am Truth', and became a crown for the gibbet. 'Abdullāh spoke the truth, and became a crowned

head' ⁴ حلاج انا الحق گفت تاج دار شد عبد الله حق گفت تاجدار شد

'What is a dervish? A little sifted earth, with a little water sprinkled on it. No harm from it to the sole of the foot, no dust from it to the upper part of the foot' درویشی چیست خاککی بیخته و آبکی برو ریخته نه کف پارا ازو دردی و نه پشت پارا ازو گردی⁵

Anṣārī shows himself as a typical and firm protagonist of Ṣūfism in his 'songs' as well, of which a certain number, culled from the pseudo-*Manāzil-u-s-Sā'irīn*, is submitted below

¹ Univ. Library Ms. No. 386, fol. 368r.

² Indian ed., p. 41.

³ Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 258, fol. 8v.

⁴ Ibid., fol. 7r.

⁵ Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 259, fol. 6r.

⁶ Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 258, fol. 5r.

to the attention of lovers of Persian literature. The poetical surnames used by our author in these 'songs' are: 'The Elder of the Anšārs', 'Anšārī, the Elder' and 'The Elder of Herat'.

I

A, fol. 52^r; B, fol. 109^r; C, fol. 93^r; Ind. ed., p. 17.

دلا در کار حق¹ میکن نظرها
 که در راه تو می بینم خطرها
 گشای از خواب غفلت² چشم تا³ من
 بگوش هوش تو گویم خبرها⁴
 نگر در خلق گورستان فکنده
 ز یک تیر فنا جمله سپرها
 بسا شاهان مه رویند در خاک
 کز ایشان در جهان ماندست اثرها
 معاصی زهر قهر است⁵ و نموده
 بکام نفس تو همچون شکرها
 گذرگاهست این دنیای فانی
 نیاید مرد عاقل بر گذرها
 چو درپیش است مرگ ای پیر انصار
 تماشای جهان کن در سفرها

¹ خود C

² Omitted in A

³ B, C, and Ind. ed. با

⁴ Ind. ed. سخنها

⁵ Ind. ed. و قهر از تو

O heart! observe the work of Truth, because on thy road I see many dangers.

Open thy eyes from the sleep of negligence, so that I should tell to the ear of thy reason many revelations.

Look at the people of the graveyard, who from one arrow of annihilation have thrown down all their shields.

How many moon-faced kings are under earth, traces of whom are still remaining in this world!

Sins are an overwhelming poison, and yet they taste to the palate of thy lower soul like sugar.

This transitory world is a crossroad: a wise man does not stop at crossroads.

Since death is looming ahead of thee, O Elder of the Anşārs, look at the world by undertaking journeys.

II

A, fol. 44^v; B, fol. 95^v; C, fol. 80^v.

بروز مرگ که روز فراق¹ یاران است
 کسیکه² دست من آمد گرفت یار آن است
 گمان مبر که بمیرم ز مرگ و گردم خاک
 ز سوی یار چو باران لطف باران است
 بماتم مگری³ زار زار و نوحه مکن
 که آن نفس نفس صور وصل جانان⁴ است
 جنازهام چو بو بینی⁵ تو از فراق منال
 که دست دوست در آندم بگردن جان است

¹ C وداع

² B and C یکی که

³ B and C نگری

⁴ B and C سلطان

⁵ C بو بینی I leave the lection بو بینی instead of بینی and farther below بو بته inst. of بته and بو بین inst. of بین, since it occurs in all the three Mss.

بیا و بر سر تابوت من تماشا کن
 ببانگ نای و دف و مطربى که خوشخوان است
 مرا بگور در آرى بگو مبارک باد
 مگو دروغ که تاریک و تنگ زندان است
 که راه گور ره گلشنست بر دل ما
 هوای خاک لحد فصل نوبهاران است
 زنج بو بسته و در گور خفته ام منگر
 که مرغ روح من اندر خروش و جولان است
 کفن بوبین که به از جامه کشت در بر من
 سرا و منزل من در ریاض رضوان است
 شراب و شربت من شد طهور¹ در دل خاک
 غذای جانده جانم جمال جانان است
 زیارت من چو بیائى بیا تو پاکوبان
 که بزم مقبره ما مقام مستان است
 یقین که مستی انصاری از رخ ساقیست
 که شعر تو سبب مستی حریفان است*

¹ B and C; A has من انظهور شربت

* This is one of the two *ghazals* of Anṣārī which were reprinted from Zhukovsky's article in the little known and now extremely rare Persian chrestomathy compiled by 'Abdullah Ghaffarov (its full title in Persian is: منتخبات فارسیه از آثار مؤلفین ایران از قرن چهارم

هجری الی ایامنا هذا بسعی و اهتمام میرزا عبد الله بن عبد الغفار تبریزی معلم زبان ترکی در مدرسه السنه شرقیه لازاروف جمع و نگاشته شد - جلد دوم - نظم - مسکو -

سنه ۱۳۲۳ هجری ۱۹۰۶ میلادی .

The Translator.

On the day of death, which is the day of parting with friends, a friend is he who comes and shakes my hand.

Think not that I shall die from death and become dust, because from the Friend the rain of grace is pouring forth.

Weep not in bitter grief for me and bewail me not, for that [last] breath is the breath of the trumpet of the union with the Sweetheart.

When thou seest my bier, groan not with separation, for at that moment the arm of the Friend is on the neck of my soul.

Come and admire my coffin at the sound of a flute, of cymbals, of the song of a pleasant-voiced singer.

When consigning me to the grave, say 'Hail!', say not 'Alas, how dark and narrow is that prison!'

The way to the grave is the way to a flower-garden for our heart, and the time in the depth of the earth is early spring.

Mind not that, with my chin bandaged,* I am lying in the grave, for the bird of my spirit is singing and flying about.

Look at my shroud, which has become better than any clothes on my body, since it means my sojourn in the gardens of Rizvān.

My wine and my drink is the purification in the heart of the earth, the life-giving food of my soul is the beauty of the Sweetheart.

When thou comest to visit my tomb, come with a dancing step, for the feast on my grave is the trysting-place of the intoxicated.

Verily, thou art drunk, O Anṣārī! It is from the countenance of the Cup-bearer that thy verses cause the inebriety of thy companions.

III

A, fol. 17^v; B, fol. 43^v; C, fol. 41^v.

هرکه امروز از پی حق پای نفس خود نهشت

کی بود جانش معطر از نسیمات بهشت¹

* Zhukovsky translates مگر ختمام مگر "Do not think that I have given up talking and have gone to sleep in the grave". But, 'zanakh basta' is merely an allusion to the special bandage (the 'tahta-l-hanak') keeping in position the chin of a corpse among Muslims. 'Khufṭa' I take here to mean 'lying', not necessarily 'sleeping', and 'manigar' could hardly mean 'do not think'.

¹ C has کی شود فردا معطر جانش از بوی بهشت

قاف قرب حق ترا گر می‌باید جهد کن
 خرمن آن کس را مسلم شد که اول دانه کشت
 جامه بالاش پوشد روز محشر هر وجود
 روزی او تا که اینجا ریسما را از چه رشت
 گر تو نیکی تکیه بر کردار نیک خود مکن
 و ر بدی لَا تَقْنَطُوا را حق ز بهر ما نوشت
 ای بسا خودبین ز مسجد سوی دوزخ می رود
 وی بسا مسکین که ناگه شد بهشتی در کشت
 مرجبا آنرا که اندر عمر خود یک صبحدم
 خاک پاک سجده را از آب چشم خود سرشت
 با ازل کاری نداری¹ امثال امر کن
 وین فضولها بمان ای مرجع تو خاک خشت
 دولت دار النعم و وصلت حوران خوب
 کی توانی یافت آخر با چنین کردار زشت
 حال آدم بین بعبرت پیر انصاری برو
 کز پی یک ذلت ایزد از بهشت او را بهشت²

Whosoever to-day bendeth not the steps of his lower soul towards Truth, how can his [higher] soul be perfumed by the fragrant breezes of Paradise.

* see footnote on p. 10.—The Translator.

¹ A and C ندارد

² B and C در بهشت او را نهشت

If thou wantest [to reach] the mountain Qāf* of the proximity to Truth, strive for it; the harvest is assured for him who first soweth the seed.

A robe to fit its stature will be worn by every being on the Day of the Resurrection: everyone's lot will be according to the kind of yarn spun by him in this world.

If thou art good, rely not on thy good actions; if thou art bad, it is for us that God hath written the words '*Despair ye not!*'¹

How many self-seekers go straight from the mosque to Hell, how many humble ones in the synagogue become suddenly dwellers in Paradise!

Welcome to him who, during his life, hath mixed, if only on one morning, the pure dust of genuflection with the moisture of his eyes.

Thou hast no business with pre-eternity,—obey orders, leave that impertinence, O thou whose ultimate destination is to become clay for bricks.

How canst thou, with thy evil doings, attain unto the wealth of the 'Abode of Bliss' and the beautiful houris?

Take a warning from the case of Adam, O Eldor Anṣārī, and go: for one mistake, God expelled him from Paradise.

IV

A. fol. 127^v; B, fol. 230^v; C, fol. 256^r.

ای شده عمر عزیز تو بغفلت برباد
وز کفن موی سفید تو ترا یاد نداد
گر بدانی که چه راهست ترا اندر پیش
بر نیاری بهمه عمر ازان یک دم شاد
چند ازين خواب گران خیز و دی طاعت کن
ای که در زیر زمین² کس چو تو در خواب مباد

* In a postscript to his article Zhukovsky suggests himself this translation: originally he translated the passage: 'If thou needest the [letter] *qaf* of the [word] *qurb*—the first step on the road to Truth', etc. I have merely installed that correction in the place to which it belongs.—The Translator.

¹ Qur'ān, XXXIX, v. 54.

² C has ای که در روی کسی

در دل خاک لحد خواب چنان خواهی کرد
 که رود جمله لذات جهانت از یاد
 کاهلی سهل بود رغم شیاطین برخیز
 تا که ارواح عزیزان تو گردد ز تو شاد
 کاروان رفت درین منزل خونخوار محسب
 راه دور است و خطرناک¹ نخوردی غم زاد
 رو بدرگاه خداوند کریم آر و رحیم
 یاد کن کرده خود را و برآور فریاد
 گو الهی ز معاصی تو میگردم باز
 هرچه کردم همه بد بود و خطا بود و فساد
 آخر این خانه و دکان تو ویران شدنی است
 بر سر² سیل فنا خانه که کردست آباد
 قصر و ایوان و سراپرده نماند با کس
 ریخت در خاک تن عاد و ثمود و شداد
 یارب از فضل ببخشی تو گناه همه را
 وعده تست که اللَّهُ لَطِيفٌ بِعِبَادِ
 ای کریم از کرم خویش تو انصاریا
 با همه امت احمد برسانی بمراد

¹ B has راه تو دور و دراز است

² C ره

Thy precious life was wasted in negligence, and thy white hair reminded thee not of the shroud.

If thou knewest only what kind of road is ahead of thee, thou wouldst not breathe a single happy breath in the whole of thy life.

Arise from that heavy sleep and worship God for a moment, O thou than whom no one should be more fast asleep under the earth.

In the depth of the dust of the grave thou shalt have such a sleep that all the joys of this world will disappear from thy memory.

O indolent one ! it is easy to humiliate devils,—arise, so that the souls of thy dear ones should rejoice.

The caravan is gone. Sleep thou not at this blood-thirsty station: the road is long and full of dangers, and thou hast not thought of travelling-provisions.

Turn thy face to the palace of the Merciful Lord, the Forgiving, remember thy actions and scream for help.

Say: 'O God ! from sins I return to Thee: whatever I did was evil, error and iniquity'.

In the end this house and shop of thine are doomed to destruction: who is it who buildeth a house in the path of the torrent of destruction ?

Castles, palaces and pavilions remain not for anybody: the bodies of 'Ād and Šamūd and Shaddād have fallen to dust.

O Lord ! forgive Thou, in Thy Mercy, the sins of everybody: it is Thy promise that '*God is kind to His slaves*'.¹

O Merciful One ! through Thy mercy bring Thou Anšārī and the whole community of Muḥammad to the object of desire.

V

A, fol. 2^v; B, fol. 16^r; C, fol. 2^v; Ind. ed. p. 40.

مرجبا قومی که داد بندگان را داده اند

ترک دنیا کرده اند و از همه آزاد اند

روزها با روزه و² در گوشه بنشسته اند³

باز شبها در مقام بندگی استاده اند

¹ Qur'ān, XLII, 18.

² C با

³ Ind. ed. روزها با روزه اندر گوشه

نفس خود را قهر کرده روح را داده فتوح
 زاد تقوی بر¹ گرفته بهر مرگ آماده اند
 طرفه العینی نبوده غافل از حضرت و لیک
 سیلها با این همه از چشم خود² بکشاده اند
 یکرمان از نوحه همچون نوح خالی نیستند
 گویا خود همچو یحیی بهر زاری زاده اند³
 ز آب و تاب تب الله غسل کرده در جهان
 روی را بر خاک پاک اَسْجُدُوا بنهاده اند
 راحتی دیدند و ذوق یافتند از انس او
 روز و شب در کنج خلوت بر سر سجاده اند
رَبَّنَا گویند ازان لَبَّيْكَ عِبْدی بشنوند
 جمله سرمست أَلَسْتُ جرعه این باده اند
 تا بدنیا آمدند از کلبه کتم و عدم
 سوی حضرت جز نیاز و ناله نفرستاده اند
 پیر انصاری تو میدانی که ایشان کیستند
 فرقه بی⁴ کر و فر و زمره دل ساده اند

¹ خود C

² Ind. ed. از دیده ها

³ The three following verses occur only in the Indian ed.

⁴ Thus Ind. ed.; A, B and C با

Blessed be the people who have achieved service, have relinquished the world and are free from everything. The whole day long they are fasting and sitting in their corners, and at night they stand in the place of worship.

They have conquered their lower soul and made the spirit victorious, have provided themselves with the fear of God and are prepared for death.

For one moment have they not been negligent of [His] Person, and yet they are letting loose from their eyes whole torrents of tears.

For one moment, like Noah, they are not free from lamenting, —one would say that, like John [the Baptist], they have been born for weeping.

By the water and fire of the fever of God they perform their ablutions, and place their face on the pure earth of [the word] '*Prostrate yourselves*'.¹

They have found peace and they have enjoyed communion with Him, day and night in the corner of solitude they are sitting on the praying-carpet.

They say '*O Lord!*', and they hear from Him, '*Here I am, O My servant!*' they are all intoxicated with the wine of [the words] '*Am I not your Lord?*'²

Since the time they have come in to this world from the cell of concealment and non-being, they address nothing but invocations and lamentations to His [Divine] Person.

O Elder Anṣārī! thou knowest who they are: a band devoid of pomp and pride, a group of simple-hearted people.

VI

A, fol. 47^r; B, fol. 100^r; C, fol. 83^v.

این چه سیل است این چه ویل است این چه طوفان است و دود

این چه قهر است این چه دهر است اهل گیتی³ را چه بود

سینها از کینها دان گشته بی نور صفا⁴

کلبه دلها ز غلها مانده بی شمع شهود

¹ Qur'ān, XXV, 61.

² Qur'ān, VII, 171.

³ B گفتی را

⁴ C حضور

عالمی بینم خراب و مردم غافل درو
 در پی دنیا زیان آخرت را دیده سود
 آتش فتنه هزاران شهر دل را سوخته
 ربع مسکون را گرفته تیغ انکار و جحود
 نه بکا و ژاله را در درگاه حضرت قبول
 نه دعا و ناله را بر سوی علّین صعود
 نی نیازی در نماز و نی پیمای در قیام¹
 نه تحضوعی در رکوع و نه شهودی در سجود²
 زاهدان از کدس قدس زرع شرع احمدی
 دانه معنی نکرده³ جز مگر گفت و شنود
 مفتیانرا یوسف جان مانده اندر چاه چاه
 هر یکی خود را عزیزی کرده⁴ در مصر وجود
 عابدان خودپرست و نفس پرور ظاهر اند
 کیست کو از دود غفلت باطن خود را زدود
 قاضیان میل تمامی کرده سوی سیل ویل
 بهر رشوت کرده ضایع وضع احکام و حدود
 حاکمان خود بر رعایا همچو گرگی در رمه
 گوئیا هرگز در ایشان رحمت و رافت نبود

¹ Thus B; A and C قیامی در پیام

² نه قیامی در نمود C

³ B and C نجسته

⁴ B and C دبد

منعانرا بر در دل قفل بخی استوار
 نه زبان لغو بسته نه گشاده دست جود
 زاهدانرا روز روزه حیلۀ دریوزه است
 شب برای صید دلها دام ایشان در¹ سجود
 خواجگانرا بندۀ خود کرده است آمال مال
 حرص دنیائی عنان از دست ایشان در ربود
 حافظانرا بنگری حق ناشناس و ناسپاس
 در عطاهای الهی در کفورند² و کنود
 صوفیان از سیر خوردن روی دل کرده سیاه
 بهر دنیا سرخ چشم و طیلسان کرده کبود
 طالب نوش است اکنون صوفی سجاده نشین
 زرق و تزویر است ایندم خرقهای تار و پود
 کی بود صوفی کسی کاندلر پی صورت بود
 صیت و وجد* و نام جوید برسرش بادا عمود³
 کی بود صوفی کسی کو نفس را برحق گزید
 دوست را از بهر دشمن بیوفائیا نمود

1 دان C

2 Thus C; A در کنوزند B بس کفورند

* I prefer to read وجه and translate accordingly.—The Translator.

3 In B the whole verse is omitted.

کی بود صوفی کسی کو خفته باشد تا سحر
 آه دلسوزی ندارد هردم از شوق ودود
 کی بود صوفی چنان خر طبع کو از حرص خویش
 می نخواهد تا کسی را باشد از گاوی غدود
 کی بود صوفی کسی کز آتش شوق اله
 می نسوزد جان او در بحر تن همچو عود¹
 کی بود صوفی کسی کو در ره اسلام و دین
 کذب گوید چون نصاری بغض دارد² چون یهود
 صوفی³ صافی که باشد آنکه او را خلق حسن³
 چون بدی دید از برادر در جزا نیکی فرود⁴
 صوفی³ صافی که باشد آنکه بی دیدار یار
 گر همه دار القرار است او نمیخواهد خلود
 ساقی³ باقی سَقَاهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ فرموده است
 ورنه عاشق را بجنّت رغبتی اصلا نبود
 ای مزور صدق باید تا گشاید بر تو راه
 کی شوی ای بنده صالح تا ننالی همچو عود

¹ In B the whole verse is omitted.

² B جرید

³ B حسن خلق

⁴ C omits the whole verse.

پیر انصاری تو در¹ صفرا لکن² آهسته باش³

چون زیان کردن بمردم در پی دنیا چه سود⁴

What is that torrent? What is that misfortune? What is that flood and smoke? What is that oppression, what times are these? What hath befallen the people of this world?

Breasts from rancour, know thee, have become devoid of the light of purity, the cells of the hearts from hatred have been left without the lamp of the sight of God.

The whole world I see in ruins full of careless people in search for worldly goods, damage to the life to come they consider an advantage.

The fire of discord hath burned down thousands of cities of hearts, the whole inhabited world is conquered by the sword of disbelief and denial.

No response to weeping and tears is vouchsafed from the Court of the Almighty, prayers and lamentations reach not the Sublime.

There is no humility in the prayer and no intelligence in the 'standing up' (*qiyām*), no submission in the 'bowing' (*rukū'*), no recognition [of one's unworthiness before God] in the 'prostration' (*sujūd*).

The hermits have not obtained a single grain of spirituality from threshing the sheaves of the holy field of Muḥammad's law, except idle talk.

For the *muftis*, the Joseph of the soul remains in the well of outward dignity,—each of them maketh himself a prime minister of the Egypt of human existence.

One sees self-conceited and sensual devotees: who of them wipe off the soot of negligence from his inner self?

The judges are wholeheartedly directing themselves towards the torrent of calamity: for a bribe they damage the institution of the ordinances and penal laws.

The rulers are treating their subjects like wolves would treat a flock of sheep, as if they had never felt any mercy or compassion.

The wealthy ones have a strong lock of avarice on their heart, their mouths are always open with silly talk, their hands are never opened in liberality.

For the zealots the days of fasting are a pretext for begging, and at night their snare for catching hearts are genuflexions.

¹ C has: پیر انصاری برو

² C مکن

³ B has: پیر انصاری تو صفرای مکن آینه را

⁴ B has: چون زیان کردید خو کردم در پی سودای او : C has: چون زیان کردن بمردم در پی سودا چه سود

Expectations of wealth have enslaved the Elders, wordly cupidity hath taken away from their hands the reins [of guidance].

Look at the readers of the Qur'ān (*hāfiḡ*): they ignore Truth and have no gratitude, with regard to divine gifts they are full of negation and denial.

The Šūfi by overeating have darkened the face of their hearts, but for the world they make their eyes red and their turbans blue.

The Šūfi squatting now on the praying-carpet seeketh worldly joys, coarse sack-cloth is nowadays mere hypocrisy and deceit.

How can be a Šūfi one who seeketh form, who desireth noise, authority and renown? May a pillar crash on his head.

How can be a Šūfi one who giveth preference to his lower soul before Truth, who, in favour of the enemy, betrayeth the Friend?

How can be a Šūfi one who is asleep till sunrise, one who, in the passion of love emitteth not every moment heart-burning sighs?

How can be a Šūfi such an ass, who, in his avarice, is against anybody having a portion of beef?

How can be a Šūfi one whose soul, in the fire of longing for God, burneth not in the censer of the body like incense?

How can be a Šūfi one, who, in the path of Islam, telleth lies like a Christian and is full of hatred like a Jew?

Who is a pure Šūfi? One who is good-tempered, who, when seeing evil from his brother, increaseth goodness in retaliation.

Who is a pure Šūfi? who desireth not eternal life, if the gardens of Paradise be devoid of the countenance of the Friend.

The Eternal Cup-Bearer hath deigned to say: '*The Lord hath given them to drink*'¹,—otherwise the lover would not have had any longing for Paradise.

O hypocrite! sincerity is needed in order that the road should open before thee. How canst thou, O slave, become pious, unless thou groanest like a lute?

Elder Anšārī! thou art irritated. Keep quiet: what is the use of hurting people on account of worldly things.

VII

A, fol. 20^r; B, fol. 27^v; C, fol. 44^v.

ای پسر گر مرد راهی بر در در یوزه باش
وز تواضع خاک بوس در قدم چون موزه باش

¹ Qur'ān, LXXVI, 21.

خویشان افکنده دار و بارکش همچو زمین
 بر در حق پشت خم چون گنبد فیروزه باش
 مطعم بیچارگان چون کاسه شوی منّتی
 بی طمع سقّای هر تفسیده دل چون کوزه باش
 ظاهرش شیرین و باطن تلخ چون خرما مشو
 از درون نرم و منور وز برون چون غوزه باش
 از حیا افکنده سر وز زهد لاغر همچو خنگ
 وز ندم در¹ صبحدم در ناله چون جلفوزه باش
 گر مسلمانی ز خمر زهر² میکن اجتناب
 ور ورع ورزیده زان دورتر از بوزه باش
 ور دوام نور ایمان بایدت شب زنده دار
 ور امان خواهی³ ز دوزخ روزها بر روزه باش
 ور غنا⁴ جوئی ز مردم پیر انصاری برو
 قانع و راضی ز حق بر قسمت هر روزه باش

O youth ! if thou art a man of the Path, stand at the door of begging, kiss the ground in humility, be in walking like unto a boot.

Keep thyself prostrated, and carry burdens like the earth. At the door of Truth stand thou with thy back bent like the turquoise-blue cupola.

Be a feeder of the destitute like unto an obliging scullion, give to drink to those whose hearts are burning unselfishly, like a pitcher.

¹ B and C هر

² B خمر و زهر

³ B یابی

⁴ Thus B; A and C غنا

Become not outwardly sweet, and bitter inside like the date. Be soft and white inwardly, and outwardly like a cotton-pod.

Keep thy head bowed in modesty and, from devout exercises, be as thin as a bow-string*. From early morning groans of repentance, be like a pine-nut.

If thou art a Muslim, abstain from the poison of wine, if thou art undergoing pious practices, keep away even from beer.

If thou art in need of the light of true faith, keep awake at night. If thou wantest immunity from hell, pass thy days in fasting.

If thou seekest emancipation from men, O Elder Anşāri, go thou, and be content and satisfied with what the Lord granteth thee for thy daily lot.

VIII

A, fol. 51^r; B, fol. 107^v; C, fol. 91^v.

شی تیره است و مہی در خسوف
طریق مضیق و راہ مخوف
نہ زادی در انبان نہ آبی بہشک
نہ امکان رفتن نہ جای وقوف
ز پیش اژدہای گشادہ دہان
ز پس دشمنان کشیدہ سیوف¹
بس آنکہ تن سست و مرکب ضعیف
نہ ہمراہ مشفق نہ یار عطوف
چنین وادی سخت و جای مہیب
زہی مشکل ارحق نباشد رؤوف

* Zhukovsky translates: 'a lean horse'. But *khing*, with regard to horses, means only the colour ('grey', etc.), and has no reference to their condition. The meaning 'bow-string' seems to have been overlooked by the author.—The Translator.

¹ Thus B and C; A دشمنانیکہ هست با سیوف

سلاح صلاحت شکیبائی است
 اگر مرد صافی و پوشیده صوف
 مراد از تو صبر است انصاریا
 چو گنج رموز از طلسم حروف

The night is dark and the moon is obscured, the path is narrow and the road is full of dangers.

No provender in the bag, no water in the water-bottle, no possibility of advancing and no place for resting.

Ahead a dragon with its jaws open, behind are enemies with swords drawn.

The body very tired, the mount very weak, no kind companion and no affectionate friend.

Such an arduous valley, and such a dreadful place! How difficult it would be, were not the Lord compassionate.

The armour of thy well-being is patience, if thou art a man of purity clothed in wool (*şūf*).

Patience is expected from thee, O Anṣārī, as from the lettering of a talisman [is expected] a treasure of riddles.

IX

A, fol. 44^v; B, fol. 94^v; C, fol. 79^r.

الرحیل ای دوستان ما رخت خود برداشتیم
 بر شما باد مبارک آنچه ما بگذاشتیم
 منزل ما خاک تیره بود و ما از خیرگی
 قصر و ایوان تا عنان آسمان افراشتیم¹
 مار بودست آنچه او را مال خود می گفته ایم
 باد بودست آنچه او را عمر خود پنداشتیم

¹ Thus B and C; A برداشتیم.

ای بسا انبارها کر حرص خود انصاریا
 بهر نوشانوش عیش دیگران انباشتم

We depart, O friends, and we have collected our traps.
 Whatever remains we offer to you.

Our abode was [to be] the black earth, and foolishly we
 have erected castles and halls as high as the clouds.

A serpent was what we called our property, and wind was
 what we thought to be our life.

How many storehouses, O Anşārī, have we not filled in our
 cupidity for others to enjoy!

X

A, fol. 17^r; B, fol. 42^r; C, fol. 40^v; Ind. ed., p. 24.

هر تفر را رنگ نیکی داده سلطان ازل
 هر سری را¹ سرنوشتی کرده دیوان ازل
 هر وجودی در حقیقت مظهر سری شده
 تا شود پیدا ز فعلش سر پنهان ازل²
 اختیار³ ما چه سنجد پیش تقدیر اله
 چون ترا چون گوی گردون کرده چوگان ازل
 هر چه کاری در بهاران تیرماه آن بدروی
 تا چه تخم انداخت اول دست دهقان ازل
 آنچه باری⁴ خواست آن شد پس بحیرت می ز نیم
 مشت جد و جهد را بر روی سندان ازل⁵

¹ Thus B, C and Ind. ed.; A تنی را

² In the Ind. ed. the verse is omitted.

³ Ind. ed. احتیاط

⁴ Thus B and Ind. ed.; A and C یاری

⁵ In B, C and Ind. ed. is added the next verse.

تا ابد سیری نبیند دایما جایع بود
 آن دل و جانی که جایع مانده برخوان ازل
 غیر تسلیم و رضا انصاریا تعلیم نیست¹
 عقل عاجز را که گوید² مرد میدان ازل

To every body the Sultan of Pre-Eternity hath given a beautiful colour, on every head the court of Pre-Eternity hath bestowed a writing on the forehead.

Each being, in reality, became thus the manifestation of some mystery, so that from its actions some Pre-Eternal mystery becometh manifest.

What is our free-will worth compared with Divine pre-destination, since the polo-stick of Pre-Eternity treats thee like a ball?

Whatever thou sowest in spring-time, thou reapest in summer *, in accordance with the kind of seed originally thrown by the Pre-Eternal Cultivator.

What God willed became, and we, in perturbation, are hitting with the fist of effort and exertion at the anvil of Pre-Eternity.

To the end of time will experience no satiety and will remain hungry that heart and soul which hath remained hungry at the table of Pre-Eternity.

Except resignation and acquiescence there is nothing to be taught, O Anšārī! Who would give to a weak intellect the name of Pre-Eternal man?

XI

A, fol. 36^v; B, fol. 80^r; C, fol. 66^v.

خوش آن ساعت که در خلوت بود دیدار درویشان
 ز یاد حق شود خرم خجسته کار درویشان

¹ Ind. ed. تدبیر چیست

² Ind. ed. گردد

* Zhukovsky translates: 'in autumn'. But *Tīr* corresponds to the sign of the Cancer (end of June to the last week of July). In Zhukovsky's text *ماه تیره* is an obvious misprint.—The Translator.

گدایان فلک سائر¹ فقیران ملک سیرت
 چو آب کوثر و زمزم بود اسرار درویشان²
 بود دیدارشان نعمت بود گفتارشان رحمت
 همه علم و ادب باشد یقین کردار درویشان
 حضور آن عزیزان را غنیمت دان اگر دانی
 ز نور محض سبحانی بود انوار درویشان
 بکشند آزار خلق را نیازند موری را
 بود شادی جان و دل همه آثار درویشان
 فقیران همچو بازانند ارادت دام ایشان دان
 بهر سوئی غرض باشد همه رفتار درویشان³
 اگر داری سر ایشان ز مال و جاه و تن بگذر
 هزاران جان جوی ارزد درین بازار درویشان
 چو انصاری سخن گوید شود خوشوقت صوفیه
 چه خوش مرغی است انصاری که شد گلزار درویشان

Sweet is that hour when dervishes can be seen in privacy: from mentioning Truth, the blessed work of dervishes becometh delightful.

They are beggars ascending to heaven, paupers of angelic disposition: like unto the waters of Kawgar and Zamzam are the mysteries of dervishes.

Their sight is a joy, their conversation is bliss. Truly the actions of dervishes are all wisdom and decency.

¹ فلک اسا B

² In B and C is added the next verse.

³ In B and C is added the next verse.

Consider thou the presence of those holy ones an advantage, if thou art aware that pure divine light is radiating from dervishes.

They bear molestation from people, but they molest not even an ant. All traces left by dervishes are joy for the soul and the heart.

The faqirs are like unto falcons, know thou that their snare is discipleship (*irādat*). Wherever there be need, towards that place are the steps of dervishes directed.

If thou wishest to be with them, discard thou thy riches, thy rank and thy very body: a thousand souls cost one barley-grain in that market of dervishes.

When Anṣārī speaketh, Ṣūfīs become glad. What a pleasant meadow is that, O Anṣārī, which becometh a flower-garden (i.e. the trysting-place) of dervishes.*

XII

A, fol. 50^v ; B, fol. 107^r ; C, fol. 91^r.

علم و حکمت گنج تو کرو بیان مشتاق تو
 فرش اغبر مسند¹ تو سقف اخضر طاق تو
 عقل و نقل از بهر تست و ملک ایمان شهر تو
 فکر و خشیت خوی تو روحانان عشاق تو
 انبیا غم خوار تست و اولیا دلدار تو
 نور ایمان یار و قرآن² حجت و مصداق تو
 ناصحت الهام غیبی واعظت تنبیه دل
 ناصرت تأیید علوی حافظت خلاق تو

* Zhukovsky translates: 'What a pleasant bird is Anṣārī, who composed the melody of the dervishes'. I fail to agree with him, primarily on account of the verb *shud*, which cannot mean 'composed', but must be translated 'became'. I read *marghī* 'a garden; lawn, meadow, grass, etc. (cf. *marghzār*) and take *gulzār* in its original meaning of flower-garden'.—The Translator.

¹ Thus B and C; A مست

² Thus B and C; A یار تو و حجت

پیر انصاری صلاحی کر همی ورزی بود¹
 مهر و مه در رشک اشک چهره برآق تو

Knowledge and wisdom are thy treasure; cherubs are longing for thee; a dusty carpet is thy throne, the azure cupola [of the sky] is thy roof.

Reason and tradition are for thee, the kingdom of faith is thy city. Meditation and fear of God is thy temperament; spiritual entities are thy lovers.

Prophets are thy intimate friends, saints are thy admirers; the light of faith is thy friend, the Qur'ān thy proof and confirmation.

Thy adviser is Divine Inspiration, thy admonisher—the warning of the heart; thy helper is assistance from on high, thy protector is thy Creator.

O Elder Anṣārī! if thou practisest virtue, the sun and the moon will be jealous of a tear on thy shining face.

XIII

A, fol. 45^r; B, fol. 96^r; C, fol. 81^r.

باری اگر عاشق شوی بر خالق جبار شو
 و رفته کردی بر کسی بر عالم اسرار شو
 بر دوختم از غیر او چشم اولو الابصار را
 خواهی شهبازان رسی تو از اولو الابصار باش
 تا چند بندی جان و دل بر خوبرویان جهان
 در ما نگر ای بی بصر وز خواب خوش بیدار شو
 این ماه رویان عاقبت چون کاه رویان میشود
 از بیوفایان جهان بستان دل و بیزار شو

¹ Thus B and C; A بر.

اهل ملاحترا ز رخ هردم طراوت کم شود
 گر حسن باقی بایدت در عشق موسی وار شو
 بس بیوفا و پرجفا باشند یاران دگر
 یار وفاداری اگر خواهی تو با ما یار شو
 دانا و بینائیم هم بر جمله کردار تو
 خواهی شېرا¹ روز کن خواهی پس دیوار شو
 تو کار چندین ساله را اندیشه پیش خود نهی
 اول تو عمر خویش را یک لحظه پذیرفتار شو
 ای بنده نشکستیم ما هرگز مرادی در دلت
 شرمی بدار آخر تو و دلجوی آن دلدار شو
 پنجاه و شصت از عمر تو بگذشت تو طفلی هنوز
 ای پیر² نابالغ بیا از مستیت هشیار شو
 پیدا نخواهد شد ترا جز من خریدار دگر
 ور می نیاید³ باورت اینک سوی بازار شو
 در قلب شب پرسش کنم دلخستگان خویش را
 گر پرسش من بایدت از خواب خوش بیدار شو
 يَا نَارُ كُونِي بَرْدًا از ما سوی آتش بر پیام
 پس تو مترس و خوش خوش آندر دوزخ پر نار شو⁴

¹ بروی B.² Thus B and C; A گشته³ Thus B; A ندارد C ورنه ندارد A⁴ This verse is omitted in A.

چندین چه معماری کنی بستان سرای خویش را
 زندان تنگ گور را آخر یکی معمار شو
 ای که مرا گفتی یکی خواهیم امرزیدنت
 خواهی تو در کعبه نشین خواهی تو بر کفّار شو¹
 گر صد هزاران سال تو پهلوتی کردی زمن
 یکباره گو بد کردم و در بارگاه² یار شو
 انصاریا خواهی که تو یابی ز عمرت بهره
 بی خواب و خورد و دردمند چون عاشقان زار شو

Shouldst thou ever fall in love, do so with the Almighty Creator. If thou hast afflicted anybody, turn towards the Knower of Mysteries.

I have closed my clairvoyant eyes to everything except Him: if thou wantest to equal the royal falcons, be of the clairvoyant ones.

How long wilt thou attach thy heart and soul to the beautiful ones of this world? Look at us, O sightless one! awake from thy sweet sleep.

These moon-faced ones will in the end become with faces like straw [i.e. yellow-T.): take away thy heart from the unfaithful ones of this world and become thou free.

The beautiful ones lose every moment some of the freshness of their face: if thou needest permanent beauty, be in love like unto Moses.

How unfaithful and full of cruelty are other friends! If thou wantest a faithful friend, make thou friends with us.

We know and We see all thy actions, whether thou turnest night into day * or hidest behind a wall.

The care for the works of so many years thou placest before thee: be first a surety for one moment of thy own life.

¹ This verse, as well as the preceding and the next hemistichs are omitted in A.

² بوستان C

* Zhukovsky translates, I don't know why روز کن خواهی شی را 'whether thou committest them in broad daylight', etc.—The Translator.

O my servant! We have never broken in thy heart a single wish: for shame, show at last affection to this Loving One.

Fifty, sixty years have passed of thy life, and thou art still a child. O immature old man! come, get sober from thy drunkenness.

There will not be found another buyer for thee, except Myself: if thou believest Me not, go to the market-place.

In the middle of the night I question my heart-tired ones. If thou needest to be questioned by Me, awake from thy sweet sleep.

To the fire the message from Us was: '*O fire, become thou cold!*'¹ Do not fear, in consequence, and go gladly to the hell which is full of fire.

Why art thou building so many palace-gardens for thyself: be for once the builder of the narrow prison of thy grave.

O thou who hast called Me 'One'! * We shall forgive thy sins whether thou abidest in the Ka'ba or with infidels.

Although for a hundred thousand years thou hast shunned Me, say once 'I have behaved badly!' and enter the Court of the Friend.

O Anṣārī! if thou wishest to derive any benefit from thy life, be thou without sleep, without food and feel miserable, like those who are languishing with love.

XIV

A, fol. 130^r; B, fol. 235^r; C, fol. 259^r.

من کیم بر آستانت یا اله
 شرمساری عذرخواهی از گناه
 عمر ضایع کرده سرگشته
 خوار و زار افتاده بر خاک راه²
 که ز سوز سینهام سازی کباب
 که دلم خون گردد از حال تباه

¹ Qur'ān, XXI, 69.

* I cannot accept Zhukovsky's translation '*Somebody spoke to me: we shall forgive thee*', etc. for: ای که مرا گفتی یکی.—The Translator.

² In C this verse is omitted.

میکشم زانديشه آخر نفس
 آه‌های سرد وقت صبحگاه
 آه با دل تو چها^۱ پرداختی
 سرنوشتی ما چه کردی آه آه
 هرچه کردم عفو فرما زانکه من
 بر امید رحمت کردم گناه
 گشته بار معصیت سنگین چو کوه
 کاش بودی وزن طاعت پر^۲ کاه
 تو بسوز انصاریا مستوجی
 ور ببخشد هست عفو از پادشاه

Who am I on Thy threshold, O God? An ashamed one asking to be forgiven his sins.

One who hath wasted his life, one distressed, and miserable, and afflicted, fallen in the dust of the road.

Sometimes by the heat of my breast Thou burnest me; sometimes my heart bleedeth on account of my desperate situation.*

At the thought of my last breath, I give utterance to chilling sighs every morn.

Oh, what hast Thou done to my heart? What hast Thou done with our predestination, alas, alas!!

Forgive me what I did, for I had sinned relying on Thy mercy.

The burden of sins hath become as heavy as a mountain, Oh, were it that the weight of obedience were as light as a bit of straw!

Burn thou, O Anṣārī, thou deservest it, and if He forgiveth [so much the better], for forgiveness is natural to Kings.

^۱ آه تا بردل چها B

^۲ Thus B and C; A برگ

* Zhukovsky translates 'on account of [my] depravity'.—The Translator.

XV

A, fol. 52v; B, fol. 110r; C, fol. 104r; Ind. ed., p. 46.

ای لباس اقتباس از دوش¹ هوش انداخته
وی ز بهر دام و دانه دین و دل در باخته
ز آتش سودای دل در بوتۀ حرص و امل
همچو سیم و زر ز عشق سیم و زر بگداخته
از جهولی بر طریق حق نرفته یک قدم
وز فضولی سوی شهر شر دو اسپه تاخته
از برای رای زن دور از رضای ایزدی
وز غرور خان و مان با نفس بد در ساخته²
مال و نعمت بذل کرده بهر فرزندان بسی
بهر حق اما یکی دلخسته را ننواختی
بس خجالتها که بینی گر بمیری همچن³
شکر نعمتها نگفته قدر خود نشناخته
شرم باد از حضرت حق آدمی را هر سحر
کو بخواب غفلت است و حمد گویان فاخته
وه که عزرائیل ناگه بر زند طبل رحیل
خواجه آرزق را نپخته کارها نا ساخته⁴

¹ Thus Ind. ed.; B, C هوش

² This verse and the next one are omitted in the Indian edition.

³ Ind. ed. ناگهان

⁴ This verse and the next one are omitted in the Indian edition.

منزلش گور است خواجه بر ره سیلاب مرگ
 قصر و ایوان تا عنان¹ آسمان افراخته
 با اجل شطرنج بازی میکنی انصاریا
 ناگهان تو مات گشته او دغائی باخته

O thou, who hast thrown off from the shoulders of reason the mantle of learning and hast lost thy faith and thy heart for the grains in a snare.

On the fire of the concupiscence of the heart, in the crucible * of greediness and desire, like unto silver and gold, from the love of silver and gold, thou art melted.

In thy folly, thou hast not advanced a single step on the road to Truth, out of foolhardiness, like a post-boy, thou hast hastened to the city of evil.

From thoughts about thy wife thou hast estranged thyself from pleasing God, from the vain-glory in thy house and its belongings thou hast made a compromise with thy lower soul.

A lot of riches and wealth thou hast spent on thy progeny, yet, for the love of God, thou hast not treated kindly a single afflicted one.

How much shame wilt thou feel, if thou diest in that state, without having expressed thy gratitude for the favours received, without having understood thy proper value.

May be ashamed before God the man who every morning is sleeping in heedlessness, whilst the dove is singing praises to God.

Take care! suddenly 'Azrā'il might strike the drum of departure, whilst the old man hath not yet cooked his provisions and not arranged his affairs.

His station, O old man, is the grave on the road of the torrent of death, and thou hast erected castles and halls as high as the clouds of heaven.

Anṣārī! thou art playing chess with Fate: all of a sudden you are checkmated, for He is cheating at the game.

¹ Thus C; A and B ایوان سرا تا

* Zhukovsky translates در بونه حرص و امل *'on the fuel (or "firewood".—T.) of cupidity and hope'*. I am unable to fit in the meaning of 'firewood' into بونه, which may sometimes, of course, mean 'brushwood'. The preposition در also shows plainly the correct meaning—The Translator.

XVI

A, fol. 4^v; B, fol. 19^v; C, fol. 4^v.

جاهلی چند از پی رنگی شده
 صوفپوش شیوه¹ تنگی¹ شده
 هر یکی را ظاهری معمور لیک
 باطن ویران و دل سنگی شده
 برق زرقی می نماید از برون
 از درون بر روی دل زنگی شده
 نفس ایشان را ز خودبینی که هست
 سخن گیتی حجره تنگی شده
 خواب خود را کرده عادت همچو گاو
 در ره طاعت خر لنگی شده
 مرد باید اندرین ره بهر دوست
 استخوان و پوست چون چنگی شده
 دوست با تو صلح کرد آندم که دید
 در میان با نفس تو² جنگی شده³
 در ریاضت بین تن انصار را
 وز⁴ شکرهای سخن تنگی شده

¹ جرعه نوش شیوه تنگی C

² در میان نفس خود B

³ This verse is omitted in A.

⁴ در B

A few fools attracted by externalities have donned the wool of glorying in reputation.

Each of them hath a cultured appearance, inwardly desolate and with a heart of stone.

On the outside they show the brilliancy of hypocrisy, inside the heart is covered with rust.

For their lower soul, owing to the conceit which prevaileth in them, the expanse of the world is like unto a narrow cell.

They have accustomed themselves to sleep like cows, and on the path of obedience to God they have become like unto a lame ass.

On this path the man needed by the Friend should be all skin and bones, like unto a harp.*

The Friend will make peace with thee, when He seeth that thou art at war with thy lower soul.

In austerity look at the body of Anṣārī: from the sweetness of his words he hath become an ass-load of sugar. .

XVII

A, fol. 30^v; B, fol. 69^r; C, fol. 57^r.

ای که تو مغرور تخت و دولت فرخنده
 خواجه صاحب سریر و مفرشی افکنده
 یا که جمشیدی بسیرت یا که خورشیدی بحسن
 یا چو زهره چهره داری یا چو مه تابنده
 یا کالاتی که گفتم ضعف آن دریافتی
 یا مراداتی که جستی جمله را یابنده
 یا چو قیصر هست در سر تاج و افسر مر ترا
 یا چو عیسی ابن مریم تا قیامت زنده

* Zhukovsky translates: 'by bones and skin resemble a claw (i.e. dry up)' for پوست چون چنگی شده, which seems to me somewhat far-fetched. But *chang* means also any stringed instrument played upon by pinching the strings, and a harp *does* resemble a skeleton.—The Translator.

یا گرفتی چون فریدون ملکت روی زمین
یا چو قارون صد هزاران مال و گنج آگنده
جمله شدادی و لیکن نیستی ایمن ز موت
هیچ کس گفتست با تو تا ابد پابنده
آسمان چو ابر نیشان بر تو گریان است زار¹
آنزمان کر غفلت خود همچو گل در خنده
چند از این باد بروت و آتش سودای دل
خاکی و بی آب آنکه با دماغ کنده
گر امیری هم بمیری پیر انصاری برو
خواجگی نپذیرد از تو سر بنه چون² بنده

O thou, who art deluded by thy throne and thy favourable fate, O lord and master of the throne and of the carpet spread.

Art thou Jamshīd as to temperament, or like the Sun in beauty, or hast thou a face like Venus, or art thou shining like the Moon?

Hast thou reached all the virtues, twice as much as I have said? or hast thou obtained the objects of all thy wishes?

Or is there a crown and a diadem on thy head like unto the Qaiṣar? Or wilt thou be alive until the Day of Resurrection, like Jesus, son of Mary?

Hast thou obtained the kingdom of the whole earth, like Farīdūn? Or hast thou collected, like Qārūn, a hundred thousand riches and treasures?

Thou art altogether like Shaddād,—but art thou safe from death? Hath anybody told thee that thou shalt live forever?

Heaven, like unto a cloud in Naysān (i.e. April.-T.), is weeping bitterly over thee, at the moment, when, in thy unconsciousness, thou art laughing like a rose.

For how long that wind of arrogance and that fire of the ambition of the heart? Thou art dust, devoid of water (i.e. of lustre), O thou with the swollen head.

If thou art even a prince, death is unavoidable. O Elder Anṣārī! He accepteth not mastership from thee,—go, bow thy head in obeisance, like a slave.

XVIII

A, fol. 46^v; B, fol. 98^v; C, fol. 82^v.

ای که در لای بلای معصیت آلوده
 وعظ دل را هیچ وقت از سمع سر نشنوده
 حبّ دنیا را نشانده در سرای سرّ خویش
 و آزمان مر دیگران را ترک آن فرموده
 خدمت پیری نکردی کی جوانبختی¹ شوی
 صحبت نیکان نیابی چون برین بد بوده
 ره زرفتی رهبری چون میکنی ای خیره کار
 میوه کی پیدا کنی چون غنچه ننموده
 ذلّ شاگردی ندیدی عزّ استادی بجوی
 گر مرید شیخ گردی فارغ و آسوده
 چشم اهل معرفت را از تو باشد روشنی
 گر چو² سرمه زیر سنگ ابتلا فرسوده
 گنج بی رنجی بدان حاصل نشد انصاریا
 جان فدا کن بهر جانان ورنه رو بیهوده

¹ جوانمردی C

² Thus B and C: A

O thou, who art stuck in the mire of the misfortune of sin, never hast thou listened to the admonitions of the heart while hearing mysteries.*

Thou hast established the love for worldly things in the innermost of thy heart, teaching others, at the same time, to give it up.

Thou hast not served an Elder, how canst thou be happy? Thou canst not become a companion of good men, having been bad in that respect.

Thou hast not followed the Path, how canst thou be a guide on the road, O foolhardy one? How canst thou obtain fruits without having ever produced a bud?

Thou hast not experienced the mortification of discipleship, do not seek the dignity of masterdom: by becoming the disciple of an Elder, thou wilt be free and quiet.

For the eyes of the 'people of knowledgo' (*ahl-i ma'rifat*) there will be light from thee, if thou art pounded, like a collyrium, under the stone of trials.

Treasure cannot be gained without trouble, O Ansāri: bring thy soul in sacrifice to the Beautiful One, otherwise, go! thou art useless.

XIX

A, fol. 49^v; B, fol. 105^r; C, fol. 89^v.

هرگز ای جان نکم از در تو نومیدی
چون هزاران بتر از من بکرم بخشیدی
روز بازار السّم که بها میدادی
جمله عیب من مفلس و بیکس دیدی
کی فضیحت کنیم روز قیامت یا رب
تو که کردار من اکنون ز کرم پوشیدی
ذره بی سر و پائی که هوائی تو گرفت
بر سر خلق دو عالم بکند خورشیدی

* Zhukovsky translates: 'didst not hear with the ear of thy head' for *از سم سر نشنوده*. I read *sir(r)*, not *sar*, and translate accordingly.—
The Translator.

هله ای عاشق بیچاره¹ مخور چندین غم
 تو که جای به² الست از کف ما نوشیدی
 ای بسا محنت دنیا که بروی تو رسید
 روز و شب ز آتش عشق رخ ما جوشیدی
 مهر مهرم بزدی بردل مجروح بسی
 غرقه در³ خون جگر سر بکفن پیچیدی
 پیر انصار چو مردی ز غم عمر توام⁴
 با تو پیوندم اگر تو با همه ببریدی

O Beloved! I will never forsake the hope of [entering] Thy door, since thousands worse than me Thou hast forgiven in Thy mercy.

On the day of the fair of creation, when fixing my price, thou didst see all the defects of such a destitute orphan as I.

How canst thou disgrace me on the Day of Resurrection, O Lord, since Thou hast concealed now my doings by Thy Clemency.

The insignificant atom which fell in love with Thee, will become a sun above the heads of the creatures of the two worlds.

O unlucky lover! do not grieve so much,—on the Day of the Creation hast thou not drunk a cup from Our hand?

How many wordly misfortunes have befallen thee! day and night hast thou been boiling on the fire of love to Me.

Thou hast stamped many times the seal of love to Me on thy wounded heart, and, drowned in the blood of thy heart, thou hast donned the shroud.

O Elder Anşār! when thou diest in longing for Me in thy life, I shall attach Myself to thee, if thou hast relinquished everything.

¹ B غم‌دیده

² B ز

³ C بر

⁴ Thus B and C; A ترا

XX

A, fol. 46v; B, fol. 99v; C, fol. 83r.

تا بکی کبر و عناد تا چه وقت این بی روی
 با چنین فعل¹ از عتاب تاب دوزخ کی روی
 عاقبت با خاک خواری سر نهی بی هیچ ریب
 گر چو ذوالقرنین تاج مملکت بر سر نهی
 خواب خرگوش ترا گر میدهد غول امل
 پنجه شیر اجل را² تا بکی این روی
 ای گرفته راه شیطان مرد کویم نه زنی
 چون نیازد از تو رحمان عاقلی نه ابلهی³
 قصد تو دارند نفس و شهوت و حرص و امل
 عاقلان این مشو زین دشمنان گر آگهی
 توبه باید ز عصیان تا که در جنت شوی
 بی سر تیغی مسلم⁴ کی شود تخت شهی
 گر بها در آستین آماده نبود خواجه را
 از نخاس او⁵ کی تواند برد ترک خرگی
 هر کسی در عز و ناز و سروری انصاریا
 کیستند با من بگوئی⁶ مبتدی یا منتهی

1 فضل C

2 B and C اجل بین

3 Thus B and C; A غافل نه آگهی

4 C میسر

5 از نجاش C

6 بگوئی C

For how long this pride and obstinacy, till what time this deviation from the right way? With such actions, how canst thou escape being punished by the fire of hell?

Without any doubt whatever, at the end, thou shalt lay down thy head in the dust of abasement, even shouldst thou wear a crown of empire like that of Zū-l-Qarnayn.

If the demon of hope giveth thee a hare's sleep (i.e. negligence), for how long wilt thou be able to play the fox in the claws of the lion of death?

O thou, who hast followed the ways of Satan, do not pretend to be a man of My street: how should the Merciful not be aggrieved with thee, thou art intelligent, not a fool.*

In league against thee are thy lower soul, lust, covetousness and cupidity: O intelligent man! beware of these enemies, if thou art aware.

Repentance of sins is needed to enter Paradise: without the point of the sword, how can the royal throne be safe?

If money is not ready in his sleeve, how can a nobleman get from the slave-seller a lovely Turk? **

Everybody seems to possess rank, comfort or a post of command, O Anṣārī! who are they, do tell me, whether beginners, or those who have attained the end?

These stern, but fervent, exhortations to turn towards Truth, these bitter lamentations over the general decline of Sūfī principles amongst the masses, must be considered as quite sincere from the lips of Anṣārī. The decline, of which he speaks, was clearly recognized by certain of his contemporaries as well. Thus, Jullābī, on the very first pages of his work says¹: 'Know thou that in this our time this science has in truth vanished, especially in this country, where the people have given themselves

* Zhukovsky translates the first hemistich: 'O thou who hast stopped the way for Satan, thou art a man, I say, not a woman', taking *rāh giriftan* to mean here 'to arrest the progress of somebody', and reading *gūyam* instead of *kūyam*. *Na-zanī*, however, is here the Subjunctive form of the verb *zadan* with the negative particle, used instead of the imperative, not the noun *نن* with the verbum substantivum. I translate accordingly.—The Translator.

** Zhukovsky reads, '*tark-i khargahī*' and translates the hemistich: 'How can he from the market-place bring a rope for the tent', obviously overlooking the possibility of dropping the *tashdād* in *nakhkhās* ('slave-seller'), either as a poetical licence on part of Anṣārī, or as a current vulgar form of speech in Herat of his time. I read also '*turk-i khargahī*'.—The Translator.

¹ كشف المحجوب Univ. Library No. 548 fol. 5r (= Zhukovsky's post-mortem edition, Leningrad, 1926, p. 7; Samarqand edition, 1914, p. 11; Lahore edition, p. 6.—T.)

بدانکه اندرین زمانه ما این علم بحقیقت *
مدرس گفته است خاصه اندرین دیار که خلق جمله مشغول هوا گشته اند .

With regard to his style, Anṣārī is, for the Vth century of the Hijra, an author of outstanding merit: az-Zahabī speaks of its elegance (كان بارعا في اللغة) , and Baiqarā of its terseness

bordering on what one may call the enigmatic. The above recorded 'songs' of Anṣārī sufficiently show him to be a past master in literary composition, having hardly any equal among his contemporaries. For the sake of completeness, however, we may be allowed to quote below a specimen from his pen in prose¹, it being the latter which made his name so popular in the East: there is hardly any literate person in Persia or Central Asia who does not know by heart a whole series of sayings or pious invocations due to the authorship of 'Khāja 'Abdullāh'.

ای درویش بدانکه دنیا جهان غرور است و شهرستان
شرور است، غدارهٔ غریبه است و مکارهٔ غدر اندیشه است،
رباطیست بی اقامت و ساباطیست دور از استقامت، زخم نیش
بی مرهم است مطلقهٔ ابراهیم ادم است، کریجهٔ² غفلت و بدنامیست
راندهٔ حضرت بسطامیست، خانهٔ محنت و بیدادیست انداختهٔ جنید
بغدادیست، جرعهٔ جان سوز تلخی است پشت پا زدهٔ شقیق بلخی
است، خود پرستان دون همت را دیر است مردود ابوسعید
ابوالخیر است، بگذاشتهٔ اتقیاست برداشتهٔ اشقیاست، هرکه طالب
آن ذلیل است و زبان عذر کلیل است و اهل عبرت را آیتست

* But cf. what Zhukovsky has to say in that respect in the Introduction to his above-mentioned edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* (p. 483 of the English translation in vol. V of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies).

¹ Univ. Library Ms. No. 386, fol. 352v-353v; cf. also the Indian edition, pp. 13-16.

² Ms. and edition گریخته

دلیـل قُلْ مَتَاعُ الدُّنْيَا قَلِيلٌ ای سالک اگر از حضرت الهی طمع
 داری و خواهی زیستی در زهادت رفتنی بر کلبه شهادت،
 در شب گور خوابی در روز قیامت ثوابی، برگ فزای از عملها
 و ترک نمای از املها، که امل اکسون تلبیس است و افسون
 ابلیس است، خصوصا بوعظ بی اشتباه الدنیا ساعة، و لفظ پر انتباه
 فاجعلها طاعة، گذری کن بشورستانها و نظری کن بگورستانها،
 تاببینی چندین مقابر و مزار و خفقه نازنینها صد هزار، که جهد
 کردند و کوشیدند و در تاب حرص و امل جوشیدند، و برنگ
 غنایم و انفال فریفته شدند چون اطفال، و بدریایا درآمدند
 و بکوهسار برآمدند، و از جواهر دُرها بر میان بستند صرها،
 و بزر و سیم و شور و یتیم حیلہ نمودند و نقده ربودند، عاقبت
 مردند و حسرتها بردند، القصه انبارها انباشتند و غم دنیا بر دل
 بگذاشتند، ناگاه از کنار امل شان کشانیدند و جمله را شربت اجل
 چشانیدند، دنیا چیست خسی پس وای بر کسی، که غافل ماند از فردا
 وَ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ فَتَرَدَّى، نه بینی چندین هزار امین و نقباء روی
 زمین، و هنرمندان متنوع و خردمندان متضرع، که عالمی عتبه ایشان
 بوسیدند عاقبت مردند و پوسیدند، آری سرانجام همانست و پایان
 این جام همانست، که ای نفس از مرگ بیندیش و امل بردار از
 پیش، و اگر نه وای تو دوزخ جا و مأوای تو، به بین که دوستان

پاک و عزیزان خاک، که دعاء ترا جویانند و بزبان گویانند که ای جوانان غافل و پیران بی حاصل، دیوانه اید که چنین در خوابید و بیگانه اید که در نمی یابید، که در خاک و خون خفته ایم و چهره در نقاب چون نهفته ایم، و هریکی ماه دو هفته ایم و بهفته از یاد شما رفته ایم، ما نیز پیش از شما بر بساط کامرانی بودیم و انبساط جهانبانی نمودیم، و پستان دنیا مکیدیم و عاقبت تلخی مرگ چشیدیم و از زندگانی وفا ندیدیم، تا خبر شد هریکی را علیحده مَا يَنْظُرُونَ إِلَّا صَيْحَةً وَاحِدَةً، بباد فنا برداده و بخاک عنا افتاده، نه از اهل و عیال دیدیم مرحمتی و نه مال و منال یافتیم منفعتی، هم قانیم با این همه ندامت اگر درپیش نبودی روز قیامت، اکنون مارا نه بالشی نه فراشی نه نقده نه قماش، نه حرة نه حرى نه صرة نه درى، نه وجوهى نه جباهى نه شکوهى نه سپاهى، نه امکان صوت و صدائى نه سامان نطق و ندائى حال کیستیم مشقت گدائى، حظ ما از دنیا حرمانست و شتم و لحم ما نصیب کرمانست، وقتی که ما را امکان و جوهر در کان بود، و می یافتیم فراغ بالی و داشتیم خوش حالی، نکردیم هنری و نجستیم خبری در پریشانی افتادیم و بر همان جان دادیم، اگر ندارید جنون بر ما نگرید کنون، که روح هریک می زارد و اشک بحسرت می بارد و مصیبت حال خود می دارد، حاصل ما پژمانیست در بردها و پشمانیست بر کردها، ای مژده یافتگان

لَهُمُ الْبُشْرَىٰ چه میکنید این گنده پیر شوهرکش را، روی
 آورید براه و در ما کنید نگاه، که نه از نام ما خبریست و نه
 از اجسام ما اثریست، ابدان ما ریزیده و اشخاص ما پوسیده،
 گلهاء ما کوفته و مقبره ما نا روفته، خان و مان ما خراب منزل
 و مکان ما تراب، در بستر ما دیگری نائب یتیمان ما از خانه غائب،
 طره طرار ما باد برده و لاله رخسار ما خاک خورده، ابروی خمیده
 ما هلاک نرگس دو دیده ما چاک، عقیق لبان ما گرد آمیخته
 و در دندان ما در لحد ریخته، بلبل فصیح زبان ما فرو بسته
 حقه یا قوتین دهان ما درهم شکسته، و جوارح چابک ما و اعضای
 نازک ما، زخم خورده شورستان و خاک توده گورستان،
 مرغ روح از ما پریده و خار حسرت از خاک ما دمیده،
 عبرت زاینده گانیم و موعظت آیندگانیم، بباد دهانی در بندیم
 و بیاد زبانی خرسندیم، و آن هم بمحلیست نامفسر و دولتیست
 نامیتر، مادر خاک تیره و شما در خواب إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةً
 لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ ۝

O dervish! know that this lower world is a world of deceit and a city of wicked people. It is a fornicating traitress, a perfidious schemer. It is an inn where one cannot stay and an unstable passage-way. It is a wound caused by a sting, for which there is no salve, it is the wife divorced by Ibrāhīm-i Adham. It is a hovel of carelessness and ill-fame, which was relinquished by His Holiness Bāstāmī. It is a house of calamity and iniquity, which was renounced by Junayd-i Baghdādī. It is a soul-burning bitter drink, which was trampled under foot by

Shaqiq-i Balkhī. For low-minded self-seekers it is a temple, which was scorned by Abū-Saʿīd-i Abū-l-Khayr. It is what the God-fearing refuse, and what the unfortunate accept. Whoever seeketh it is contemptible, and the tongue of his excuses is stammering, but for the exemplary people guidance is found in the verse: *'Say: the good of the world is small'*¹. O traveller! if thou art seeking and longing for God, thou must live in asceticism and proceed in accordance with the confession of faith. In the night of the grave there is sleep, and on the Day of Resurrection there is reward: increase the stock of good actions and abandon hope, for hope is the brocade of personation and a charm of the devil, especially according to the true admonition: *'The world is one hour'*, and to the encouraging saying: *'Fill it (i.e. that hour) with obedience'*. Pass through the salt-marshes and look at the graveyards: thou wilt see so many graves and tombs, and a hundred thousand beautiful ones sleeping in them. They tried and made efforts, and burned in the fire of cupidity and hope. They were deceived by riches and spoils like children. They dived into seas and ascended mountains. They wore belts adorned with precious pearls, and for gold and silver they deceived the weak and the orphans and robbed them of their money.* Ultimately they died and carried with them many regrets. In one word, they filled their storehouses and brought into their hearts the sorrows of this world. Suddenly they were torn away from the side of hope and all were given to taste of the drink of death. What is the world? a piece of litter. Then, woe to him who has remained careless of to-morrow and *'He followed his passions,—mayest thou not perish!'*² Dost thou not see so many thousands of trusted men and chiefs on the face of the earth, and every kind of talented people and humble sages, whose threshold the whole world used to kiss: in the end they died and rotted away. Yea, such is the end, and such are the dregs of that cup! O soul! think of death and do away with hope, otherwise, woe to thee, for hell will be thy place of abode. Look: thy true friends and thy dear ones who are buried under earth are seeking for thy prayers and are speaking the following language: *'O careless youths, and O useless old men! are you insane to remain asleep in this way, or are you from another world that you do not understand that we are sleeping in dust and blood and covering our faces with the veil [of the shroud]. Each of us was like unto a moon*

¹ Qur'ān, IV, 79.

* Zhukovsky needlessly corrects سود و نعيم into شور و نعيم and translates: 'for gold and silver, profit and goods, they had recourse to subterfuge and amassed cash'. The meaning is, however, clear without that correction.—The Translator.

² Qur'ān, XX, 17.

of two weeks'*, and in one week's time you have forgotten us. We also, before you, have been seated on the carpet of happiness enjoying the delight of owning the world. We sucked the breast of the world, but ultimately we tasted of the bitterness of death, and did not see good faith on the part of the world. When, for each of us separately there came the message: '*They expect nothing but one single calamity*'¹, we were given up to the winds of annihilation and thrown in the dust of distress. No kindness did we see from our relatives and family, no profit did we derive from wealth and property. We would agree to all that bitterness, were it not for the Day of Judgment which is looming ahead! We have neither pillow nor carpet, neither cash nor goods, neither a wife, nor a concubine, neither purse nor coin, neither chiefs nor troops**, neither grandeur nor army, neither voice nor possibility of [emitting a] sound, no capacity either of speaking or calling. Who are we now? a handful of beggars***. We are prevented from enjoying worldly pleasures, our fat and flesh have fallen to the lot of worms. At the time when we had the possibility and the precious stone was in the mine, when we enjoyed peace of mind and a merry disposition, we did not display any virtue and did not seek information, we fell into [the habit of] dissipation, and in that state we left this life. If you are not mad, look at us now: the spirit of every one of us is moaning, and shedding tears of regret, and deploring its present situation. Our profit is regrets of what has been taken away from us and repentance for what had been done by us. O you! who have received the message, contained in the words: '*For them there are glad tidings*'², what have you in common with that stinking husband-killing old hag? Turn your faces towards the road, and look at us: there is no mention of our names, and there is no trace of our bodies. Our frames have fallen to dust and our bodies have rotted away. Our dust is trampled under foot and our graves are unswept. Our establishment has been destroyed, and our place of abode is dust. On our couch somebody else takes our place, and our orphans have left their home. Our bewitching locks have been blown away by the wind, and the

* i.e., as beautiful as the full moon.—The Translator.

¹ Qur'an, XXXVI, 49.

** Zhukovsky translates نه وجوه نه جباه 'neither faces, nor foreheads'.—The Translator.

*** Zhukovsky translates مشت گدائی 'the hand of a beggar'. But *musht* is not 'hand', least of all, the outstretched hand of a beggar, but a 'closed hand; a fist; a handful (also for persons, in the meaning of "some", a few)'.—The Translator.

² Qur'an, X, 65; XXXIX, 19.

tulips of our cheeks have been eaten up by the earth. Our curved eyebrows have perished, and the narcissi of our two eyes have burst. The corals of our lips have been mixed with dust, and the pearls of our teeth have been scattered in the grave. The eloquent nightingale of our tongue has become silent, and the ruby-casket of our mouth has fallen to pieces. Our nimble limbs and our fine members have been wounded by the [earth of the] salt-marsh and have become a heap of earth in the graveyard. The bird of the spirit has flown away, and thorns of regret have grown from our dust. We are a warning to those who are born, and an admonition for those to come. We are in need of a breath of a mouth, and we are content with being mentioned by a tongue. All that is a summary, not an explanation, and happiness is inaccessible. We are under the dark earth, and you are asleep,—‘*Verily, there is a warning for those who are reasonable*’¹.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the Elder of Herat is, from the literary point of view, a most prominent personality. A more close study of his works would be a most interesting and profitable task for research workers: it would help to define the exact place of these works among Persian literary monuments and would yield invaluable data for a critical study of the text of the quatrains of Abū-Sa‘īd b. Abī-l-Khayr* in the unique and over-estimated edition by Dr. H. Ethé, as well as of the quatrains of Omar Khayyām, who, in spite of the many editions and articles devoted to him, is still remaining a riddle. Such a study of the works of Anṣārī has been absorbing my attention for a long time, and the results of my work, which are being prepared for publication, shall, in good time, be submitted to the attention of, and consideration by Orientalists.**

¹ Qur’ān, III, 11, where the correct reading of the two last words

is لَاُولَىٰٓ أَلَاءَ بَعَارٍ

* Cf. my note on p. 1.—The Translator.

** No further publication by Zhukovsky on Anṣārī has, however, to my knowledge, appeared during his lifetime.—The Translator.

***Challis-Ghutia* and its degenerate variants.**

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

The present writer observed the following game described as *Challis-Ghutia* (the game of forty pieces) by the men playing them in the streets of Calcutta near Ultadanga. They all hail from Jaunpur in the United Provinces; and they told him that this game is also played in their home district.

The diagram of the game is shown in Fig. 1. One player occupies the points marked with \times 's with his 40 pieces—tiny bits

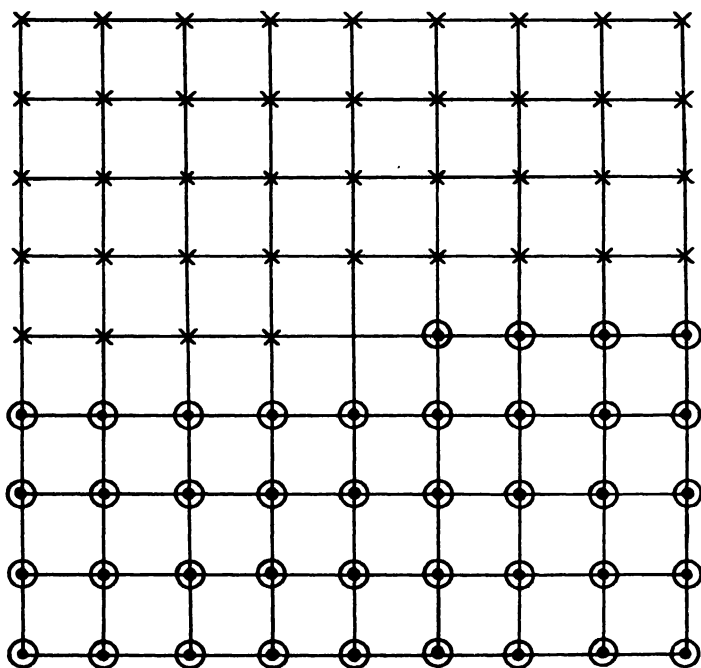


FIG 1.

of coal; his opponent places his 40 pieces—tiny bits of potsherd at the points enclosed by \bigcirc 's. The pieces move one place at a time either vertically or horizontally, if it is vacant; and they capture the opponent's pieces by jumping over the same in a straight line to a vacant point opposite. Successive captures

are allowed. The winner is to capture all the pieces of his opponent.

A similar game *Ratti-chitti-Bakri* (Red-White Goats) has been described by the late Prof. Hem Chandra Das Gupta in 'Sedentary Games prevalent in the Punjab' in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXII, (1926), p. 146.

At Tittagarh, some 13 miles north of Calcutta, the population is heterogeneous and consists mainly of mill-hands coming from the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Madras. There we have found several *degenerate* forms of *Challis-Ghutia* played by men and boys, some of whom are born there and some come from their native districts in the U.P. and Madras. The diagram used is somewhat different from that shown in Fig. 1. It is shown in Fig. 2. Though the game is described by the players

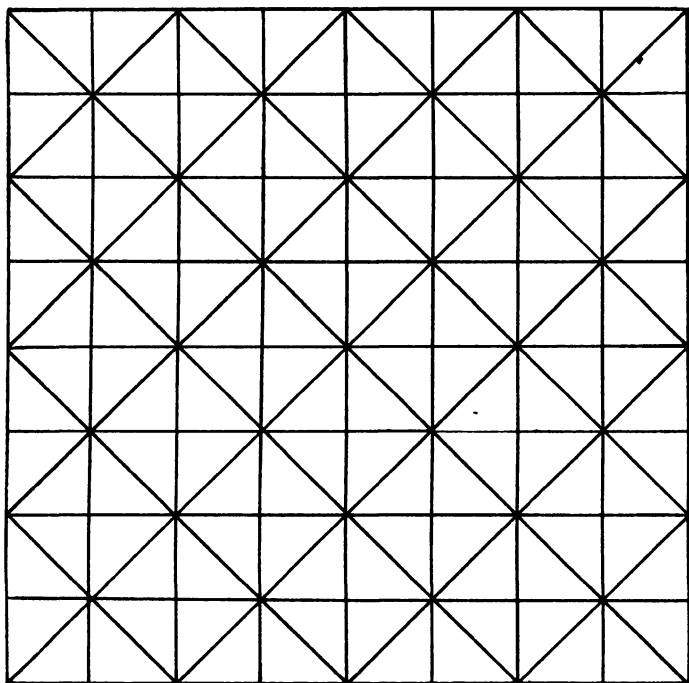


FIG 2.

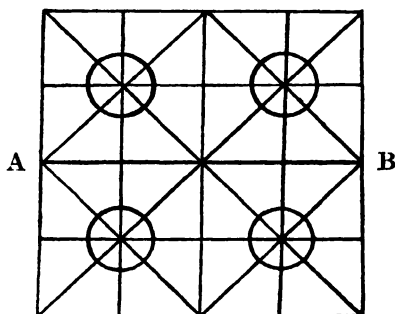
as *Challis-Ghutia*, it is generally played with pieces far less in number than 40. Sometimes 16, 18, 24, and 32 pieces are used by each player; 24 being the most frequent number. The pieces are arranged along the horizontal lines; and any excess over multiples of 9 are placed along the right-hand side of the next line. The usual rules of capture and successive captures are followed.

***Bagh-Chal* at Kamakhyā.**

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

In March 1939 we visited Kamakhyā (5 miles to the west of Gauhati) in Assam. There are two stone-flagged slopes or ascents to the Temple on the top of the hills—the Eastern one much broader and the one used by the pilgrims and others; and the Western one steep and in some places very narrow, sometimes used in descent, but never used in ascent on account of a supposed prohibition or curse, according to which it brings ill-luck to the pilgrim ascending by it. Down the Western descent there is a stone wall, traditionally supposed to have been built by Narak Asura—now a protected monument. A few yards outside this wall, on the stone-flagging we found the following diagram chiselled; and two local Nepali boys playing



Tigers at A and B.

Five goats at each of the points enclosed in a circle.

the game of *Bagh-Chal*, with two tigers and 20 pieces of goats. The usual rule of capture by jumping over the piece to the next vacant point in a straight line is followed. They described the game as *Bagh-Chal*.

Though perhaps not strictly pertinent we would like to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that Sedentary Games were popular in the time of Emperor Akbar. Prof. Md. Sanaullah has translated *Tazkirat-ul-Ūlama* from Persian. He quotes a passage from Jehangir's own writing (*Tuzuk-i-Shazāde*) in which the Emperor speaks of his disinclination to read and failure of several teachers to teach him the alphabet.

At last came Mulla Farrhi from Jaunpore who joined the prince in his play with *ghalula* (pellets), and within a few days turned his mind from play towards reading and writing.

Bagh-Chal is nothing but *Bagh-bandi*. The game has been described in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIX, 1933, p. 169. See also *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, II, 1906, pp. 123-124; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXIII, 1927, p. 297; *Quart. Journ. Bangiya Sahitya Parisad*, XIV, pp. 240-241, 1314 B.S.; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, 1926, p. 145; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 407-408.

Ten Folk-stories in Sema Naga.

By C. R. PAWSEY.

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FOLK-STORIES.

1. THE STORY OF THE OWL'S AND THE WEAVER BIRD'S
SPEECHES IN COUNCIL.

(Sema Naga Version.)

Akakho-ngo Liliti pama asheshuke 'tsa.

Kaghelomi ayeghingo atsütsü pama dolo lokhu akuchopu kumkono akakhongo liliti pama polo asheshupe pike. Ike akakho paghino asheshupeke "Ampe ampeno tsütho. Ampe ampeno tsüzülo" pike. Tigheunguno timi kumtsüno akakho 'tsa allomo pi, pa 'kutsülo hetsükegheunguno akakho 'kutsü kizhe shiuve, pike. Ipuzüno liliti polo asheshupeke. Lilitiye "Lilili, mta tsütho, lilili, mta tsüzü" pike. Tigheunguno timi kumtsüno "Te allo" pi liliti 'gi kunhutsükeloye kunhu pahape lilitiye kitila shiuve pike.

(Sema Naga and English word for word Translation.)

Akakho-ngo	Liliti	pama	asheshuke	'tsa.
Owl and	Weaver bird	the two	held forth	words.
Kaghelomi	ayeghingo	atsütsü	pama	dolo
Men of old	earth and	sky	the two	between
lokhu	akuchopu	kumkono	akakhongo	
living creatures	all	assembled having	owl	

liliti **pama** **polo** **asheshupe** **pike.** **Ike**
 weaver bird the two on hold forth caused said. But
akakho- **paghino** **asheshupeke** "Ampe ampeno **tsütho.**
 owl first held forth "Yearly light.
Ampe ampeno **tsüzülo** " **pike.** **Tigheunguno** **timi**
 Yearly darkness " said. This for men
kumtsüno **akakho** 'tsa **allomo** **pi,** **pa** 'kutsülo
 all owl's words good not saying, his head
hetsükegheunguno **akakho** 'kutsü **kizhe** **shiuve,** **pike.**
 beating because of owl's head big became, said.
Ipuzüno **liliti** **polo** **asheshupeke.** **Lilitiye**
 Then weaver bird on hold forth caused. Weaver bird
 "Lilili, mta **tsütho,** **lilili,** mta **tsüzü** " **pike.**
 "Lilili, quickly light, lilili, quickly darkness " said.
Tigheunguno **timi** **kumtsüno** "Te **allo** " **pi**
 And so men all "That's good " saying
liliti 'gi **kunhutsükeloye** **kunhu** **pahape**
 weaver bird's face stroking stroking completely
lilitiye **kitila** **shiuve** **pike.**
 weaver bird small became said.

(English Translation.)

Once upon a time all the animals that dwelt between heaven and earth assembled and told the owl and the weaver bird to hold forth. But they made the owl speak first. And he said "Let there be light for one year and darkness for one year". And so everyone said that the words of the owl were not good and because they hit him on the head, his head became big, so it is said. Then they commanded the weaver bird to give tongue and he said "Let day come quickly, let night come quickly". And so everybody said "That is good" and because they stroked the face of the weaver bird they stroked it till there was nothing left, and thus the weaver bird became small, so it is said.

2. THE STORY OF THE TWO BROTHERS WHO KILLED THE TIGERS.

Athayu mi kini angshu keitsa.

Kaghe timi lakino anu kepitimi kini punuvepuzüno anu kumano itimi shiapilono apuye angshuno pfewuveke. Tilehino anu kumano azavilo inzhuke "Ipuye kilau wuvea kya?" pike. Azano "Opuye alulo huvia" pike. Kuthoughe anu kumano azavilo inzhuke. Azano pamavilo "Opuye izuwuvia" pike.

Tilehino anu kumano apumi shikethiuno azavilo inzhuke. Azano "Opuye angshuno pfewuviake" pike. Tilehino azano pamavilo "Okuzhoye azhta chüghi angu chüghi ishipuzüno nilu'balo ashe aghau 'pa azhtano shosüghelo" pike. Pamano akhu 'nyepa shosüwo piye ashe 'nyepa shosüwo aza piye ishike. Azano "Ihi kumoke" tipike. Kuthoughe anga kumano aghalo wupuzüno angshu 'nyepa kizhe aghike. Tipau shosüwo aza piyeke. Azano pamavilo "Ihino opu tsüveke" pike. Tilehino aitiuno pazavilo "Kishi shin kya?" pike. Azano pavilo "Noye itiani mo?" pike. Aitiuno "Niyeghi itiani" pike. Tilehino aitiuno pamu sasü aghülo laki aghatsa khowu, aghülo laki akwo ghe, aghülo laki akwo chu. Ishipuzüno akhe süwu akwo tsü-pukupuzüno aghatsa tsüke, ishipuzüno aitiuno akwolo ikupuzüno "Kizhehino ipu she chupa'nkeno eghelo" pike. Tilehino angshu kuthomo eghepuzüno akhe zumili iku cheaye azhtano akhe khüthapfe angshu akwolo vesüpuzüno ashu kitiviakelono aghatsa ikipfe angshu 'melo vephovetsü. Kuthoughe angshuno ikucheaye akhe khüthapfe khüthapfe akwolo vesüveke. Ishipuzüno angshu ashu kitiavekelono kuthoughe aghatsa ikipfe angshu 'melo vephoveke. Ishipuzüno angshu kizhe kini atü-kauno egheke.

Aitiuno pamuvilo "Imu, ino akizheu chen kya? Noye akitilau chelonhye" tipike. Akicheuye müsano angshu chemove. Aitiuno akizheu chekhivepuzüno kuthoughe akicheu angu ikipfe akitilau cheke. Teghi aitiuno chekhive. Ishipuzüno pama aghü'le ku süsüwocheke. Akutolo iolaye akicheughi aitiu 'gholo aghü'le ku süche, eno atolo ipeaye akicheuye timi 'zü kuzhoye aitiu 'gholo aghü'le kusümonocheke. Timino pamavilo "Kiuno yi kya?" pike. Aitiuno amu müsayeno "Imughi, niyeghi yike" ti pi azavilo pike. Azano "Oko kiuno yikeno mtakeke, ino agha 'chomhi aki 'molelo shotsünke. Oko kinkuzho alikano kazhulo" pike. Akicheuye kakumono kititi amughono kiyepuzüno wuve. Aitiuye alikano kaye agha 'chomhi awoghilono kathaveke. Tilehino azano tipike. "Aitiuno apu 'mkü lukena", tipipuzüno aitiuvilo "Nono opu 'mkü lutsüke". I pi aitiuvilo ti pe pike.

Athayu mi kini angshu keitsa.

Brothers men two tiger killing-story.

Kaghe	timi	lakino	anu	kepitimi	kini	punuve-
Formerly	man	one	children	males	two	born
puzüno	anu	kumano	itimi	shlapilono	apuye	
been having	children	both	small	becmoe	having	father
angshuno	pfewuveke.	Tilehino	anu	kumano		
tiger	carrying	went.	Then	children	both	
azavilo	inzhuke	"Ipuye	killau	wuvea	kya?"	
mother to	asked	"Our father	where	went	what?"	

pike. Azano "Opuye alulo huvia" pike.
 said. Mother "Your father fields to went down" said.
 Kuthoughe anu kumano azavilo inzhuke.
 Again children both mother to asked.
 Azano pamavilo "Opuye izuwuvia" pike.
 Mother them to "Your father travelling went" said.
 Tilehino anu kumano apumi shikethiuno
 Then children both youths becoming after
 azavilo inzhuke. Azano "Opuye angshuno
 mother to asked. Mother "Your father tiger
 pfewuviake" pike. Tilehino azano pamavilo
 carrying went" said. Then mother both to
 "Okuzhoye azhta chüghi angu chüghi
 "You two dao sharpening spear sharpening
 ishipuzüno nilu'balo ashe aghau 'pa
 thus having done our fields below animals jungle tracks
 azhtano shosüghelo" pike. Pamano akhu
 dao by lifting up bring" said. Both sambhur
 'nyepa shosüwo piye ashe 'nyepa
 tracks picking up bringing showing animals tracks
 shosüwo aza piye ishike. Azano
 picking up bringing mother showing thus did. Mother
 "Ihi kumoke" tipike. Kuthoughe anga
 "This not this said. Again children
 kumono aghalo wupuzüno angshu 'nyepa kizhe
 both jungle to gone having tiger tracks big
 aghike. Tipau shosüwo aza piyeke.
 were. This lifting up bringing mother showed.
 Azano pamavilo "Ihino opu tsüveke"
 Mother both to "This your father bit and killed"
 pike. Tilehino aitiuno pazavilo "Kishi
 said. Then younger mother to "What doing
 shin kya?" pike. Azano pavilo "Noye itiani
 do will what?" said. Mother him to "You know
 mo?" pike. Aitiuno "Niyeghi itiani" pike.
 not?" said. Younger "I too know" said.
 Tilehino aitiuno pamu sasü aghülo laki
 Then younger his elder brother with day one
 aghatsa khowu, aghülo laki akwo ghe,
 fruit gathering, day one machan cutting,
 aghülo laki akwo chu, ishipuzüno akhe
 day one pit digging, thus having done cane
 süwu akwolo tsüpukupuzüno aghatsa tsüke.
 bringing machan to fastened having fruit fastened.

Ishipuzüno **aitiuno** **akwo** **ikupuzüno**
 Thus having done younger machan ascended having
 " **Kizhehino** **ipu** **she** **chupa'nkeno** **eghelo** " **pike.**
 "As many as my father flesh eat having come " said.
Tilehino **angshu** **kuthomo** **eghepuzüno** **akhe** **zumilli**
 Then tiger many come having cane clawing
iku **cheaye** **azhtano** **akhe** **khüthapfe** **angshu**
 mounting going dao with cane cutting tiger
akwolo **vesüpuzüno** **ashu** **kitiviakelono** **aghatssa**
 pit in fallen having panji pierced having fruit
ikipfe **angshu** **'melo** **vephovetsü.** **Kuthoughe**
 taking up tiger's heart broke. Again
angshuno **ikucheaye** **akhe** **khüthapfe** **khüthapfe** **akwolo**
 tiger ascending cane cutting cutting pit in
vesüveke. **Ishipuzüno** **angshu** **ashu** **kitiavekelono**
 fell. Thus having done tiger panji pierced having
kuthoughe **aghatssa** **ikipfe** **angshu** **'melo** **vephoveke.**
 again fruit lifting tiger's heart broke.
Ishipuzüno **angshu** **kizhe** **kini** **atükauno** **egheke.**
 Thus having done tigers big two afterwards came.
 Aitiuno **pamuvilo** " **Imu,** **ino** **akizheu**
 Younger his elder brother to " Brother I big one
chen **kya ?** **Noye** **akitilau** **chelonhye** " **tipike.**
 spear what ? You little one spear please " this said.
Akicheuye **müsano** **angshu** **chemove.** **Aitiuno**
 Elder feared having tiger speared not. Younger
akizheu **chekhivepuzüno** **kuthoughe** **akicheu** **angu**
 big one speared having again elder's spear
ikipfe **akitilau** **cheke.** **Teghi** **aitiuno** **chekhiv.**
 taking little one speared. This too younger speared.
Ishipuzüno **pama** **aghü'le** **ku**
 Thus having done both war song singing
süsüwocheke. **Akutolo** **iloaye** **akicheughi**
 together went continued. Hollow in entering elder
aitiu **'gholo** **aghü'le** **ku** **süche,** **eno** **atolo**
 younger with war song singing with went, and hill to
ipeaye **akicheuye** **timi** **'zü** **kuzhoye** **aitiu** **'gholo**
 emerging older men before shame younger with
aghü'le **kusümonocheke.** **Timino** **pamavilo** " **Kiuno**
 war song singing not went. Men them to " Who
yi **kya ?** " **pike.** **Aitiuno** **amu** **müsayeno**
 killed what ? " said. Younger elder feared having
 " **Imughi,** **niyeghi** **yike** " **ti** **pi** **azavilo**
 " My elder brother too, I too killed " this saying mother to

pike. Azano "Okokiuno yikeno mtakeke,
 said. Mother "You two who killed having not knowing,
 ino agha 'chomhi aki 'molelo shotsünke. Oko
 I hornbill tail house top in fix keep will. You two
 kinikuzho alikano kazhulo " pike. Akicheuye
 both bow with shoot and see " said. Elder
 kakumono kititi amughono kiyepuzüno
 shot not at all having little arrow feather touched having
 wuve. Aitiuye alikano kaye agha 'chomhi
 went. Younger bow with shooting hornbill's tail
 awoghilono kathaveke. Tilehino azano tipike.
 middle in hit. Then mother this said.
 "Aitüno apu mkü lukuena", tipipuzüno
 "Younger father's skill taken has", this said having
 aitiuvilo "Nono opu 'mkü lutsüke."
 younger to "You your father's skill taken have."
 Ipi aitiuvilo ti pe pike.
 This saying younger to this saying said.

Once upon a time a man had two sons born to him, and while they were both small a tiger carried off their father. Then the two children asked their mother where their father had gone. The mother replied "Your father has gone to his fields". Again they asked their mother and she replied "Your father has gone on a journey".

Later when they were youths they asked their mother, who replied "A tiger carried off your father" and added "Sharpen your daos, and sharpen your spears, and go and dig up with your dao and bring the tracks of the beasts of the jungle from below our fields". They then went and brought the tracks of sambhur and other beasts and showed them to their mother. Their mother said "I don't want those". Again the children went into the jungle and there was there the track of a large tiger. They brought it and showed it to their mother who said "This killed your father". The younger one then said "What are we to do?" The mother replied "Don't you know?" The younger one answered "Well, I know".

Then the younger one with his brother one day collected some large fruit, and one day cut the materials for a machan and one day dug a pit, and then tied together the machan, and fastened up the fruit. Then he got into the machan and said "Come all you who ate my father's flesh". Many tigers then came and while they were clawing and climbing up the cane, he cut it and one tiger fell into the pit and was pierced by the panjis. He then took up the fruit and threw it and broke the tiger's heart. Again while a tiger was climbing up he cut the

cane so that it fell into the pit and was pierced by the panjis and again he broke its heart by throwing the fruit.

When he had done this two big tigers came.

The younger then said "Brother shall I spear the big one? You spear the little one please". The elder was frightened and didn't spear his beast, but the younger killed the big one, and then with his brother's spear killed the little one as well.

They then went away singing the war song. While they were in the valleys the elder sang with his brother, but when they came out on the hill tops the elder was ashamed before men, and did not sing. When men asked them who had killed the tigers, the younger one for fear of his brother said "We were both successful". And he told his mother this. The mother replied "As you don't know who was successful, I will fix a hornbill's tail to the top of the house. Both of you must shoot at it with your bows". The elder one because he had not shot at all grazed the mark with the arrow feather, but the younger one hit it in the centre. Then their mother said "The younger has inherited his father's skill" and said to the younger "You have inherited your father's skill". Thus she spake to the younger one.

3. NISAPA AND NISALA.

Nisapa-ngo Nisala.

Nisapango Nisala pama alozhi ilakike. Pano aghülo laki timi 'lulo huke. Pano 'kwomi alu ithena 'mlakhaveno aghokilo achuwo koniaye pino wuke. Küthamino azüuno achuwo koveke. Nisapano athükashi achuwo kocheke. Nisalano idewo Nisapa hezhuke. Timino achuwo kokhavekethiuno Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosüaye achuwo kini küthu keghaluke. Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosüaye aghi i peno pa aou 'lobalo hepeyepe ipegheke Nisalano ti itulupuzüno Nisapavilo pike. "Ikuzho alelu akwoshini" pike. Nisapano "Niye meghehi keke. Ikuzho alelu akwoshimoi" pike. Nisalano pavilo "Ikuzho tangui akwoshini" pike.

Tipino kuma alelu akwoshike. Aluzhimi kuchopu wuni-kelaue aghokilo azü kuchuke. Nisapano azü kuchukelono Nisalano Nisapa 'kiche nutsüke. Nisapa 'kichelo ati nupeluke. Nisalano ti ituluno Nisapa 'kilo wuniye pike. Kumsücheke. Avelao Nisapango Nisala kuma achuwo kizheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti pike "Heno ino luni, heno nono lulo" ti pike. "Akilo süwono i'pungo i'za pama akelono achuwo ghopesüsü". Nisala pa'pungo pa'za pamano ti pike "Atsükulono Nisapa ana tsülo, aou'kumtsüzukubolono Nisapa azhi zheni" ti pino ana tsü, azhi zhe, ishike.

Nisapano Nisala luniye picheke. Apuazano Nisapa 'kilo puomo picheke. Nisapano meghemike. Nisalano apu aza

kinimike. Nisapano meghemikegheunguno Nisala lumlano acheke. Aghülo lakino Nisalano Nisapavilo pike "Noye i 'chiku süwo alhi shino, alhi shisügheno, ame küghalo" pike. Nisapano Nisala 'chi süwo alhi shiwuke. Nisapa eghempilono timino Nisala luveke. Timino ame küghaniye pino, Nisala pa'pu pa'zavilo pike. Nisalano "Apfo süani", pino "Ame küghamo" pike. Aghülo lakiloye timino egheno ame küghaveke. Nisalano womoniye amelolono süani ti pike. Nisala 'kiminono "Ishiye kishekishemo sasü woveni" pike. "Akachegheno Nisala kuhope wuni" pike. Tilehino Nisalano pa'kimi 'kilo wuke. Alalono Nisalano timivilo ti pike "Niye Nisapa keakemu Nisapa kemlano külauveke. Ti pilonhye". Tilehino timino Nisapavilo "O'nipu Nisalaye külauveke". Nisapavilo ti pike. Tilehino Nisapano amishi 'shomhi chüghipeno, akumtho shou ikwono poegheke. Nisalaye külauchegheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti pike "Niye o'keamu, o'kemlano külauveke".

Aghülo lakino Nisala 'kimino Nisapa ghikhiveniye Nisapa kuke. Nisapano pano'pfulo kezhiüno ipegheke. Nisapano pa'mhyemogha küsüveno Nisala 'kimi 'pfulo ipegheke. Pa 'naghamino kumtsüno Nisapa akevi keghashikethiuno "Nisapa alhokesa keke. Zhumoi", ti pino thoghoye alulo huniye pike. Pa 'naghami tishi küghaäke. Thanauye Nisapano pa'nhyemogha kuchopu pfepuke. Tilehina kumtsüno Nisapa zhuniye ti pino nguake. Pa 'naghamino 'khuchuhabo süwo ayeghilo azhoshikhavetsüno Nisapavilo "Tipashouno akhe shizhulo" pike. Pa'naghamino Nisapa iveniye kuluchuhabo süwo ayeghilo khavetsüke. Nisapano kuluchuhabo nekipepe vekhiveakelono keghaluveniye küghaäke. Nisapano vekhiemono akhe shiveke. Kumtsüno Nisapa zhunishino zhuake. Nisapano akheshi ide eghekelono Nisalano anga khapuapuzüno anga kilhe pukukelono Chophei 'khamunu pekhitsüke. Nisapano pa 'khamunu pekhiva pino ikipfe kyegheke. Ti kyeghekethiuye alaushi Nisapa ituluke. Nisapano akheshisüsü, alioküdaü shilono, alio toku ikacheiloveno poveke. Pa'naghami kumtsü alulo huniye pino, hukhaveke.

Nisalango Nisala 'kimi kumano alaghungulo alu chiake. Nisapano wocheke. Nisala 'kimino Nisalavilo ti pike "Huno kiu kya?", ti pike. Nisalano küthami 'zheye kumtsü 'zhe pikhaveno Nisapa 'zhe pitsümoke. Nisala 'kimino Nisalavilo "Hupaye kiu kya?", ti pino inzhuake. Nisalano pimoko. Amimino küghüpaäke, alhealo yeilogheke, Nisalano tilehino pa'kimivilo "Niye thosülo ishi kichemike" ti pike. Nisala 'kimino itiveno Nisalavilo "Alhealo nguaghilo. Ino abalo akhe thasügheni". Ti pino akhe thasügheke. Akhe buno Nisala 'ou phevetsü Nisala 'kupu pevetsü. Alhea aketsü kucholo phedaveno Nisala 'kimino woveke. Nisala 'kimino amini khaluvetsü aphi khaluvetsüno ampiu kumsa alhea ketsükucholo phedaveno woveke. Nisalano ahuno akhe mikithaveno Nisapa hawuveke. Nisalano atho lakilono Nisapa kuke. Nisapano

aghümi keghashi atho lakilono agha gheveno ami phovenno woveke. Nisalano kutoughi tipa'tolo ipegheno Nisapa kuke. Nisapano Nisala mtano aghümi keghashi müsano woveke. Nisalano Nisapa 'naghami 'pfulo epegheke. Nisapano anhye kuküdhu pfulili keghape apukilono eghaäke. Nisalano ti chiluno Nisapa kuke.

Nisapano tilehino Nisala itino aliolo ilogheke. Nisalano amini kaha, api kahano agheke. Nisapano pa 'phi "Atakuvepi" süla kinishino Nisala laki sü, 'mini pe, laki sü upeke. Tishino kuma aliolono akwoshiveke. Kuma aliolono kumtsa züveke-gheunguno Nisala tilehi ighwono süwuveke. Nisala pa 'pu pa 'zano houshi heushino chiniamu vimoke. Nisalano apu azavilo ti pike "Niye kulhube an'ke. Tilehi akichepi shitsülo". Apuazano akichepi shitsüke. Puthouno Nisapano egheno akichepilono aou chukhosüno Nisala 'melolo inapeaye, Nisalaye viake. Apuazano Nisalano eghamoaye akulu kokhupeye, zhuaye Nisapano pa'ou suzhope ipeve. Apuazano zhumono akloye, Nisapano pa'ou süwo Nisala 'melo inapetsü ishi acheke. Tipa kusülo Nisala tiveke.

Aghülo lakino Nisapano Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za pamavilo pike. "Ni küthu asü ghewuni". Ti pino pana küthu asü ghewuke. Nisapano atheghushino, pamano atükashi Nisapano asakheli khouno ipusüsü wuveke. "Okuzhoghi ipapelo" ti pino sacheke. Nisapano asü ghenno kuma akinianipfu pupeke, Nisapano atheghushino, laküthu akisü peno asakhelilo ala ghesüsü woveke. Kezhiliu Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za kumano atsa kegha ake. Akimino anipuvilo "Ino Nisapa 'kilo pouniye pike, nono moke". Tipi kegha aghike. Nisapano mekhiake. Ti chiluno thanauye Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za kumavilo pike "Ino tiwuaye i'kumo kütha kwotsükevelo. Nisala kumophivilo kwotsülo. Kumtsa kwotsüaye kitilawuye Nisala ikuzho küghünalunani". Ti pike. Tipathiuno Nisapa tiuveke. Kuma 'kumo kumtsa kwotsüke.

Nisala pazano thumomi ke. Asamouno Nisala pa'zano "Nisapango Nisala kuma küghüna lua ma?" Ti pi inzhuke Nisapano ti pike "Ikuzho dolo asükumo anino, küghünamlaphi" pike. Thanau Nisala pa'zano zü ithougheno kuma dolo asü hezhuke. Timino ayeghu zhesüpagheke. Nisala pa'zano ayeghu süzhovetsüke tipathiuno Nisala pa'zano asamouno inzhuke. "Küghüna a ma?" pike. Tithiuno "Küghüna a" pike.

Nisapa-ngo Nisala.

Nisapa and Nisala.

Nisapango	Nisala	pama	alozhi	ilakike.
Nisapa and	Nisala	the two	field gang	one was.
Pano	aghülo	laki timi	'lulo	huke.
They	day	one man	field to	went down.
				Pano
				Their

'kwomi alu ithena 'mlakhaveno aghokilo
 companions field quickly work completed having stream to
 achuwo konlaye pino wuke. Kūthamino azūno
 crabs catch to said having went. Other men in front
 achuwo koveke. Nisapano athūkashi achuwo
 crabs caught. Nisupa after crabs
 kocheke. Nisalano idewo Nisapa hezhuke.
 caught kept on. Nisala back coming Nisapa saw.
 Timino achuwo kokhavekethiuno Nisapano
 Men crabs catching completely after Nisapa
 achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosūaye achuwo kini
 crabs' hole in hand inserting crabs two
 kūthu keghaluke. Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou
 three catch able was. Nisapa crabs hole in hand
 chukhosūaye aghi 'peno pa 'ou 'lobalo hepeyepe
 inserting grain ears his hand finger roots sticking out
 ipegheke. Nisalano ti itulupuzūno Nisapavilo pike.
 came out. Nisala this seen having Nisapa to said.
 "Ikuzho alelu akwo shini" pike. Nisapano
 "We two fields together do will" said. Nisapa
 "Niye meghemi keke. Ikuzho alelu akwoshimoi"
 "I poor man am. We two field together do will not"
 pike. Nisalano pavilo "Ikuzho tangui akwoshini"
 said. Nisala him to "We two certainly together do will"
 pike.
 said.

Tipino kuma alelu akwoshike. Aluzhim.
 This said having the two fields together did. Gang men
 kuchopu wunikelaue aghokilo azū kuchukei
 all going stream in water bathed.
 Nisapano azū kuchukelono Nisalano Nisapa 'kiche
 Nisapa water bathed having Nisala Nisapa's back
 nutsūke. Nisapa 'kichelo ati nupeluke.
 rubbed. Nisapa back seed rub cause able was.
 Nisalano ti ituluno Nisapa 'kilo wuniye
 Nisala this seen having Nisapa house to go to
 pike. Kumsūcheke. Avelao Nisapango Nisala
 said. Thinking kept on. Evening Nisapa and Nisala
 kuma achuwo kizheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti
 the two crabs divided. Nisala Nisapa to this
 pike "Heno ino luni, heno nono lulo" ti
 said "This I take will, this you take" this
 pike. "Akilo sūwono i'pungo
 said. "House to bringing gone having. my father and

i'za pama akelono achuwo ghopesüsü."
 my mother the two stopping crabs wrapping."
 Nisala pa'pungo pa'za pamano ti pike
 Nisala her father and her mother the two this said
 "Atsükulono Nisapa ana tsülo, aou 'kumtsüzü-
 "Dog's dish from Nisapa rice give, hand washing
 kubolono Nisapa azhi zheni" ti pino ana
 basin from Nisapa drink give" this said having rice
 tsü, azhi zhe, ishike.
 gave, drink gave, thus was.

Nisapano Nisala luniye picheke. Apuazano
 Nisapa Nisala take to saying kept on. Father mother
 Nisapa 'kilo puomo picheke. Nisapano
 Nisapa house to send on saying kept on. Nisapa
 meghemike. Nisalano apu aza kinimike.
 poor man was. Nisala father mother rich men were.
 Nisapano meghemikegheunguno Nisala lumlano
 Nisapa poor man being for Nisala take not having
 acheke. Aghülo lakino Nisalano Nisapavilo pike
 remained. Day one Nisala Nisapa to said
 "Noye i 'chiku süwo alhi shino,
 "You my beads taking going trade made having,
 alhi shisügheno, ame küghalo" pike.
 trade making brought having, price settle" said.
 Nisapano Nisala 'chi süwo alhi shiwuke.
 Nisapa Nisala beads taking trade making went.
 Nisapa eghempilono timino Nisala luveke. Timino
 Nisapa came not having man Nisala took. Man
 ame küghaniye pino, Nisala pa'pu pa'zavilo
 price settle to said having, Nisala her father her mother to
 pike. Nisalano "Apfo süani", pino
 said. Nisala "Stomach aches", said having
 "Ame küghamo" pike. Aghülo lakiloye timino
 "Price settle will not" said. Day one man
 egheno ame küghaveke. Nisalano womoniye
 come having price settled. Nisala go not to
 amelolono süani ti pike. Nisala 'kiminono "Ishiye
 heart from ill is this said. Nisala husband "Thus if
 kishekishemo sasü woveni" pike. "Akache ghenó
 nevertheless together go will" said. "Machan cut having
 Nisala kuhope wuni" pike. Tilehino Nisalano
 Nisala carrying go will" said. Then Nisala
 pa'kimi 'kilo wuke. Alalono Nisalano timivilo
 her husband's house to went. Road from Nisala men to

ti pike " Niye Nisapa keakemu Nisapa
 this said " I Nisapa waiting although Nisapa
 kemlano külauveke. Ti pilonhye ".
 wait not having been able married. This say please ".
 Tilehino timino Nisapavilo " O'nipu Nisala külauveke ".
 Then men Nisapa to " Your wife Nisala married is ".
 Nisapavilo ti pike. Tilehino Nisapano amishi
 Nisapa to this said. Then Nisapa cow's
 'shomhi chüghipeno, akumtho shou ikwono
 tail a twisting, strong one on mounting
 poegheke. Nisalaye külauchegheke. Nisalano
 fleeing went. Nisala married went. Nisala
 Nisapavilo ti pike " Niye o'keamu,
 Nisapa to this said " I you waiting although,
 o'kemlano külauveke ".
 you wait not having been able married ".
 Aghülo lakino Nisala 'kimino Nisapa ghikhiveniye
 Day one Nisala's husband Nisapa kill in order to
 Nisapa kuke. Nisapano pano'pfulo kezhilliuno
 Nisapa called. Nisapa their village to in the evening
 ipegheke. Nisapano pa'mhyemogha küsüveno
 came out. Nisapa his clothes hidden having
 Nisala 'kimi 'pfulo ipegheke. Pa 'naghamino
 Nisala's husband village at came out. His villagers
 kumtsüno Nisapa akevi keghashikethiuno " Nisapa
 all Nisapa good thinking after " Nisapa
 alhokesa keke. Zhumoi ", ti pino thoghoye
 bad is. See will not ", this said having to-morrow
 alulo huniye pike. Pa 'naghami tishi küghaäke.
 fields to go down to said. His villagers this thought.
 Thanauye Nisapano pa'nhyemogha kuchopu pfepuke.
 In the morning Nisapa his clothes all wore.
 Tilehina kumtsüno Nisapa zhuniye ti pino
 Then all Nisapa see to this said having
 nguake. Pa 'naghamino 'khuchuhabo süwo ayeghilo
 stopped. His villagers ekra bringing ground on
 azhoshikhavetsüno Nisapavilo " Tipashouno akhe
 spread having Nisapa to " This on dance
 shizhulo " pike. Pa'naghamino Nisapa iveniye
 do see " said. His villagers Nisapa kill to
 kuluchuhabo süwo ayeghilo khavetsüke. Nisapano
 ekra bringing ground on spread. Nisapa
 kuluchuhabo nekipepe vekhiveakelono
 ekra slipping fallen having

keghaluveniye catch be able in order to
kūghaake. thought.
Nisapano Nisapa
vekhivemono fallen not having
akhe dance
shiveke. did.
Kumtsūno All
Nisapa Nisapa
zhunishino seen having wished
zhuake. saw.
Nisapano Nisapa
akheshi dance doing
ide eghekelono returning
Nisalano Nisala
anga child
khapuapuzūno carried having
anga child
kilhe pukukelono shifting
Chophei Chophei
'khamunu flower
pekhitsūke. threw down.
Nisapano pa Nisapa
'khamunu his flower
pekhiva threw down
pino said having
ikipfe picking up
kyegheke. wore.
Ti This
kyeghekethiuye wearing afterwards
alaushi fine
Nisapa Nisapa
ituluke. saw.
Nisapano Nisapa
akheshisūsū, dancing while,
aliokūdau defence towards
shilono, danced having,
alio ditches
toku nine
ikacheilloveno jumped having
poveke. fled.
Pa'naghmi His villagers
kumtsū all
alulo fields to
huniye go down to
pino, said having,
hukhaveke.
 went down completely.

Nisalango Nisala
'kimi husband
kumano both
alaghungulo path opposite
alu fields
chiake. doing were.
Nisapano Nisapa
wocheke. go continued.
Nisala Nisala's
'kimino husband
Nisalavilo Nisala to
ti this
pike said
"Huno kiu kya?", "That who what?"
ti this
pike. said.
Nisalano Nisala
kūthami others'
'zheye names
kumtsū all
'zhe names
pikhaveno said completely
Nisapa Nisapa's
'zhe name
pitsūmoke. said not.
Nisala Nisala
'kimino husband
Nisalavilo Nisala to
"Hupaye kiu kya?", "That who what?"
ti this
pino said having
inzhuke. asked.
Nisalano Nisala
pimoke. said not.
Amimino Butterflies
kūghūpaake, embraced,
alhealo field house to
yellogeheke, flying entered,
Nisalano Nisala
tilehino then her
pa'kimivilo husband to
"Niye thosūlo "I always
ishī kichemike" thus alone lived
ti this
pike. said.
Nisala Nisala's
'kimino husband
itiveno known having
Nisalavilo Nisala to
"Alhealo "Field house in
nguaghilo. remain.
Ino abalo I
akhe below fields
thasūgheni", cutting
Ti this
pino said having
akhe cane
thasūgeheke. cut brought.

Akhe Cane	buno cut having	Nisala Nisala's	'ou hands	phevetsü bounds
Nisala Nisala's	'kupu legs	pevetsü. bound.	Alhea Field house	aketsü post
phedaveno tied to	Nisala Nisala's	'kimino husband	woveke. went.	Nisala Nisala's
amini dress	khaluvetsü opened	aphi cloth	khaluvetsüno opened having	amplu body
alhea field house	ketsükucholo post king to	phedaveno bound having	woveke. went.	Nisalano Nisala
ahuno teeth with cane	akhe bitten having	Nisapa Nisapa	hawuveke. chased.	Nisalano Nisala
atho hill	lakilono one from	Nisapa Nisapa	kuke. called.	Nisapano Nisapa
keghashi thinking	atho hill	lakilono one from	agha jungle	gheveno cut having
woveke. went.	Nisalano Nisala	kütoughi again	tipa'tolo this hill at	ipegheno coming out
kuke. called.	Nisapano Nisapa	Nisala Nisala	mtano not knowing	aghtëmi enemy
mülsano feared having	woveke. went.	Nisalano Nisala	Nisapa Nisapa's	'naghmi villagers
'pfulo village to	epegheke. came out.	Nisapano Nisapa	anhye eyes	kuküdhu cut out
keghape holding	apukilono Morung	eghaäke. noise made.	Nisalano Nisala	ti this
Nisapa Nisapa	kuke. called.			
Nisapano Nisapa	tilehino then	Nisala Nisala	itino known having	aliolo gate at
ilogheke. entering came.	Nisalano Nisala	amini dress	kaha, not,	aphi cloth
agheke. was.	Nisapano Nisapa	pa his	'phi cloth	"Atakuvepi" tearing
kinishino two making	Nisala Nisala	laki sü, one	'mini pe, bringing,	laki sü dress made,
upeke. wearing caused.	Tishino Then	kuma both	allolono gate from	akwoshiveke. came together.
Kuma Both	aliolono gate from	kumtsa together	züvekegheunguno sleeping for	
Nisala Nisala	tilehi then	ighwono very	süwuveke. ill became	Nisala Nisala
pa her	'zano mother	houshi that	heushino this doing	chiniamu gennahs although

vimoke. Nisalano apu azavilo ti pike "Niye
good not was. Nisala father mother to this said "I
kulhube an'ke. Tilehi akichepi shitsülo". Apuazano
feverish am. Then house hole make". Father mother
akichepi shitsüke. Puthouno Nisapano egheno
house hole made. At night Nisapa come having
akichepilonono aou chukhosüno Nisala 'melolo
house hole from hand inserting Nisala's heart on
inapeaye, Nisalaye viake. Apuazano Nisalano
resting Nisala good remained. Father mother Nisala
eghamoaye akulu kokhupeye, zhuaye Nisapano pa'ou
crying not if torch kindling seeing Nisapa his hand
süzhope ipeve. Apuazano zhumono akeloye,
withdrew. Father mother seen not having continuing
Nisapano pa'ou süwo Nisala 'melo inapetsü
Nisapa his hand putting Nisala heart pressing on
ishi acheke. Tipa kusülono Nisala tiveke.
thus continued. This illness from Nisala died.

Aghülo lakino Nisapano Nisala pa 'pungo pa
Day one Nisapa Nisala her father and her
'za pamavilo pike "Ni küthu asü ghewuni".
mother the two to said "We three wood cut go will".
Ti pino pana küthu asü ghewuke. Nisapano
This saying they three wood cutting went. Nisapa
atheghushino pamano atükashi Nisapano asakheli
in front gone having the two after Nisapa thicket
khouno ipusüsü wuveke. "Okuzhoghi ipapelo"
below stooping went. "You two too follow"
ti pino sacheke. Nisapano asü ghenno
this saying went. Nisapa wood cut having
kuma akinlanipfu pupeke, Nisapano
the two husband wife caused to carry, Nisapa
atheghushino, laküthu akisü peno asakhelilo
in front gone having has three beam carrying thicket in
ala ghesüsü woveke. Kezhiliu Nisala pa 'pungo pa
road cutting went. Evening Nisala her father and her
'za kumano atsa kegga ake. Akimino
mother the two words disputing were. Husband
anipfuvilo "Ino Nisapa 'kilo pouniye pike, nono
wife to "I Nisapa house to send to said, you
moke". Tipi kegga aghike. Nisapano
disagreed". This saying disputing continued. Nisapa
mekhiake. Ti chiluno thanauye Nisala
hid and watched. This heard having morning in Nisala

pa 'pungo pa 'za kumavilo pike "Ino
 her father and her mother both to said "I
 tiwuaye ikumo kūtha kwotsūkevelo. Nisala
 dying we two separate bury don't. Nisala's
 kumopevilo kwotsūlo. Kumtsa kwotsūaye kitilawuye
 grave near bring. Together burying little in
 Nisala ikuzho kūghūnalunani ". Tī pike.
 Nisala we two live together will be able ". This said.
 Tipathiuono Nisapa tiuveke. Kuma 'kumo kumtsa
 Thereafter Nisapa died. Both corpses together
 kwotsūke.
 buried.

Nisala pazano thumomi ke. Asamouno Nisala
 Nisala her mother witch was. Dream in Nisala
 pa'zano "Nisapango Nisala kuma kūghūna
 her mother "Nisapa and Nisala the two live together
 lua ma? " Tī pi inzhuke Nisapano tī pike
 able what? " This saying asked Nisapa this said
 "Ikuzho dolo asūkumo anino, kūghūnamlaphi "
 "We two between wood corpse being, live together can't "
 pike. Thanau Nisala pa'zano zū ithougheno
 said. In the morning Nisala her mother sleep getting up
 kuma dolo asū hezhuke. Timino ayeghtū
 the two between wood saw. Man ekra
 zhesūpagheke. Nisala pa'zano ayeghu sūzhovetsūke
 putting kept Nisala her mother ekra pulled out
 tipathiuono Nisala pa'zano asamouno inzhuke.
 thereafter Nisala her mother dream in asked.
 "Kūghūna a ma? " pike. Tīthiuono "Kūghūna
 "Living together what? " said. Then "living together
 a " pike.
 are " said.

Nisapa and Nisala belonged to the same field gang. One day they went to a man's fields. Their companions finished the work quickly and decided to go and catch crabs in a stream. The others caught crabs in front. Nisapa went on catching them behind. Nisala on her return caught sight of Nisapa. After the others had finished catching the crabs, Nisapa put his hand inside a crabs' hole and got two or three more, and when he put his hand inside the crabs' hole, the stalks of paddy emerged from the roots of his fingers. Nisala saw this and said to Nisapa "We two will do our fields together". Nisapa replied "I am a poor man. We two will not do our fields together". Nisala replied "We will certainly be companions in work".

Thereafter the two went to the fields together. All their companions when they were going home bathed in a streamlet. When Nisapa was bathing, Nisala rubbed his back. And from his back she rubbed forth seeds of grain. And when Nisala saw this, she said she would marry him. This she kept on thinking. In the evening Nisapa and Nisala divided the crabs. Nisala said to Nisapa "I will take these, and you take those, then bring them along and in the presence of my father and mother wrap them up and take them away". But her father and mother said "Give Nisapa food from the dog's dish and drink from the hand basin" and thus did they give him food and drink.

Nisapa kept on saying that he would marry Nisala, but her parents kept on saying that they would not send her to his house, as he was a poor man, and her parents were wealthy. And because he was poor he remained unable to marry her. One day she said to him "Take my beads and trade with them, and with the sale proceeds settle my marriage price". Then Nisapa took her beads, and went to trade with them. But before he came back another man took Nisala. This man kept on saying to her parents that he would settle the price but Nisala kept on saying that her stomach was aching and would not settle the price. But one day he came and settled the price. Nisala still said that her heart was aching so as to avoid going. But her husband said "Whether that is true or not you will come with me. Cut a machan and carry her off". And so she went to her husband's house. When going off she said to those near by "Tell Nisapa that I waited for him till I could wait no more, and am now married". And they told him that his wife Nisala was married. Nisapa then seized the tail of a cow, mounted a lusty animal and went off with all speed. But Nisala had got married and said to him "I waited and waited for you, and am now married".

One day her husband called Nisapa to kill him. He reached the village in the evening. He hid his dress and thus arrived. The villagers had all thought that he was a warrior, but seeing him they said "Nisapa is no good, we won't look at him" and said that they would go to the fields next day. They decided thus but next morning Nisapa put on all his ornaments. Then all the villagers decided they would stop to see him. They brought ekra and spread it on the ground and said to him "See if you can dance on that". They had brought the ekra and spread it like this so as to be able to kill him. They intended to kill him after he had slipped and fallen on the ekra. But he did not fall and danced. All took pleasure in watching him. As he was doing the return dance Nisala, who was carrying her baby, when she shifted it on her back, dropped a Chophei flower. Nisapa thinking the flower was meant for him, picked it up and put it in his ear. After wearing it they considered Nisapa better than ever. Nisapa during his dance danced

towards the village door, jumped over nine fences and fled. Then all the villagers went to their fields.

Nisala and her husband had their field on a slope opposite the path. Nisapa went on his way. Nisala's husband said to Nisala "Who is that?" Nisala went through everybody else's name, but did not say that of Nisapa. Again her husband said "Who is that?" But Nisala gave no reply. Butterflies embraced came into the field house and then Nisala said to her husband "Before I was married I was always thus". Her husband understood and said "Stop here, I will cut and bring cane from down below". He went and brought the cane and with it bound her hands and legs. He then tied her to the main post and went away. Her husband had stripped her of her skirt and clothes and left her naked bound to the post. Nisala then bit through the cane with her teeth and went in pursuit of Nisapa. She called him from a hill, but Nisapa thought it was an enemy and cut jungle from another hill, made a smoky fire and went on his way. Nisala, when she got to this hill, again called him. But he knew her not, and thinking she was an enemy went on his way for fear. Finally she arrived at his village. Nisapa was playing in the Morung on a flute made from throwing away the eyes of a small bamboo. Nisala heard him and called him.

Then Nisapa recognized her and came to the village gate. Nisala had no skirt, no clothes. Then Nisapa tore his cloth, called *Atakuwepi*, into two and gave her one part for a skirt and one part to wear. The two then embraced each other at the village gate. But because they had thus embraced at the village gate Nisala was stricken with a deadly illness. Although her parents did this and that ceremony she did not recover. Nisala said to her parents "I am feverish. Make a hole in the wall". They made the hole and at night Nisapa came and put his hand through the hole and laid it on her breast. When he did this Nisala got relief. When her parents, because she made no sound, kindled a torch and came to see, Nisapa withdrew his hand. When they were not looking he kept pressing her breast. From this illness Nisala died.

One day Nisapa said to Nisala's parents "We three will go and cut wood". And they went to do so. Nisapa was in front, the others following him, and he went crawling underneath a thicket. "You two follow me" he said as he went ahead. He cut wood and gave it to the husband and wife to carry, and then went on carrying a beam eighteen feet in length and cutting the path. In the evening the husband and wife quarrelled. The husband said to his wife "I wanted to send her to Nisapa's house, but you stopped it". They disputed thus while Nisapa hid and watched. Next morning he said to them "When I die don't bury my corpse separately, but near Nisala. If you bury us together a little after we shall be able to live together".

He spoke thus and thereafter died and the two corpses were buried together.

Nisala's mother was a witch. In a dream Nisala's mother asked if Nisapa and Nisala were together. Nisapa replied "There is a tree trunk between us and we can't come together". In the morning Nisala's mother got up from sleep and saw that there was wood between them. A man had put ekra between them. She moved the ekra. Thereafter she asked Nisala in a dream if they were together. The reply came "We are together".

4. THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE PORCUPINE.

Akaha ngo Acheku pama 'tsa.

Kaghe akahano azü yeniye aghokilo iloghiaye ahuno azü kunei ikighi cheke. Aghülo lakiye akahano anyenguvilo pike "Kiuno i 'pahi? Kiuno azü pukochenikeo. i 'pahi kumoi. Kiuno azü pukochenikeno, ilau ikighilo pilopi".

Anyenguvilo aghinishi aghoki hu, ikhwo peke. Ikhwo acheku sholuke. Anyenguno achekuvilo pike "Akahano pike, pa 'pahi kiuno? Azü pukochenikeu pa 'pahi kumo. Kiuno pa 'zü pukochenikeno palau ikighilo". Pa 'ni pi, achekuvilo pike. Ike achekughi pa 'mhi zhuapüzü, akizheu süzhosüo anyenguvilo pi "I 'mhi 'pahi pukeuno i ku ani keo? I 'mhi 'pahi pumo-keuno i ku ani, keno? I 'lau ikhwoghilo pilo" pi pa 'mhi laki anyengu tsü pike. Ike anyenguno akahavilo acheku 'tsa pi amhi akaha piyekeloye, akahaye pa 'mhi zhupahavopüzü müsano pove pike.

Akahango Acheku pama 'tsa.

Elephant and Porcupine the two words.

Kaghe akahano azü yeniye aghokilo iloghiaye
Once elephant water to drink stream to entering
ahuno azü kunei ikighi cheke. Aghülo lakiye
above water dirty flowed. Day one
akahano anyenguvilo pike "Kiuno i 'pahi? Kiuno
elephant wild cat to said "Who my equal? Who
azü pukochenikeno i 'pahi kumoi. Kiuno azü
water having dirtied my equal is not. Who water
pukochenikeno ilau ikighilo pilopi".
having dirtied me to come say".

Anyenguvilo aghinishi aghoki hu,
Cat to messenger doing stream going down to,
ikhwo peke. Ikhwo acheku sholuke. Anyenguno
ascended. Ascending porcupine met. Cat

achekuvilo pike "Akahano pike, pa 'pahi kiuno?
 porcupine to said "Elephant said, his equal who?
 Azü pukochenikeu pa 'pahi kumo. Kiuno pa
 Water dirtied who his equal is not. Who his
 'zü pukochenikeno palau ikighilo". Pa 'ni
 water dirtied having him to come". His message
 pi, achekuvilo pike. Ike achekughi pa 'mhi
 saying, porcupine to said. But porcupine too his quills
 zhuapuzü, akizheu süzhosüo anyenguvilo pi "I
 seeing, big one extracting cat to said "My
 'mhi 'pahi pukeuno, i ku ani keo? I
 quills equal carrying who, me calling is what? My
 'mhi 'pahi pumokeuno i ku ani, keno? I
 quills equal carrying not who me calling, what? Me
 'lau ikhwoghilo pilo" pi pa 'mhi laki
 to come up say" saying his quills one
 anyengu tsü pike. Ike anyenguno akahavilo
 cat gave to said. But cat elephant to
 acheku 'tsa pi amhi akaha piyekeloye, akahaye
 porcupines words saying quill elephant showing to, elephant
 pa 'mhi zhupahavepuzü müsano pove
 his hairs looked in vain having having feared fled
 pike.
 it is said.

Once when an elephant went to drink water at a stream the water was coming down dirty from up above. One day the elephant said to the wild cat "Who is equal to me? The person who keeps on making the water dirty is not my equal. Go and tell the person who is dirtying the water to come to me". He gave this message to the wild cat who started going up stream. He met the porcupine and said to him "The elephant says 'who is his equal? The person who dirties his water is not his equal. Let the person who dirties the water go to him' ".

He thus delivered the message to the porcupine. But the porcupine looked over his quills carefully and pulling out a big one said to the wild cat "Does he who calls me possess quills like mine? If he does not possess quills like mine tell him to come to me". Saying this he gave a quill to the wild cat. The wild cat then repeated the words to the elephant and showed him the quill. Whereupon the elephant fled for fear, so it is said.

5. THE STORY OF THE WILD CAT WHO ASKED ABOUT THE CHICKENS' BEDROOM.

Anyengungo Awu züa inzhuke 'tsa.

Anyengungo awuti 'pu aza kahathilono awutivilo inzhuke "Kekhhino o 'pu 'lupa? Kekhhino o 'za 'lupa? Kekhhino o 'mu 'lupa? Kekhhino o 'fu 'lupa? Eno kekhhino o 'lupa kya?" I pi inzhuke. Awutino pi "Hehino i 'pu 'lupa. Hehino i 'za 'lupa. Hehino i 'mu 'lupa. Hehino i 'fu 'lupa. Eno hehino i 'lupa" kepi, pivepuzü nguakelono awuti pa 'za egheke. Awutino "Kishekulu?" pike. "I 'za kiukeno agi mukhokhoi, anhyeti koghoi, ishipuzüno i vilo ni 'limi akuchopu 'kuzulupa inzhuanu wuvea?" pike. Ike awukuno pike "Tipau ni 'tsükuchumi 'ke" pi. Awutivilo pivepuzüno, pano mtazü saluba bape, panongo 'zü 'a lo paä vetsü. Laki ikhupe amiphokilo phuvetsü. Ake ikipe acheulo piyevetsü. Akhi keghape azühulo paä vetsü. Ashokhu keghape awotsanaghulo paä vetsü. Ipuzüno alhaku keghape akupulo paä vetsüno pana 'limiye ketau zü 'a pike.

Ike tilehino anyengu puthono eghepuzü awu 'zü 'a lo kuka-keloye saluba chine pholuke. Acheulo isüveniye akeno pa 'ou ghathavekeloye ami fukhino zhuniye ami fukeloye awukhuno mpawo pa 'nhyeti vephovetsüke. Azü lesüwo khuveniye azühulo akhino pa kukegheunguno aki kalalo awotsanaghulo iheniye ashekhuno pa mikikeloye poniye akupulo pokukelono, akupu nhyechepe pa vekhi piti ive pike.

Anyengungo Awu züa inzhuke 'tsa.
Wild cat chickens sleeping place asked words.

Anyengungo awuti 'pu aza kahathilono
Wild cat chicken small father mother not having been
awutivilo inzhuke "Kekhhino o 'pu 'lupa?
chicken small to asked "Which your father's bed?
Kekhhino o 'za 'lupa? Kekhhino o 'mu
Which your mother's bed? Which your elder brother's
'lupa? Kekhhino o 'fu 'lupa? Eno kekhhino o
bed? Which your sister's bed? And which your
'lupa kay?" I pi inzhuke. Awutino pi
bed what?" This saying asked. Small chicken saying
"Hehino i 'pu 'lupa. Hehino i 'za
"This my father's bed. This my mother's
'lupa. Hehino i 'mu 'lupa. Hehino i
bed. This my elder brother's bed. This my
'fu 'lupa. Eno hehino i 'lupa" kepi,
elder sister's bed. And this my bed" saying,

pivepuzü **nguakelono** **awuti** **pa** **'za**
 said having waiting having small chicken's its mother
egheke. **Awutino** " **Kishekulu ?** " **pike.** " **I** **'za**
 came. Small chicken " **What ?** " said. " **My** mother
kiukeno **agi** **mukhokhoi,** **anhyeti** **koghoi** **ishi-**
 who face short, eyes prominent thus
puzüno **i** **vilo** **ni** **'limi** **akuchopu** **'kuzülupa**
 being me to my family all sleeping bed
inzhuano **wuvea ?** " **pike.** **Ike** **awukuno** **pike**
 asked having went ? " said. But hen said
 " **Tipau** **ni** **'tsükuchumi** **'ke** " **pi.** **Awutivilo**
 " **This** **us** **biting eating man** **was** " said. Small chicken to
pivepuzüno, **pano** **mtazü** **saluba** **bape,** **panongo**
 said having, she quickly dung defecating, their
'zü **'a** **lo** **paävetsü.** **Laki** **ikhupe** **amiphokilo**
 sleeping place on put. One egg laid fireplace in
phuvetsü. **Ake** **ikipe** **acheulo** **piyevetsü.** **Akhi**
 put. Knife picking up wall in inserted. Bees
keghape **azühulo** **paävetsü.** **Ashukhu**
 catching bamboo water carrier in put. Ants
keghape **awotsanaghulo** **paävetsü.** **Ipuzüno** **alhakhu**
 catching short grass in kept. Thus having white ants
keghape **akupulo** **paävetsüno** **pana** **'limiye** **ketau**
 catching bridge on put having her family different
zü **'a** **pike.**
 sleeping place said.

Ike **tilehino** **anyengu** **puthono** **eghepuzü** **awu**
 But then wild cat by night come having chickens
'zü **a** **lo** **kukakeloye** **saluba** **chine** **pholuke.**
 sleeping place in groping dung grasping broke took.
Acheulo **isüveniye** **akeno** **pa** **'ou** **ghathavekeloye**
 Wall on wipe off to knife his hand cutting
ami **fukhino** **zhuniye** **ami** **fukeloye** **awukhuno** **mpawo**
 fire blown see to fire blowing hen's egg bursting
pa **'nhyeti** **vephovetsüke.** **Azü** **lesüwo** **khuvuniye**
 his eyes broke. Water pouring wash to
azühulo **akhino** **pa** **kukegheunguno** **akikalalo**
 bucket in bees him stinging for verandah by
awotsanaghulo **iheniye** **ashekhuno** **pa** **mikikeloye**
 grass on roll to ants him biting
poniye **akupulo** **pokukelono,** **akupu** **nhyechepe** **pa**
 flee to bridge to fled having, bridge breaking he
vekhi **piti** **ive** **pike.**
 falling died it is said.

After the father and mother of a small chicken had gone away, the wild cat said to the small chicken "Which is father's bed? Which is mother's bed? Which is big brother's bed? Which is sister's bed? And which is your bed?" The little chicken replied "This is father's bed. This is mother's bed. This is big brother's bed. This is sister's bed. And this is my bed". After he had thus replied while waiting there his mother came. The little chicken said "What was it? Mother, what is it that has a short mouth and prominent eyes?" But mother hen replied "That will kill and eat us". She told the little one this and then quickly having made some dung she put it in her children's sleeping place. Then she laid an egg and put it in the fireplace. Then she took a knife and stuck it into the wall behind the bed. Then she caught some bees and put them in the water buckets. Then she caught some ants and put them in the short grass. Then when she had caught some white ants and put them on the bridge she made her family sleep elsewhere.

Later on at night time the wild cat came, and while groping about in the hen's bedroom he got hold of the dung and it spread over his fingers. When he tried to wipe it off on the wall the knife cut his hand. He blew the fire so as to be able to see, and while blowing the egg burst and broke his eyes. When he went to pour out water to clean himself the bees bit him, and so he went to roll on the short grass outside the house. And then ants bit him. To escape from them while he was running up on to the bridge, the bridge broke and he fell and died.

6. TSEIPU AND KAWULIPU.

Tseipu-ngo Kawulipu.

Kaghelomi Tseipu ngo Kawulipu pama pavi pike. Tseipuno pa 'pfu kũtha, Kawulipuno 'pfu kũtha. Tishi pike. Tseipuno Kawulipu luke. Panango ame keghake. Kawulipu pa'pungo pa'za pamano Tseipuvilo ti pike "Nono Kawulipu sasũ wuniaye, akau ghopuzũno Kawulipu akaulo sũno khapu wolo" pike. "Nono alalo khiviaye, sawo o'ki 'tomlai" pike. Tseipuno pumlaveno alalo khike. Tseipuno Kawulipu hezhuke. Koutouye Kawulipu khapu wuniye pino khapuzhuke. Kawulipu pumlaiveke. Tilehino Tseipuno pa'mu kuke. Tseipuno pa'mu sasũ eghempilono Muchupilino azũ puegheno Kawulipu ituluke. Muchupilino Kawulipu hekhipe phovenno Kawulipu 'nhyemogha akuchopu pepuno Kawulipu alo nguake. Tilehino pa'mu pama egheke. Ike pa'muno Tseipuvilo pike "Nono hekitipu saã kepuke" pike. Pa'muno Tseipu allomi pike. Tipeno pa 'nuye Tseipu kemono woveke. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike "Ino

o'hezhunikelono i 'nhyeti kizhe shiveke. Ino o putsanikelono i 'kichi mutsüsüveke. Ino ikaänikelono, ikupu ichouve". Tishi Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike. Tseipuye Muchupili mtano Kawulipu keghashi saäke.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno akutu luke. Kawulipu 'kumolono akutu laki ipeghe aghike. Tseipuye mtano akuthu süwoke. Muchupili tsüke. Muchupilino akutu lhoakelono akulholilono akutuno atsa pike. "Muchupili nhapiti" pike. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo pike "Ayekulholono Muchupili nhapiti" pike. Tseipuno "Tangui ti piaye ayekulho pelevelo" pike Muchupilino ayekulho pe ayepubolo peleveke. Ayekulholono mushitibo laki ipegheke. Tipabolono mushiti kuthomo pitike. Tseipuno pa'naghami kumtsü tsüke. Topumi laki tsümono ake. Topumino Tseipuvilo "Nighe mushiti laki i tsülo" pike. Tseipuno topumivilo ti pike. "Kitila laki anike. Lulo" pike. Topumino süwo, akaulo paäke. Aghülo lakino topumino alulo huveketiuno mushitino Kawulipu ilhono topumi kumla shitsücheke. Topumino egheno pana kitoimivilo pike "Kuno i kumla shitsükeno ino chumomu pa tsüni. Eghelo" pike. Pana kitoimino "Kunomo o'kumla shitsümoke" pike Topumino pa'kumla shitsüchekeu mtano acheke. Aghülo lakino topumino alulo huke ghelishino mikhiake. Mushitino Kawulipu ilhono akaulono ipegheho, "I 'puno, i 'zano wocheniyé peno. Aki kuveke". Tilehino topumino egheno Kawulipu küghaluveke. Kawulipuno topumivilo pike. "Niye ghotu kini küthu tiuveno ithoughe kemike. Ighwono i bukevelo" pike.

Tilehino Kawulipungo topumi pama kumtsa acheke. Topumino Kawulipu kalacheu pipemono sheloku sasü acheke. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno itimiko sasü aketsü kiveake. Kawulipuno aki shelokuno api ghoake. Itimiko 'ketsüno aki sheloku iloghiaye Kawulipuno lupe, eno Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiaye ikhipe vepipevetsü. Ishi ake Kawulipuno aye itaveye kumkhoakelono Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghike mtano ake. Tilehino Tseipuno aketsü luniaye iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Kawulipu ituluke. "Hipauye kaghe inipfu Kawulipu toi kena". Ishi topumivilo ti pike. "Hipauye ino luni" peno, topumivilo "Noye kiu ku'ni kya?" ti pike. Topumino pavilo ti pike. "Shohusükhumuno shohusüpikhilo thesü tsülo. Tishi aye lulo" pike. Tseipuno shohusüpikhi laki, shohusü akhumu laki ishi topumi tsüno, Kawulipu süake.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno Kawulipu 'sü keghela küthashi ala ghevetsü, Muchupili 'sü keghela küthashi ghevetsü. Tishike. Kawulipungo Muchupili pama asü ghewuke. Kawulipu paghi egheveke. Muchupili atükauno asü ghepu egheke. Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveniyé Muchupilivilo "Shoteuno akilo iloghilo" pike. Kawulipuno Muchupilivilo "Azuno iloghilo" pike. Muchupilino totimi 'tsaye lumoi, kipitimi 'tsa luni peno shoteuno iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveke. Muchupili kumolono Thumsü laki ipegheke. Tipau 'süwo akala shike.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno aghü lauveke. Tseipuno Kawulipuvilo "Ino kahakeloye abilo ilo ao lukevelo" pike. Kawulipuno Tseipu 'tsa iniphe abilo ao lumono ake.

Aghülo laki pa'naghamino kumtsüno "Tseipuye aghü ipu wochenike, abilo ilono ao luno azhi beno Tseipu kelo" pike. Kawulipuno abilo ilokelono akalalo ikukelono vekhiveke. Tilehino pa'nipfu tiuveke. Tseipu egheno pa'zavilo pike "Ino kahakeloye Kawulipu abilo ilopekevelo" pike "Kushiye ilope kya?" Tishi pa'zavilo ti pike. Pa'zano ti pike "Aghamino kumtsü 'ilopelo' pikegheunguno ilopeke". Tishi Tseipuvilo ti pike.

Aghülo laki Tseipuno Kawulipu pa'pu pa'zano 'kilo egheke. Kawulipuye kutoghi apa'za 'kilo aghike. Tseipuno ituluno Kawulipu luniye pike. Apuazano "Kawulipuye okilo paämo" pike. "Eno nono aghüghalho süaniaye, paye lulo" pike. Apuazano Tseipuvilo ti pike. "Tsüni akeloye kalacheu süapekevelo" pike. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno akumla shiakelono aghüghalhono kalacheu ipegheke. "Niyeghi ketsünhyeno kiu toye keno ipezhuni" peno ipegheke. Ketsünhyeno paphukelaue aghüghalho azü ilhoveke. Tseipuno egheno zhukelaoye azü sheno kutoghi akhamunu ilhove aghike. Timino ilhokeye akhamunu pa'zhe "Napunaru 'khamunu" anike.

Tseipu-ngo Kawulipu Pama Tsa.

Tseipu-and Kawulipu the two words.

Kaghelomi Tseipu ngo Kawulipu pama pavi
Men of old Tseipu and Kawulipu the two good
pike. Tseipuno pa 'pfu kütha, Kawulipuno 'pfu
said. Tseipu his village different, Kawulipu's village
kütha. Tishi pike. Tseipuno Kawulipu luke. Panango
different. So said. Tseipu Kawulipu took. They
ame keghake. Kawulipu pa'pungo pa'za
price settled. Kawulipu her father and her mother
pamano Tseipuvilo ti pike "Nono Kawulipu sasü
both Tseipu to this said "You Kawulipu with
wunlaye, akau ghopuzüno Kawulipu akaulo süno
going, basket having made Kawulipu basket in putting
khapu wolo" pike. "Nono alalo khiviaye,
carrying go" said. "You road by putting down,
sawo o'ki 'tomlai" pike. Tseipuno
going your house reach unable" said. Tseipu
pumlaveno alalo khike. Tseipuno
to carry having been unable road by put down. Tseipu
Kawulipu hezhuke. Kutouye Kawulipu khapu
Kawulipu looked upon. Again Kawulipu carrying

wuniye pino khapuzhuke. Kawulipu pumlaiveke.
 to go saying carrying tried. Kawulipu carrying unable was.
 Tilehino Tseipuno pa'mu kuke. Tseipuno
 Then Tseipu his elder brother called. Tseipu
 pa'mu sasli eghempilono Muchupilino azü
 his elder brother with come not having Muchupili water
 puegheno Kawulipu ituluke. Muchupilino Kawulipu
 carrying coming Kawulipu saw. Muchupili Kawulipu
 hekhipe pheveno Kawulipu 'nhyemogha
 killing having thrown away Kawulipu's things
 akuchopu pepuno Kawulipu alo nguake. Tilehino
 all carrying Kawulipu's place in stayed. Then
 pa'mu pama egheke. Ike pa'muno
 his elder brother the two came. But his elder brother
 Tseipuvilo pike "Nono hekitipu saä kepuke"
 Tseipu to said "You like this take should have"
 pike. Pa'muno Tseipu allomi pike. Tipeno
 said. His elder brother Tseipu abused. This saying
 pa'muye Tseipu kemono woveke. Muchupilino
 his elder brother Tseipu awaiting not went. Muchupili
 Tseipuvilo ti pike "Ino o'hezhunikelono i
 Tseipu to this said "I you having gazed on my
 'nhyeti kizhe shiveke. Ino o putsanikelono
 eyes big have become. I you to talked having
 i 'kichi mutsüsüveke. Ino ikaänikelono, ikupu
 my mouth pointed has become. I sat having my legs
 ichouve". Tishi Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike.
 crooked are". Thus Muchupili Tseipu to this said.
 Tseipuye Muchupili mtano Kawulipu keghashi
 Tseipu Muchupili not knowing Kawulipu thinking
 saäke.
 took along.

Aghülo	lakino	Tseipuno	akutu	luke.
Day	one	Tseipu	bamboo shoot	look.

Kawulipu 'kumolono akutu laki ipeghe aghike.
 Kawulipu corpse from bamboo shoot one emerging was.
 Tseipuye mtano akuthu süwoke. Muchupili
 Tseipu not knowing bamboo shoot took away. Muchupili to
 tsüke. Muchupilino akutu lhoakelono
 gave. Muchupili bamboo shoot cooking
 akulholilono akutuno atsa pike. "Muchupili
 stew pot from bamboo shoot words said. "Muchupili

nhapiti " pike. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo pike
die apotia " said. Muchupili Tseipu to said
" 'Ayekulholono Muchupili nhapiti " pike. Tseipune
" Stew from Muchupili die apotia " said. Tseipu
" Tangui ti playe ayekulho pelevelo " pike.
" Certainly this saying if stew throw away " said.
Muchupilino ayekulho pe ayepubolo peleveke.
Muchupili stew throwing dirt heap on threw away.
Ayekulholono mushitibo laki ipeghike. Tipabolono
Stew from orange tree one came out. This tree from
mushiti kuthomo pitike. Tseipuno pa'naghami
oranges many were born. Tseipu his villagers
kumtsü tsüke. Topumi laki tsümono ake.
all gave. Woman one giving not having was.
Topumino Tseipuvilo " Nighe mushiti laki i tsülo "
Woman Tseipu to " I too orange one me give "
pike. Tseipuno topumivilo ti pike. " Kitila laki anike.
said. Tseipu woman to this said. " Sinall one is.
Lulo " pike. Topumino süwo, akaulo paäke. Aghülo
Take " said. Woman taking, basket in kept. Day
lakino topumino alulo huveketiuno mushitino
one woman fields to going down after orange
Kawulipu ilhono topumi kumla shitsücheke.
Kawulipu becoming woman's work did kept on.
Topumino egheno pana kitoimivilo pike " Kuno
Woman coming her neighbours to said " Who
i kumla shitsükeno ino chumomu pa
my work having done I eating not although him
tsüni. Eghelo " pike. Pana kitoimino " Kunomo
will give. Come " said. Her neighbours " No we
o'kumla shitsümoke " pike. Topumino pa'kumla
your work done not has " said. Woman her work
shitsüchekeu mtano acheke. Aghülo lakino
doing continuing who not knowing stayed. Day one
topumino alulo huke ghelishino mikhiake.
woman fields to went down pretending hid.
Mushitino Kawulipu ilhono akaulono ipegheno,
Orange Kawulipu becoming basket from coming out,
" I 'puno, i 'zano wochenye peno. Aki
" My father, my mother come to saying. House
kuveke ". Tilehino topumino egheno Kawulipu
swept out. Then woman coming Kawulipu
küghaluveke. Kawulipuno topumivilo pike. " Niye
catch able was. Kawulipu woman to said. " I

ghotu kini küthu tiuveno ithoughe kemike.
twice thrice having died again lived.

Ighwono i bukevelo " pike.
Roughly me don't handle" said.

Tilehino Kawulipungo topumi pama kumtsa
Then Kawulipu and woman the two together
acheke. Topumino Káwulipu kalacheu
continued. Woman Kawulipu outside

pipemono sheloku sasü acheke. Aghülo
said caused not having inside together continued. Day

lakino Tseipuno itimiko sasü aketsü kiveake.
one Tseipu boys with tops span.

Kawulipuno aki shelokuno api ghoake. Itimike
Kawulipu house inside cloth weaving was. Boys

'ketsüno aki sheloku iloghiaye Kawulipuno lupe, eno
tops house inside entering if Kawulipu took, and

Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiaye ikhipe vepipevetsü.
Tseipu's top inside entering if picking up threw outside.

Ishi ake Kawulipuno aye itaveye kumkhoakelono
Thus was Kawulipu thread breaking knotting while

Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghike mtano ake.
Tseipu's top inside entered not knowing was.

Tilehino Tseipuno aketsü luniaye iloghike. Tilehino
Then Tseipu top take to entered. Then

Tseipuno Kawulipu ituluke. "Hipauye kaghe inipfu
Tseipu Kawulipu saw. "This formerly my wife

Kawulipu toi kena". Ishi topumivilo ti pike.
Kawulipu like is" This woman to this said.

"Hipauye ino luni" peno, topumivilo "Noye
"This I take will" saying, woman to "You

kiu ku'ni kya?" ti pike. Topumino pavilo
what asking what?" this said. Woman him to

ti pike. "Shohusü-khumuno shohusüpikhilo
this said. "Shohusü pounding stick shohusü pounder in

thestü tsülo. Tishi aye lulo" pike. Tseipuno
placing give. Thus being take" said. Tseipu

shohusüpikhi laki, shohusü akhumu laki ishi
shohusü pounder one, shohusü pounding stick one thus

topumi tsüno, Kawulipu süake.
woman giving, Kawulipu took.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno Kawulipu 'sü keghela
Day one Tseipu Kawulipu's wood cutting path
küthashi ala ghevetsü, Muchupili 'sü keghela
different path cutting, Muchupili wood cutting path

kūthashi ghevetsü. Tishike. Kawulipungo Muchupili
 different cutting. This was. Kawulipu and Muchupili
 pama asü ghewuke. Kawulipu paghi
 the two wood cutting went. Kawulipu first
 egheveke. Muchupili atükauno asü ghepu
 came. Muchupili afterwards wood cutting carrying
 egheke. Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveniye Muchupilivilo
 came. Tseipu Muchupili kill to Muchupili to
 "Shoteuno akilo iloghilo" pike. Kawulipuno
 "Backwards house in enter" said. Kawulipu
 Muchupilivilo "Azuno iloghilo" pike. Muchupilino
 Muchupili to "Forwards enter" said. Muchupili
 totimi 'tsaye lumoi, kipitimi 'tsa luni
 woman's words won't take, man's words will take
 peno shoteuno iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Muchupili
 saying backwards entered. Then Tseipu Muchupili
 ghikhiveke. Muchupili kumolono Thumsü laki
 killed. Muchupili's corpse from Thumsü one
 ipegheke. Tipau 'süwo akala shike.
 came out. This taking ladder made.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno aghü lauveke. Tseipuno
 Day one Tseipu war went to. Tseipu
 Kawulipuvilo "Ino kahakeloye, abilo ilo ao
 Kawulipu to "I not being, dhuli in entering grain
 lukevelo" pike. Kawulipuno Tseipu 'tsa iniphe
 don't take" said. Kawulipu Tseipu's words obeying
 abilo ao lumono ake.
 dhuli in grain not taking continued.

Aghülo laki pa'naghamino kumtsüno "Tseipuye
 Day one her villagers all "Tseipu
 aghü ipu wochenike, abilo ilono ao
 enemy killing carrying coming is, dhuli in entering grain
 luno azhi beno Tseipu kelo" pike. Kawulipuno
 taking liquor making Tseipu await" said. Kawulipu
 abilo ilokelono akalalo ikukelono
 dhuli in entered having ladder from mounted having
 vekhiveke. Tilehino pa'nipfu tiuveke. Tseipu egheno
 fell. Then his wife died. Tseipu coming
 pa'zavilo pike "Ino kahakeloye Kawulipu abilo
 his mother to said "I being about Kawulipu dhuli in
 ilopekevelo" pike "Kushiye ilope
 to enter don't cause" said "Why enter to caused
 kya?" Tishi pa'zavilo ti pike. Pa'zano ti
 what?" Thus his mother to this said. His mother this

pike "Aghamino kumtsü 'ilopelo' **pikegheunguno**
 said "Villagers all 'enter cause to' saying for
ilopeke". **Tishi Tseipuvilo ti pike.**
 enter caused ". Thus Tseipu to this said.

Aghülo laki Tseipuno Kawulipu pa'pu
 Day one Tseipu Kawulipu her father

pa'zano 'kilo egheke. Kawulipuye kutoghi apa'za
 her mother house to came. Kawulipu again parents

'kilo aghike. Tseipuno ituluno Kawulipu luniye
 house in was. Tseipu seen having Kawulipu to take

pike. Apuazano "Kawulipuye okilo paämo"
 said. Parents "Kawulipu your house in keep not "

pike. "Eno nono aghüghalho süaniaye, paye lulo"
 said. "And you wax creation keeping if, her take "

pike. Apuazano Tseipuvilo ti pike. "Tsüni akeloye
 said. Parents Tseipu to this said. "Sun ' being

kalacheu süapekevelo" pike. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno
 outside keep don't " said. Day one Tseipu

akumla shiakelono aghüghalhono kalacheu ipegheke.
 work doing wax creation being outside came out.

"Niyeghi ketsünhyeno kiu toiye keno ipezhuni"
 "I too sun what like is see will "

peno ipegheke. Ketsünhyeno paphukelaue aghüghalho
 saying came out. Sun shining wax creation

azü ilhoveke. Tseipuno egheno zhukelaoye azü
 water became. Tseipu coming seeing water

sheno kutoghi akhamunu ilhove aghike. Timino
 becoming again flower became was. Men

ilhokeu akhamunu pa'zhe "Napunaru
 becoming which flower its name "Napunaru

'khamunu" anike.
 flower " is.

Once upon a time Tseipu and Kawulipu were good people it is said. And they were of different villages it is said. Tseipu took Kawulipu to wife. He settled the marriage price. Her parents said to Tseipu "If you want to take her away, weave a basket and put her in it and carry her. If you put her down by the roadside you won't be able to reach your house in her company". But Tseipu couldn't carry her and put her down by the path. And Tseipu gazed upon Kawulipu. Again he tried to carry her. It was in vain. Then he called his brother. But before he came Muchupili who was carrying water saw Kawulipu. Then Muchupili killed Kawulipu and threw her away and put on all her clothes and waited in her place. Then Tseipu

and his brother came, but his brother said "It is right indeed to take a woman like that" and he abused him, and went off without waiting for Tseipu. Then Muchupili said to Tseipu "Because I have looked upon you my eyes are big. Because I have spoken to you my mouth is pointed. Because I have waited for you my legs are crooked". Thus spoke Muchupili to Tseipu. Tseipu did not know Muchupili and took her away thinking she was Kawulipu.

One day Tseipu took a bamboo shoot. The bamboo shoot had grown up from Kawulipu's corpse. He did not know this and took it and gave it to Muchupili. While she was cooking it the bamboo shoot spoke from the stew pot "May Muchupili die in childbirth" it said. Muchupili said to Tseipu "The food told me to die in childbirth". He replied "If it really said that, throw it away". Muchupili then threw it on to the dirt heap. An orange tree grew up from the dirt heap. On this tree much fruit was born. Tseipu divided the fruit amongst the villagers. One woman got none, and said to Tseipu "Give me an orange". He replied "There is one little one left; take it". The woman took it and kept it in her basket. One day after she had gone to her fields the orange became Kawulipu and did the woman's work for her. The woman returned and said to her neighbours "Even if I had nothing to eat I would give food to the person who has done my work—come". The neighbours replied that no one had done her work, and the woman remained ignorant of the person who had done her work. One day she pretended to go to her fields, but hid and watched. The orange became Kawulipu and got out of the basket and said "My father and mother are coming". And swept the house. Then the woman came and caught Kawulipu who said "Twice or thrice have I died and again I live. Don't handle me roughly".

Then Kawulipu and the woman stayed together. She didn't allow Kawulipu outside the house, but kept her within.

One day Tseipu was spinning tops with the boys. Kawulipu was weaving inside the house. When the boys' tops came inside the house Kawulipu took them, but when Tseipu's top came inside she threw it outside. And it happened that Kawulipu had broken her thread and was knotting it and so did not see that Tseipu's top had come inside. Then Tseipu came inside to fetch it. He saw Kawulipu and said "She is like my wife Kawulipu". And he told the woman he would marry her. "What do you want for her?" he said. The woman said "Give me a pounding stick of shohusu and a pounding table of shohusu and then take her". Tseipu gave her the stick and the pounding table and took Kawulipu.

One day Tseipu made a different path for Kawulipu to cut wood and a different path for Muchupili to cut wood. He did this and both went to cut wood. Kawulipu returned first. Muchupili came afterwards carrying her wood. Tseipu in order

to kill Muchupili said to her "Enter the house backwards". But Kawulipu said "Enter the house frontwards". Muchupili heeded not the woman's words but obeyed her husband and entered backwards. Then Tseipu killed her, and from her corpse a Thumsü tree grew up. From this a ladder was made.

One day Tseipu went on an expedition. Tseipu said to Kawulipu "While I am away don't enter the dhuli to take grain". She obeyed his words and refrained from taking grain from the dhuli.

But one day all the villagers said "Tseipu has taken a head and is coming back. Go into the dhuli and get grain and brew liquor and wait for him". Kawulipu entered the dhuli but while climbing the ladder (of Thumsü) she fell. And thus she died. When Tseipu came he said to his mother "I told you not to let her enter the dhuli while I was away. Why did you do so?" To these words his mother replied "All the villagers told her to, and so she went inside the dhuli". Thus she answered Tseipu.

One day Tseipu went to the house of Kawulipu's father and mother. Kawulipu was again in her parents' house. Tseipu wanted to take her away but her parents said they would not let him keep her in his house. "If you want to take away a wax figure, then take her", they said, "But if the sun is out, don't let her stay outside". One day while Tseipu was at work the wax figure went outside. "I too will see what the sun is like", she said as she went outside. But when the sun shone the wax became water. When Tseipu came he saw she had melted and had turned into a flower.

And the name of this flower arisen from a human being is Napunaru.

7. THE STORY OF THE DOVE AND THE GREEN PIGEON.

Amikhi-ngo Achui pama 'tsa.

Kaghe amikHINGO achui pama pa 'za Kutuli keacheke. Amikhino akucho 'nu achuino amishiu 'nu ishi pike. Ike aza tiunichelono, anu amikhivilo "Niye tiunicheake. O'phi aou yetsüni. Thanau ithena ichoeghelonhye" pike. Ike achui-no tipa 'tsa chiluvepuzüno thanau inaputhono ichoegheke. Achui 'phi aou yevetsüpüzü "Noye akhati nikeghulo kino akhati meghe, i 'zhe Kutuli 'zhe ku, asü akelo, i ghachelonhye" pi. Achuivilo pivekethiuno, amikhiye khetsünhye ipegheke-thiuno, pa 'nhyeba miti miti egheke. Ike amikhivilo pi "Nono ithena eghemoa. Achuino 'yeluvea. Noye apu 'zhe ku, timi 'ti meghe ghi, timi puzokhu meghe. Ishi apu 'zhe ku eghachelonhye" pike.

Amikhi-ngo Achui pama 'tsa.
Dove and green pigeon the two words.

Kaghe amikhingo achui pama pa 'za
Once dove and green pigeon the two their mother
Kutuli keacheke. Amikhino akucho 'nu achuino
Kutuli awaiting were, Dove real son green pigeon
mlshiu 'nu ishi pike. Ike aza
second son thus it is said. But mother
tlunichekelono, anu amikhivilo "Niye
die going-continuing-having been son dove to "I
tlunicheake. O'phi aou yetšuni. Thanau
die go continuing am. Your body hands paint will. Morning
ithena ichoeghelonhye " pike. Ike achuino tipa
early arise come please " said. But green pigeon these
'tsa chiluvepuzüno thanau inaputhono ichoegheke.
words heard having morning before dawn arose came.
Achui 'phi aou yevetsüpuzü " Noye akhati
Green pigeon body hands painted having "You fruit
nike 'ghülo kino akhati megghi, i 'zhe
ripening day awaiting fruit picking, my name
Kutuli 'zhe ku, asü akelo, i ghachelonhye "
Kutuli name calling, tree top at, me call keep on please"
pi. Achuivilo pivekethiuno, amikhiye khetsünhye
said. Green pigeon to saying after, dove sun
ipeghekethiuno, pa 'nhyeba miti miti egheke.
arising after, his eyes cleaning cleaning came.
Ike amikhivilo pi " Nono ithe na eghemoa.
But dove to said "You early came not.
Achuino 'yeluvea. Noye apu 'zhe ku,
Green pigeon painted. You father's name calling,
timi 'ti megghi ghi, timi puzokhu megghi.
men's grain peck even, men's urine peck.
Ishi apu 'zhe ku eghachelonhye " piye.
Thus father's name calling cry keep on please " said.

Once the dove and the green pigeon were waiting for their mother Kutuli. The dove was the elder and the green pigeon the second one. So it is said. When their mother was about to die she said to her son the dove "I am on the point of death. I will paint all your body. Get up early in the morning and come to me please". But the green pigeon heard this conversation and while it was yet dark rose and went to his mother. When she had painted his body she said "Wait for the day when the berries ripen and when you peck them call my name, the name Kutuli, from the tree top, I beg you call me". She spake thus

to the green pigeon and after sunrise the dove came cleaning his eyes. Then his mother said "You didn't come early. The green pigeon has been painted. You must call your father's name, you must feed on the grain of man and peck where he has made urine. And while you do this call your father's name, I beg you".

8. THE STORY OF THE CAPTURE OF A MAGIC BIRD.

Azozhi Kūgha khutsa.

Kaghe timi lakino anipu lupuzū, anipuye pakilo paäveno, paye ashou alozhilimi sasū wuuepuzūno akhi kūthu pa'nipu 'kilo wumoveke. Aghūlo lakino pana lozhimi alulo huake. Pa'nipu 'lu ngo pana lozhimi 'lu kūghungo huake. Pa 'nipfuno alu mulachekelono Azozhi akimi anipfu kicheghisūē pa'shelo ilogheke. Pa 'nipfu azozhi hekhivepuzūno amhi phisūwo, ayeghi chuno ayeku 'kwolo kwoveke. Ike pakimino tipathiuye, pa'nipfuno Azozhi keghalukegheunguno, pa'nipfu 'lau zhunishiake. Pano bawuni pipuzūno wucheaye pa'lozhilipfughi "Nighi bawuni" ipipuzū pa sasū wuve. Pano puzho wuni pipuzūno pa sasū wuve. Pano "Azū ye wuni" pipuzūno, wucheaye pa'lozhilipfughi "Niye azū yewuni" pa 'papfe sasū wuveke. Tohu, pa'lozhilipfumi asū ghewupuzūno, asū laki akwolo shesū, atu laki ikisū ishipuzūno pa 'kwo chitoi paatsūke. Tishi puzūno paye angu pesūsū azouno powucheke. Alozhilipfuno poeghepuzūno akwomi eghempilono akwo khalevepuzū pa 'lozhipfu hake. Pa 'lozhipfu halunichelono pa'lozhipfuno ilhei iloveke. Tilehino pa 'lozhilipfuno pavilo amti musūke. "Aghūsū no kūgha lupeni" ti pipuzūno pa 'lozhilipfuye wuveke.

Akilo eghepuzūno pana 'nu laki ake. Tipauvilo "O'za okuzhoye kiuye lho ani kya"? Ti piake. Tilehino pa'nipfu eghepuzūno pa 'kimivilo ti pike "Nono tosūlo nikilo eghechenke sha?" ti pike. Tilehino pano pa'nipfu vilo "Nighe henguno hilauye ishi moake. 'Ikuzho akevishi kūghūnacheni ake' ivilo pilo". Ti pike. Pa 'nipfuno "Tishiaye, wuno alu mulaye 'kwo ashe kichilo ayeku kwolo ayeghi chuno paan'ke, hupuzūno lulo". Ti pike. Pano hugheke. Azozhi 'mhi kuchopu azhino pewuuepuzūno laki aghike. Pano sūwupuzūno awo kukhuke. Awono pa papeke. Awokhu ilhecheveke.

Aghūlo laki akekaono aina saāke. Tilehino azozhi showū aghothu kukhupuzū agha lono mikheake. Timi kuchopuno ti pike "Issinaye nighothu kushi kegheungno ishi zhukevi anike là?" ti pipuzūno timi kumtsūno aghothusū bupuzūno huake. Akekao 'nipfuno timi lozhipuzūno atūkauno hucheke. Vechehupuzūno kuthoughe idewo aghothu 'sū vilo "Issinaye nighothu 'zhukevi" ti pipuzūno panaghami totimi kumtsū pano sazūkhaye pike.

Azozhi kūgha khutsa.
 Magic bird catching story.

Kaghe timi lakino anipfu lupuzū, anipfuye
 Once man one wife taken having, wife
 pakilo paāveno, paye ashou alozhilimi sasi
 his house in kept having, he outside lover with
 wuwpuzūno akhi kūthu pa'nipfu kilo wumoveke.
 gone having months three his wife's house to went not.
 Aghūlo lakino pana lozhimi alulo huake.
 Day one their gang's field to went down.
 Pa'nipfu 'lu ngo pana lozhimi 'lu kūghungo huake.
 His wife's field and their gang's field opposite were.
 Pa 'nipfuno alu mulachekelono Azozhi akimi
 His wife field work doing having magic bird husband
 anipfu kicheghistisū pa'shelo ilogheke.
 wife struggling her unhold part of field entered.
 Pa 'nipfuye azozhi hekhivepuzūno amhi phisūwo,
 His wife magic bird killed having feather's plucking.
 ayeghi chuno ayeku 'kwolo kwoveke.
 earth dug having field embankment below buried.
 Ike pakimino tipathluye, pa'nipfuno Azozhi
 But her husband this after, his wife magic bird
 keghalukegheunguno, pa'nipfu 'lau zhunishiake. Pano
 catching for, his wife to see wanted. He
 bawuni pipuzūno wucheaye pa'lozhilipfughi
 defecate go will said having going if his lover too
 "Nighi bawuni" i pipuzū pa sasi wuve.
 "I too defecate will go" this said having him with went.
 Pano puzho wuni pipuzūno pa sasi wuve.
 He urinate go will said having him with went.
 Pano "Azū ye wuni" pipuzūno, wucheaye pa
 He "Water drink go will" said having, going if his
 'lozhilipfughi "Niye azū yewuni" pa 'pa
 lover too "I water drink will" his tracks
 pfe sasi wuveke. Tohu, pa lozhilipfumi
 picking up with went. In the morning, his lover
 asū ghewupuzūno, asū laki akwolo shesū, atu
 wood cut having, wood one load in putting, stone
 laki ikisū ishipuzūno pa 'kwo chitoi
 one picking up bringing thus having done her load full
 paātsūke. Tishi puzūno paye angu pesūsū azouno
 kept. Thus having done he spear taking in front
 powucheke. Alozhilipfuno poeghepuzūno akwomi
 fled went. Lover fleeing come having companions

eghempilono akwo khalevepuzü pa 'lozhipfu
 come not having load thrown away having her lover
 hake. Pa 'lozhipfu halunichelono
 chased. Her lover chase able going having
 pa'lozhipfuno ilhei iloveke. Tilehino pa 'lozhilipfuno
 her lover dancing entered. Then his lover
 pavilo amti musüteke. "Aghüsü no kũgha lupeni"
 him to spittle spat at. "Enemy you catch take"
 ti pipuzüno pa 'lozhilipfuye wuweke.
 this said having his lover went.

Akilo eghepuzüno pana 'nu laki ake. Tipauvilo
 Home come having his son one was. Him to
 "O'za okuzhoye kiuye lho ani kya?" Ti
 "Your mother you two what cooking are what?" Thus
 piake. Tilehino pa'nipfu eghepuzüno pa 'kimivilo ti
 said. Then his wife come having her husband to this
 pike "Nono tostülo nikilo eghechenke sha?"
 said "You formerly our house to came what?"
 ti pike. Tilehino pano pa'nipfuvilo "Nighe
 this said. Then he his wife to "I too
 henguno hilauye ishi moake. Ikuzho akevishi
 henceforth thus not. We two well
 kũghünacheni ake ivilo pilo". Ti pike. Pa
 live together will continue me to say". This said. His
 'nipfuno "Tishiaye, wuno alu mulaye 'kwo
 wife "Thus being, gone having field hoed above
 ashe kichilo ayeku kwolo ayeghi chuno
 not hoed part mouth in boundary beneath earth dug having
 paan'ke, hupuzüno lulo". Ti pike. Pano
 kept what is, gone having take". This said. He
 hughuke. Azozhi 'mhi kuchopu azhino
 went down. Magic bird feathers all rats
 pewuvepuzüno laki aghike. Pano süwupuzüno
 thrown away having one remained. He brought having
 awo kukhuke. Awono pa 'pa peke. Awoku
 pig touched. Pig his tracks picked up. Sow
 ilhecheveke.
 passed by.

Aghülo laki akekaono aina saäke. Tilehino
 Day one chief all village took down. Then
 azozhi showü aghothu kukhuvepuzü agha lono
 magic bird taking boundary touched having jungle from
 mikiake. Timi kuchopuno ti pike "Issinaye
 hid. Men all this said "The morn

above the part which has been hoed. Go and bring what you find there". The man then went down to the field. Rats had destroyed all the feathers except one. He brought this and touched a boar with it. The boar followed in his footsteps. It even passed by a sow.

One day the Chief took the whole of the village to his fields. Then the man took the charm and touched the boundary with it, and hid and watched from the jungle. Everyone said "Why is our boundary so beautiful to-day?" And thereafter all touched the fence as they passed by. The Chief's wife went by after entertaining her guests later on. She passed the fence, and then came back and said "To-day our fence is indeed beautiful".

Thereafter the man was able to seduce all the women in the village, it is said.

9. THE TIME OF SOWING.

Aghipiti 'Khi.

Kaghelomi ni Simi 'tsa pinike. Inzhulo. Ni Simi aghipiti khi mtapuzüno, aghi khusüke. Aghi aloti süsümono acheke. Tipathiuno Kivighono tiniye akelono, pa 'nu Kashovilo ti pike. "Niye tiniake. Timino aghi khusü amu noye aghi khusükevelo. Ino aghothukwolo eghanike. Tilehino aghi khusülo." Ti pipuzüno tiveke.

Timino alu ivakhivepuzüno ami su alu sapuzüno, aghi khusüpuzüno amo za, tishi mu paye "I'puno ivilo piketsa luni" ti pipuzüno keake. Kezhupahano "I'puye pano tivenike-gheunguno i pishike kya?" ti pipuzüno aghipite pusüsü aghonolo ilocheke. Tilehino pa 'pu 'ghungno aghau ilhopuzüno "Shoka pa 'pu Kivigho" ti pu egha ipegheke. Kuchokeno ti pipuzüno aghi khuke. Kuthamino azhouno süvekeke aghi aloti süsümono amu u liki pitike. Tigheunguno ni Simino Kasho aghi piti 'khi kihipuzüno aghi khusüchenike.

Aghipiti 'Khi.

Seed time.

Kaghelomi	ni	Simi	'tsa	pinike.	Inzhulo.
Men of old	we	Semas	words	seek will.	Listen.
Ni	Simi	aghipiti	'khi	mtapuzüno,	aghi
We	Semas	seed	time	not knowing having,	rice
<u>khusüke.</u>	Aghi	aloti	süsümono	acheke.	
sowed.	Rice	grains	formed not having	continued.	
Tipathiuno	Kivighono	tiniye	akelono,	pa 'nu	Kashovilo
Thereafter	Kivigho	die to	being,	his son	Kasho to

ti pike. "Niye tiniake. Timino aghi khusü amu,
 this said. "I dying am. Men rice sowing although
 noye aghi khusükevelo. Ino aghothukwolo eghanike.
 you rice sow don't. I boundary below cry will.
 Tilehino aghi khusülo". Ti pipuzüno tiveke.
 Then rice sow". This said having died.

Timino alu ivakhivepuzüno, ami sü, alu
 Men fields cut having, fire giving, fields
 sapuzüno, aghi khusüpuzüno, amo za,
 cleaning, rice sown having, heaps of jungle throwing away,
 tishi mu paye "I'puno ivilo piketsa
 thus although he "My father me to spoken words
 luni" ti pipuzüno keake.
 take will" thus said having watching continued.
 Kezhupahano "I'puye pano tivenikegheunguno
 Watched in vain having "My father he dying because of
 i pishike kya?" ti pipuzüno aghipiti pusüsü
 me deceived what?" this said having seeds carrying going
 aghonolo ilocheke. Tilehino pa 'pu 'ghungno
 resting place at came out. Then his father's soul
 aghau ilhopuzüno "Shoka, pa 'pu Kivigho"
 bird become having "Shoka, his father Kivigho"
 ti pi egha ipegheke. Kuchokeno ti pipuzüno
 this saying crying emerged. True being this said having
 aghi khuke. Küthamino azhouno süvekeke aghi aloti
 rice sowed. Other men before sowed rice grain
 süsümono amu u liki pitike. Tigheunguno
 come out not having empty only germinated. This for
 ni Simino Kasho aghi piti 'khi kihipuzüno
 we Semas Kasho rice seeds time counted having
 aghi khusüchenike.
 rice sow keep on.

I will tell you a story of our Sema ancestors. Listen. We Semas did not know the time to sow and in spite of this sowed. The rice seeds kept on failing to form. Thereafter one Kivigho when he was about to die said to his son Kasho "I am dying. Although others may sow, don't do so. I will call from below the boundary. Then sow". He spake thus and died.

Men cleared their fields, burnt them, cleaned them, sowed, and weeded them but in spite of this Kasho said "I will obey the words my father spake" and saying thus he waited. No sign came. "Has my father because he died deceived me?" he said and carrying the seeds came to resting place. Then his

father's soul which had become a bird said "Shoka, his father Kivigho", and thus speaking came calling. Then indeed he sowed. Other men—the ones who had sown before—got grainless husks which did not open. And so we Semas continue to sow after counting the month when Kasho's grain germinated.

10. THE STORY OF THE WERE TIGERS' VILLAGE.

Angshukogholhomi naghami 'tsa.

Kaghelomi apu tive, aza tiveno atazu 'mi kini acheke. Akicheuye anipfu luveno aitiuye anipfu lumono pa'mu kilo acheke. Aghülo lakino pama atazu ale shiake. Pa 'muno pa 'tüküzuvilo wono "Akikhi süghelo" pike. Pa 'tüküzuno wono pa'mu 'nipfuvilo pike "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu 'nipfuno "Noye kiu kua'n kya?" "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu 'nipfuno anhyemogha kumtsü piyeke. "Hipau kuanike sha?" i pino anhyemogha kumtsü piyezhuke. Kumtsü "Ti kumoi" pike. Tilehino pa'mu 'nipfuno 'melo ideveke "Hi kuanike sha?" tipeno pa 'mo kukutsüke. "He ti kuanike" pike. Tilehino pa'chino pa 'kimivilo ti pike "Nono O'tüküzu sasü ani piaye, ikuzho kumtsa amoi" pike.

Tilehino pa 'nipfu 'tsa inpesüsü pa 'tüküzu sasü amoniye, pa 'tüküzuvilo ti pike "Noye hupa 'tho itiani kya?" pike. Pa 'tüküzu ti pike "Hupauye kaghe i 'pu ikuzho aküghü keghe 'la ke". Kuthoughi pa'muno atho laki kicheno "Noye hupau 'tho itiani ma?" pike "Hughi i 'pu ikuzho akikhi dauke 'la ke" ti pike. Atho kumtsü kiche piyeke. Kumtsü itiyeno atho lakiye mtake. Tilehino pa'muno pa 'tüküzu sasü aghalo itsu wuke. Pama ala mtake lau sasü wuno, pama alhe chuke. Pa'muno pa 'tüküzuvilo "Noye mtazü ana chualo" pike.

Pa 'tüküzuno pa 'muvido "Noye kushiye ana chumono ani kya? Noghi chulo" ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye chumoi. O likino chulo" ti peno kaake. Pa 'tüküzuno pa'muvido "Imu, noye kushiye kaani kya? ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye kumo shimomu kaänishiye kaanike". Ti peno nguake. Tilehino pa'muno aküzügha sowü pa 'tüküzu kukhuveke. Pa 'tüküzu tilehi züawuveke. Pa'muno akhuku kügha pesü asü 'zunglo paävetsuke. "I 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno i kuaye nono pa putsalo" pike. Tipeno woveke. Pa 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno pa'mu zhupahaveke. Tilehino pa 'zhta pa 'ngu kuchopu ikizhuke. Pa 'zhta 'laghi pa'ngu su kumtsü alhakuno chukhavetsüno azhta liki, angu 'loti liki ikiluke. Tilehino pa'mu kuke "O i 'mu", ti pike. Akhukuno pa kwoke. Timino ti pike "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo" ti pike. Kuthoughi pa'mu kuzhuke. Akhukuno pa kwoke. "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo". Tipeno pa liki aghasalo itsücheke.

Itsüwo angshu 'khatibo ituluke. Timino angshu 'khatibolo ikuno, akhati khochuake. Tilehino angshuno azhta küghapfe angüsü kumüghü pesüsü pa 'khatibolo egheke. Timi itulono angshuno atsa pike "Kuno i'khatibolo iku akhati kbo chuan 'kya?" ti pike. Timino angshuvilo ti pike "Küthamino o'khati kbo chaughikegheunguno ino atsa peno o'khati khetsüanike". Ti pike. Timino angshuvilo "O i'sü ino akhati kbo khütsüniye o'ngu iki pukutsülo" ti pike. Angshuno pa'ngu iki pukutsüke. Timino angshuvilo "Ino akhati kbo pie o'bakhalo vesütsüni. O'bakha kizhie mukulo. O'nhyeti imivelo" pike. Angshuno abakha mukuno, anhyeti imiveke. Timino angu süwo pa cheke. Chezüveke. Tilehino angshuno timivilo "Noye kiushiye angu süwo ichea'n kya?" ti pike. Timino ti pike "Isü angupa muduli" ti pike. "Itaghe ina khoakelo akhati mushu laki anike. Ina anguno hekhütsüniye angu iki pukulo" pike. Angshuno pa'ngu iki puku tsüke. Timino angshuvilo itaghe "O'bakha mukulo o'nhyeti imivelo" ti pike. Angshuno abakha mukuno, anhyeti alloke imimono ake. Timino angshuvilo "O i 'süye o'bakha kizhie muku mtano ani. Yale. Oh i 'süye, anhyeti imi mtano ani. Yale" ti pike. Tilehino angshuno pa'nhyeti alloke miveno pa 'bakha kizhie mukuke. Timino angu süwo angshu 'bakhalo chesütsüke. Angshuye tive. Timiye müsano asü kungu nguake. Timino powuniye, angshu 'pi vilo illukighike. Timino angshu ti'mpi keghashi "O isü ino kumoi" ti pike. Angshuro tivekeke pa putsamo.

Tilehino angshu 'zhta angshu 'ngu süsü Kolaou naghami 'pfulo ipegheke.

Azü kikilo timino angshu 'ngu süwo azükiki shokhavetsüke. Pa naghaminno azü phuniye hughepuzüno, azü kikilo azü kahano anike. Panaghami aina wuno angu lhapeke. Lhapemla. Timino itsüake. Timino panaghaminvilo "Panaghami aina isü 'ngu lhapemlano ani. Yalo. Kolaouno ti pike "Nono kiu kuan o tsüni. Lhapevetsülo" ti pike. Tipeno kumtsü tipau phuzhuke. Itumla. Kuthoughi panaghami ainano angu lhapeke. Lhapemla. Timino ti pike "Panaghami ainano isü 'ngu lhapemla ani Yale" ti pike. Tilehino akekaono "I'nu totimi kini anike. Nono kiukiu lunishino lupenhye" pike. Tilehino timino egheno angu lhapevetsüke.

Akekaono amkü sheno pa'nu akucho 'nhyemogha kumtsü süwo pa 'kheu tsüno pa'nu akuchoye anhyemogha pumono apeke. "Nono kiukiu lunisheno, lulo" ti pike. Timino "Niye meghemi keke, i toikeu alhokesau luni" peno akekao 'nu akucho luveke. Tilehino "Tishiaye, nono i'makeshiu shiniake" ti pike.

Pa 'nipfuno akhwono pa kimivilo piveke. "Ipuno, izano nono awo hekhilo piaye awo kumono, amini ke. Azhta kuthomo anike. Kizhezhe akeuye lukeno, akitilau süwo ghikhilo. Atsü

hekhilo piaye ava ke. Azhta akitilauno ghikhilo. Awu hekhilo piaye, aghacho ke, asü kübano chochileveno azhta akitilauno ghikhivelo" pike.

Panguno pavilo "Awo ghikhilo" pike. "Azhta hekumtsü akevi liki anike, kiukiu lunisheno luno ghikhilo" pike. Panguno azhta kizhie ikipfe pa 'makeshiu tsüke "Heno ghikhilo" pike. Pa 'makeshiuno ti pike. "Niye azhtachi akitilau luni" peno akitilau luke. Panguno awo ghikhilo ayikaduno amini lhakhaveveno paghike. Timino azhtachi süwo ayikadu micheveno amini ghikhiveke. Panguno "Tino i'makeshiu shikepfu" pike.

Tilehino avango aghachongo ishi kumtsü ghikhiveke. Tilehino pa 'nguno "Heno i'makeshiu shikepfu" ti pike.

Eno aghülo laki pa 'nguno aki shiake. Pa 'makeshiuvilo "Noye asakililo aküghu anike, kitilamu sükhukeveno ghesüghelo" pike. "Eno wochekeloye ami phono eghelo" pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü ghepesüsü wogheno akübala lono mikezhuke. Pa'nguno 'ghamino kumtsüno angshu ilhono aki shiaghike. Ti ituluno aghau ide huno, ami pho piyeveno egheke. Kumtsü timi ilhovo muchomi lakino pa 'shomhi kusümlano aghike. Tilehino Kolaou 'makeshiuno ituluveno nguake. Akekaono panaghami amuchouvilo ti pike. "Nono i 'makeshiu shiputha ani" tipino amuchou ghikhive pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü akhe laki ghesüveke. Kolaouno pavilo "Aküghü khe kitila anike" ti pike. Pa 'nguno 'kilo pa 'makeshiuno aki molelo ikupüzü "Tishi piaye, naghami akuchopu egheno akughu lupelo" ti pipüzüno aküghü khe kokwotsüke. Pa 'naghamino lukhamoveke. Tilehino akekaono ti pike "Heno i 'makeshiu shikepfuke" pike.

Tipathiuno apu azano angshu sheno timi tsüno aou akupu loti akukhuno ghono pano nu tsücheke. Pa 'kimivilo pimono kusüwono chucheke. Aghülo lakino pa 'makeshiuno pa 'nguno 'kilo izüwuke. Tilehighi timi aou 'loti akupu 'loti akukhuno ghono tsüphuwuke. Pa 'makeshiuvilo ti pike. "Noye alalo hezhukeveno süwo ni 'nga tsülo" pike. Pano alalono hezhuke, timi 'ou 'lotingo 'kupu 'loti ishi aghike. Tilehino ituluno pa'nipfu tsüke. Pa'nipfuno timi kupuloye timi 'ou 'loti ikipfe süsü "Ipuno agholi ghumüghü, i 'zano 'gholi ghumüghü" tishi tipeno chuake. Pakimino itiveno pa 'nipfuvilo ti pike. "Angshu ilho i piyelo" ti pike. Pa 'nipfuno "Niye ilhomoi" pike. Kuthoughi pa 'kimino panipfuvilo "Angshu ilhono i piyelo" pike. Tilehino pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo "Tishiaye shohusü küba ape laki, thumsü küba laki ishi phueghelo" pike. Pa 'kimino pa'nipfu 'tsa inimono thumsü ape laki shohusü küba laki ishi phuegheke. Pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo ti pike. "Ino angshu ilhokeloye, noye amkhalo ikhwono, ino ilhei küghaye noye asü küba süwo i chochilelo pike. "Eno atükauey akuu paghe i'bakhalo vesütsülo, tipathiuno awuti süwo i 'bakhalo vesütsülo" pike.

Pakimino panipfu'tsa inimono, awuti paghe pa 'nipfu 'bakhalo vesütsüke. Akuuno atükashi tsüke. Awuti chupusü ashi chuni shiwuveno pa 'kimi tsüchuve pike. Tisheno atotiu pa 'pu pa 'za 'kilo wuve pike.

Angshukogholhomi naghani 'tsa.
Tiger becoming men's villagers words.

Kaghelomi apu tive, aza tiveno atazu
Men of old father died, mother died having brothers
'mi kini acheke. Akicheuye anipfu luveno
men two were. Elder wife taken having
aitiuye anipfu lumono pa'mu kilo
younger wife taken not having his elder brother's house in
acheke. Aghülo lakino pama atazu ale
was. Day one the two brothers granary
shiake. Pa 'muno pa tüküzuvilo
making were. His elder brother his younger brother to
wono "Akikhi süghelo" pike. Pa
gone having "Tying bamboo bring" said. His
'tüküzuno wono pa'mu 'nipfuvilo
younger brother gone having his elder brother's wife to
pike "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike.
said "My elder brother this bring" said.
Pa'mu 'nipfuno "Noye klu kua'n kya?"
His elder brother's wife "You what asking are what?"
"Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu
"My elder brother this bring" said. His elder brother's
'nipfuno anhyemogha kumtsü piyeke. "Hipau kuanike
wife things all showed. "This asking are
sha?" i pino anhyemogha kumtsü piyezhuke.
what?" this said having things all showed.
Kumtsü "Ti kumoi" pike. Tilehino pa'mu
All "This not" said. Then his elder brother's
'nipfuno 'melo ideveke "Hi kuanike sha?"
wife's mind turned "This asking are what?"
tipeno pa 'mo kukutsüke. "He ti
this said having her nakedness exposed. "This
kuanike" pike. Tilehino pa'chino pa
asking am" said. Then his sister-in-law her
'kimivilo ti pike "Nono o'tüküzü sasu
husband to this said "You your younger brother with
ani playe, ikuzho kumtsa amoi" pike.
are saying, we two together stop will not" said.

Tilehino pa 'nipfu 'tsa inpestüsü pa 'tüküzü
 Then his wife's words heeding his younger brother
sasü amoniye, pa 'tüküzuvilo ti pike "Noye
 with stop not to, his younger brother to this said "You
hupa 'tho itiani kya?" pike. Pa 'tüküzü
 that hill know what?" said. His younger brother
 ti pike "Hupauye kaghe i 'pu ikuzho aküghü
 this said "That once my father we two leaves
keghe 'la ke." Kuthoughi pa'muno atho
 cutting road was." Again his elder brother hill
laki kichenö "Noye hupau 'tho itiani ma?"
 one pointing out "You that hill know what?"
 pike "Hughi i 'pu ikuzho akikhi dauke
 said "That too my father we two tying bamboo cutting
 'la ke" ti pike. Atho kumtsü kiche piyeke.
 road was" this said. Hills all pointing out showed.
Kumtsü itiyeno atho lakiye mtake. **Tilehino**
 All known having hill one knew not. Then
pa'muno pa 'tüküzü **sasü** aghalo
 his elder brother his younger brother with jungle to
itsü wuke. **Pama** ala mtake lau **sasü**
 stooping went. The two road not known direction together
wuno, **pama** alhe **chuke**. **Pa'muno**
 gone having, the two cold food ate. His elder brother
 pa 'tüküzuvilo "Noye mtazü ana **chualo**"
 his younger brother to "You quickly rice eat"
 pike.
 said.

Pa 'tüküzuno pa 'muvido "Noye
 His younger brother his elder brother to "You
kushiye ana **chumono** ani kya? **Noghi**
 why rice eaten not having are what? You too
chulo ti pike. **Pa'muno** "Niye **chumoi**.
 eat" this said. His elder brother "I eat won't.
O **likino** **chulo** ti **peno** **kaäke**. **Pa**
 You only eat this said having wept. His
tüküzuno **pa'muvido** "Imu, **noye** **kushiye**
 younger brother his elder brother to "Brother, you why
kaäni **kya?**" ti pike. **Pa'muno** "Niye
 crying are what?" this said. His elder brother "I
kumo **shimomu** **kaänishiye** **kaänike**.
 nothing done not although cry to wishing crying am".
Ti **peno** **nguake**. **Tilehino** **pa'muno**
 This said having sat. Then his elder brother

aküzügha sowü **pa** 'tüküzü **kukhuveke.**
sleeping charm bringing his younger brother touched.

Pa 'tüküzü **tilehi** züawuveke. **Pa'muno**
His younger brother then sleep went. His elder brother
akhuku kügha **pesü** asü 'zunglo **paäveysüke.**
lice catching carrying tree fork in kept.

"I 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno i kuaye nono
"My younger brother sleep getting up me calling you
pa putsalo" **pike.** **Tipeno** woveke. **Pa**
him answer" said. This said having went. His
'tüküzuno zü ithougheno **pa'mu**
younger brother sleep getting up his elder brother
zhupahaveke. **Tilehino** **pa** 'zhta **pa** 'ngu kuchopu
saw was not. Then his dao his spear all
ikizhuke. **Pa** 'zhta 'laghi **pa'ngu** sü kumtsü
seized saw. His dao handle his spear shaft all
alhakuno chukhavetsüno azhta liki, angu 'loti liki
ants eaten all having dao only, spear head only
ikiluke. **Tilehino** **pa'mu** kuke "O
pick up was able. Then his elder brother called "O
i 'mu", ti **pike.** **Akhukuno** **pa** kwoke. **Timino**
my brother", this said. Lice him answered. Man
ti **pike** "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo" ti
this said "This my brother's voice not" this
pike. **Kuthoughi** **pa'mu** kuzhuke. **Akhukuno** **pa**
said. Again his brother called. Lice him
kwoke. "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo".
answered. "This my brother's voice not".

Tipeno **pa** liki aghasalo itsücheke.
This said having he alone jungle in hiding went.

Itsüwo angshu 'khatibo ituluke. **Timino**
Hiding going tigers fruit tree got. Man
angshu 'khatibolo ikuno, **akhati** **khochuake.**
tiger's fruit tree up ascended having, fruit plucking ate.
Tilehino angshuno azhta küghapfe angüsü kumüghü
Then tiger dao seizing spear decorated
pesüsü **pa** 'khatibolo egheke. **Timi** itulono
carrying his fruit tree to came. Man got having
angshuno atsa **pike** "Kuno i'khatibolo
tiger words spake "Who my fruit tree up
iku **akhati** **kho** chuan 'kya?" ti **pike.**
ascending fruit plucking eating is what?" this said.
Timino angshuvilo ti **pike** "Küthamino o'khati
Man tiger to this said "Others your fruit

kho **chuaghikegheunguno** **ino** **atsa** **peno**
 plucking eating because of I words spoken having
o'khati **khetsüanike** ". **Ti** **pike.** **Timino** **angshuvilo**
 your fruit guarding am." This said. Man tiger to
 " **O** **i'sü** **ino** **akhati** **kho** **khütsüniye**
 " O my grandfather I fruit plucking give to
o'ngu **ikipukutsülo** " **ti** **pike.** **Angshuno**
 your spear hand up " this said. Tiger
pa'ngu **ikipukutsüke.** **Timino** **angshuvilo** " **Ino** **akhati**
 his spear handed up. Man tiger to " I fruit
kho **pie** **o'bakhalo** **vesütsüni.** **O'bakha**
 plucking taking your open mouth in throw will. Your mouth
kizhie **mukulo.** **O'nhyeti** **imivelo** " **pike.** **Angshuno**
 big open. Your eyes close " said. Tiger
abakha **mukuno,** **anhyeti** **imiveke.** **Timino** **angu**
 mouth opened having, eyes closed. Man spear
süwo **pa** **cheke.** **Chezüveke.** **Tilehino** **angshuno**
 taking him pierced. Missed. Then tiger
timivilo " **Noye** **kiushiye** **angu** **süwo** **i** **chea'n**
 man to " You why spear taking me piercing are
kya ? " **ti** **pike.** **Timino** **ti** **pike** " **Isü**
 what ? " this said. Man this said " My grandfather's
angupa **muduli** " **ti** **pike.** " **Itaghe** **ina**
 spear slippery " this said. " Again I
khoakelo **akhati** **mushu** **laki** **anike.** **Ina** **anguno**
 plucking place at fruit small one is. I spear with
hekhütsüniye **angu** **ikipukulo** " **pike.** **Angshuno**
 hit to spear hand up " said. Tiger
pa'ngu **ikipukutsüke.** **Timino** **angshuvilo** **itaghe**
 his spear handed up. Man tiger to again
 " **O'bakha** **mukulo,** **o'nhyeti** **imivelo** " **ti** **pike.**
 " Your mouth open, your eyes close " this said.
Angshuno **abakha** **mukuno,** **anhyeti** **allope** **imimono**
 Tiger mouth opened having, eyes well closed not
ake. **Timino** **angshuvilo** " **O** **i'süye** **o'bakha**
 was. Man tiger to " O my grandfather your mouth
kizhie **muku** **mtano** **ani.** **Yale,** **Oh** **i**
 big open not knowing are. Booh, Oh my
'süye, **anhyeti** **imi** **mtano** **ani.** **Yale** "
 grandfather, eyes close not knowing are. Booh "
ti **pike.** **Tilehino** **angshuno** **pa'nhyeti** **allope**
 this said. Then tiger his eyes well
milveno **pa** **'bakha** **kizhie** **mukuke.** **Timino** **angu**
 closed having his mouth big opened. Man spear

süwo angshu 'bakhalo chesütsüke. Angshuye tive.
taking tiger's mouth in threw. Tiger died.

Timiye müsano asü kungu nguake. Timino
Man feared having tree above sat. Man

powuniye, angshu 'pi vilo illukighike. Timino
flee to, tiger's body in direction of fell. Man

angshu ti'mpi keghashi "O isü
tiger died not having thinking "O grandfather

ino kumol" ti pike. Angshuno tivekeke pa
I not" this said. Tiger died having him

putsamo.

answered not.

Tilehino angshu 'zhta angshu 'ngu süsü Kolaou
Then tiger's dao tiger's spear taking Kolaou's

naghami 'pfulo ipegheke.
men village to came out.

Azü kikilo timino angshu 'ngu süwo azükiki
Spring in man tiger's spear taking spring

shokhavetsüke. Pa 'naghamino azü phuniye
blocked up. His villagers water carry to

hughepuzuno, azü kikilo azü kahano anike.
gone down having, spring in water not was.

Panaghami aina wuno angu lhapeke.
His villagers all gone having spear drew out.

Lhapemla. Timino itsüake. Timino panaghamivilo
Draw out could not. Man watched. Man his villagers to

"Panaghami aina isü 'ngu
"His villagers all my grandfather's spear

lhapemlano ani. Yalo. Kolaouno ti pike
drawn out not having are. Booh. Kolaou this said

"Nono klu kuano o tsüni. Lhapevetsülo"
"You what asked having to you give will. Draw out"

ti pike. Tipeno kumtsü tipau phuzhuke.
this said. This said having all this attempted.

Itumla. Kuthoughi panaghami ainano angu lhapeke.
Couldn't. Again his villagers all spear drew out.

Lhapemla. Timino ti pike "Panaghami ainano
Draw out couldn't. Man this said "His villagers all

isü 'ngu lhapemla ani. Yale" ti
my grandfather's spear draw out can't are. Booh" this

pike. Tilehino akekaono "I'nu totimi kini
said. Then chief "My children women two

anike. Nono kiuklu lunishino lupenhye"
are. You whichever take wished having take please"

pike. **Tilehino** **timino** **egheno** **angu**
 said. Then man come having spear
lhapevetsüke.
 drew out.

Akekaono **amkü** **sheno** **pa'nu** **akucho**
 Chief plan made having his daughter real
'nhyemogha **kumtsü** **süwo** **pa 'kheu** **tsüno**
 clothes all taking his servant given to having
pa'nu **akuchoye** **anhyemogha** **pumono**
 his daughter real clothes worn not having
apeke. "Nono **kiukiu** **lunisheno,** **lulo**" **ti**
 was. "You whichever take wished having, take" this
pike. **Timino** "Niye **meghemi** **keke,** **i** **tolkeu**
 said. Mañ "I poor man am, me like which is
alhokesau **luni**" **peno** **akekao 'nu** **akucho**
 bad one take will" said having chief's daughter real
luveke. **Tilehino** "Tishiaye, **nono** **i'makeshiu**
 took. Then "Thus being, you my son-in-law
shiniake" **ti** **pike.**
 become will" this said.

Pa **'nipfuno** **akhwono** **pa** **kimivilo** **piveke.**
 His wife secretly her husband to said.
"Ipuno, **izano** **nono** **awo** **hekhilo** **playe**
"My father, **my mother** **you** **pig** **kill** **saying if**
awo **kumono,** **amini** **ke.** **Azhta** **kuthomo** **anike.**
 pig not, wild boar is. Daos many are.
Kizhezhe **akeuye** **lukeno,** **akitilau** **süwo**
 Big ones which are taken not having, little one taking
ghikhilo. **Atsü** **hekhilo** **playe** **ava** **ke.** **Azhta**
 kill. Dog kill saying bear is. Dao
akitilauno **ghikhilo.** **Awu** **hekhilo** **playe,**
 little with kill. Fowl kill saying,
aghacho **ke,** **asü** **kübanu** **chochileveno** **azhta**
 hornbill is, stick forked propped off having dao
akitilauno **ghikhivelo**" **pike.**
 small with kill" said.

Panguno **pavilo** **"Awo** **ghikhilo**" **pike.**
 His father-in-law him to "Pig kill" said.
"Azhta **hekumtsü** **akevi** **liki** **anike,** **kiukiu**
"Daos **all these** **good** **only** **are,** **whichever**
lunisheno **luno** **ghikhilo**" **pike.**
 take wished having taken having kill" said.
Panguno **azhta** **kizhie** **ikipfe** **pa 'makeshiu**
 His father-in-law dao big picking up his son-in-law to

tsüke "Heno ghikhilo " pike. Pa 'makeshiuno
gave "This with kill" said. His son-in-law
ti pike. "Niye azhtachi akitilau luni"
this said. "I small dao little one take will"

peno akitilau luke. Panguno awo ghikhilo
said having little one took. His father-in-law pig kill

playe ayikaduno amini lhakhaveno paghike.
saying iron bar with wild boar shut up having kept.

Timino azhtachi süwo ayikadu micheveno amini
Man little dao taking iron bar cut having wild boar

ghikhiveke. Panguno "Tino i'makeshiu
killed. His father-in-law "This my son-in-law

shikepfu " pike.
make is fit " said.

Tilehino avango aghachongo ishi kumtsü
Then bear and hornbill thus all

ghikhiveke. Tilehino pa 'nguno "Heno i'makeshiu
killed. Then his father-in-law "This my son-in-law

shikepfu " ti pike.
make fit to " this said.

Eno aghülo laki pa 'nguno aki shiake.
And day one his father-in-law house making was.

Pa 'makeshiuvilo "Noye asakililo aküghü anike,
His son-in-law to "You thicket in leaves are,

kitilamu sükhukeveno ghesüghelo " pike. "Eno
little although torn not having cut bring" said. "And

wochekeloye ami phono eghelo " pike.
going fire caused to smoke having come" said.

Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü ghepesüsü wogheno
His son-in-law leaves cutting bringing come having

akübala lono mikezhuke. Pa'nguno
below village from hid watched. His father-in-law

'ghamino kumtsüno angshu ilhono aki
villagers all tiger become having house

shiaghike. Ti ituluno aghau ide huno,
making were. This seen having jungle returning gone having.

ami pho piyeveno egheke. Kumtsü timi
fire cause to smoke shown having came. All men

ilhoveno muchomi lakino pa 'shomhi
become having old man one his tale

kusümlano aghike. Tilehino Kolaou
hid not having been able was. Then Kolaou's

'makeshiuno ituluveno nguake. Akekaono panaghami
son-in-law seen having sat. Chief his villager

amuchouvido ti pike. "Nono i 'makeshiu
 old man to this said. "You my son-in-law
 shiputha ani" tipino amuchou ghikhive
 shaming are" this said having old man killed
 pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü akhe laki
 said. His son-in-law leaves load one
 ghesüveke. Kolaouno pavilo "Aküghü khe kitila
 cutting brought. Kolaou him to "Leaves bundle small
 anike" ti pike. Pa 'nguno 'kilo pa
 is" this said. His father-in-law's house in his
 'makeshiuno aki molelo ikupüzu "Tishi
 son-in-law house top on climbed having "This
 playe, naghami akuchopu egheno aküghü lupelo"
 saying, villagers all come having leaves open"
 ti pipuzüno aküghü khe kokwotsüke. Pa
 this said having leaves load opened. His
 'naghamino lukhamoveke. Tilehino akekaono ti
 villagers take all could not. Then chief this
 pike "Heno i'makeshiu shikepfuke" pike.
 said "This my son-in-law make fit was" said.
 Tipathiuno apu azano angshu sheno
 This after father mother tigers become having
 timi tsüno aou akupu loti akukhuno
 man bitten having hands toes raw
 ghono pano nu tsücheke. Pa
 wrapped having their daughter gave kept on. Her
 'kimivilo pimono kusüwono chucheke. Aghülo
 husband to said not having hiding ate kept on. Day
 lakino pa 'makeshiuno pa 'nguno 'kilo
 one his son-in-law his father-in-law's house to
 izüwuke. Tilehighi timi aou 'loti akupu 'loti akkhuno
 travelled. Then too men's fingers toes raw
 ghono tsüphuwuke. Pa 'makeshiuvido
 wrapped having give carrying went. His son-in-law to
 ti pike. "Noye alalo hezhukeveno süwo
 this said. "You road by gazed on not having taking
 ni 'nga tsülo" pike. Pano alalono hezhuke,
 our daughter give to" said. He road from gazed on,
 timi 'ou 'lotingo 'kupu 'loti ishi aghike. Tilehino
 man's fingers and toes thus were. Then
 ituluno pa'nipfu tsüke. Pa'nipfuno timi
 seen having his wife gave to. His wife man's
 kupuloye timi 'ou 'loti ikipfe süsü "Ipuno
 toes man's fingers taking while "My father's

agholi ghumüghü, i 'zano 'gholi ghumüghü "
 gifts crunchable, my mother's gifts crunchable "
tishi tipeno chuake. Pakimino itiveno
 thus said having ate. Her husband known having
pa 'nipfuvalo ti pike "Angshu ilho i
 his wife to this said. "Tiger become having me
piyelo " ti pike. Pa 'nipfuno "Niye
 show to " this said. His wife "I
ilhomoi " pike. Kuthoughi pa 'kimino
 become will not " said. Again her husband
panipfuvalo "Angshu ilhono i piyelo "
 his wife to "Tiger become having me show to "
pike. Tilehino pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo "Tishiaye
 said. Then his wife her husband to "Thus being
shohusü küba ape laki, thumsü küba
 shohusü forked sticks load one, thumsü forked stick
laki ishi phueghelo " pike. Pa 'kimino pa'nipfu
 one thus carrying come " said. Her husband his wife's
'tsa inmono thumsü ape laki shohusü
 words heeded not having thumsü load one shohusü
küba laki ishi phuegheke. Pa 'nipfuno pa
 forked stick one thus carrying came. His wife her
'kimivilo ti pike. "Ino angshu ilhokeloye, noye
 husband to this said. "I tiger becoming, you
amkhalo ikhwono, ino ilhei küghaye noye
 ceiling to ascended having, I jumping catching you
asü küba süwo i chochilelo pike. "Eno
 stick forked taking me prop off said. "And
atükauye akuu paghe i'bakhalo vesütsülo,
 first ginger first my mouth in throw,
tipathiuno awuti süwo i 'bakhalo vesütsülo "
 thereafter small fowl taking my mouth in throw "
pike.
 said.

Pakimino	panipfu'tsa	inmono,
Her husband	his wife's words	heeded not having,
awuti	paghe	pa 'nipfu 'bakhalo vesütsüke.
small fowl	first	his wife's mouth in threw.
Akuuno	atükashi tsüke.	Awuti chupusü ashi
Ginger	after gave.	Small fowl eating flesh
chuni shiwuveno	pa 'kimi	tsüchuve pike.
eat wished having	her husband	bite ate said.

Tisheno	atotiu	pa	'pu	pa	'za	'kilo
Thus	woman	her	father	her	mother's	house to

wuve pike.
went said.

Long ago there were two brothers whose father and mother had died. The elder took unto himself a wife, and the younger remained unmarried in his brother's house. One day the two brothers were making a granary. The elder went to the younger and said, "Bring tying bamboo". Accordingly the younger went to his brother's wife and said, "My brother told me to bring this". His wife said, "What are you asking for?" "My elder brother told me to bring this" was the reply. The wife showed him all her goods, saying "Is it this that you want indeed?" To all "It is not" was the answer. Then the wife got angry, and said, "Is it this you want?" and exposed her nakedness. "That is what I am asking for" replied the younger. Thereupon his sister-in-law said to her husband, "If you and your brother live together, we two must separate."

Thereupon the elder heeded his wife's words and said to his brother, "Do you know that hill?" "That is the path by which our father and I used to go to cut jungle leaves" was the reply. Again the elder pointing out a hill said, "Do you know that hill?" "That too is the path by which my father and I used to cut bamboo for tying" was the reply. The elder brother pointed out all the hills, and there was one that the younger knew not. Then the elder went with his brother into the jungle and they together took the road that the younger knew not, and the two ate their cold meal. The elder said to his brother, "Eat up your rice quickly". The younger replied, "Why are you not eating yourself? You too eat your rice." The elder said, "I will not eat. You only eat" and saying this he wept. The younger said, "Brother, why are you weeping?" The elder replied, "Though I have done nothing, I am weeping for the sake of weeping" and saying this he remained sitting.

Then the elder took a charm to cause sleep and touched his brother, whereupon his brother fell asleep. Then the elder caught and brought lice, and put them in the fork of a tree and said, "Should my brother awake from slumber and call me, you are to answer". Whereupon he departed.

The younger awoke, and, behold, his brother was not. Then he took up and examined his dao and his spear, and the handle of his dao and the shaft of his spear had been all eaten by ants. Only the dao itself and the head of the spear was he able to lift up. Then he called "Oh, my brother", and the lice replied. And the man said, "That was not my brother's voice"; again he called, again the lice replied; and again he said, "That was not my brother's voice". Thus he spoke and went by stealth

through the jungle. And going he came upon a fruit tree belonging to a tiger. And the man climbed the fruit tree and plucked and ate the fruit. Then the tiger, seizing his dao and taking his spear, came to his fruit tree. The tiger saw the man and said, "Who has climbed my fruit tree and is plucking and eating my fruit?" The man replied, "Because others plucked and ate your fruit, I took counsel with myself and am guarding your fruit". And he said to the tiger, "Grandfather, I am plucking fruit to give to you. Go, take up your spear, and hand it up to me". Thus he spake, and the tiger handed him his spear. And the man said to the tiger, "I will throw into your mouth the fruit that I have plucked. Open widely your mouth. Close tightly your eyes". Thus he spoke and the tiger opened his mouth and shut his eyes. The man took the spear and hurled it. He missed. Then the tiger said, "Why did you take and hurl the spear at me?" The man said, "Grandfather, the spear was slippery"; and again, "From where I am plucking fruit, is one small fruit. That I may hit it with the spear, hand up the spear". The tiger handed up and gave him the spear. And again the man said, "Open your mouth and shut your eyes". Thus he spake, and the tiger opened his mouth but his eyes were not tightly closed. The man said to the tiger, "Grandfather, is it that you know not how to open wide your mouth? Booh! Is it that you know not how to close tight your eyes? Booh!" Then the tiger closed tightly his eyes, and opened widely his mouth. The man hurled the spear into the open mouth. The tiger died. The man through fear remained above in the tree. The man, while trying to escape, fell on the tiger. Thinking the tiger had not died, he cried, "Grandfather, it's not me". But the tiger was dead and answered not.

Then he took the tiger's dao and his spear and came to the village of Kolaou. At the spring the man took the tiger's spear and blocked up the spring. The villagers came to carry water, and, lo, the water in the spring was not.

Then all the villagers came and tried to pull out the spear. They failed. The man remained hiding. Then he said to the villagers, "All the villagers of my grandfather's village can't pull out his spear. Booh to you". Then in the presence of the villagers, the chief said, "Whatever you ask, that will I give. Pull it out". He spoke thus and all tried. They failed. Again all the villagers tried to pull it out. They failed. And the man said, "All the villagers cannot pull out my grandfather's spear. Booh to you". Then the chief said, "I have two daughters. Take the one whom you desire". After he had spoken the man came and pulled out the spear.

Now the chief planned and took all the clothes of his real child and gave them to his servant, and his real child remained without clothes and beads. The chief said, "Take whichever you desire"; and the man replied, "I am a poor man, and so will

take the one like me, the bad one". He spake and took the chief's true daughter. And when he did so the chief said, "If that is the case, you will become my son-in-law".

Now his wife said secretly to her husband, "If my father and mother tell you to kill a pig, it is no pig. It is a wild boar. There are many daos. Leave the ones that are big, take the smallest and kill it. If they tell you to kill a dog, it is a bear. Kill it with the small dao. If they tell you to kill a fowl, it is a hornbill. Ward it off with a forked stick, and kill it with the small dao". She spake thus.

The father-in-law said, "Kill a pig", and again, "Amongst all these daos there are good ones only. Take your choice and kill it". Then the father-in-law took a big dao and gave it to him, saying, "With this, kill it". But the son-in-law said, "I will take the little dao", and with these words he took the little dao. His father-in-law, although he said "Kill the pig", was keeping a wild boar shut up behind an iron bar. The man came and cut the iron bar with the small dao and killed the boar. His father-in-law said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

In the same way he killed the bear and the hornbill, and his father-in-law again said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

And one day his father-in-law was building a house. He said to his son-in-law, "Cut and bring leaves from the thicket of thorns without tearing them at all, and on your way back kindle a fire as a signal". His son-in-law went and cut the twigs and hid and watched from below the village. All his father-in-law's men had become tigers and were building the house. After he had seen this he went back to the jungle and lighted a fire as a signal and returned. All had become men again except one old man who was unable to hide his tail. Then Kolaou's son-in-law saw it and remained seated. The chief said to the villagers and to the old man, "You are shaming my son-in-law", and with these words he killed the old man, it is said. His son-in-law had brought a load of leaves. Kolaou said to him, "The bundle of leaves is small". His son-in-law thereupon climbed up to the top of his father-in-law's house and said, "If you say that, let all the villagers come and take away the leaves". He then opened the leaves but all the villagers could not remove them all. Then the chief said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

Thereafter his wife's father and mother when they had killed men while in tiger form used to send, wrapped up, raw toes and fingers to their daughter. His wife used to eat them secretly, without telling her husband. One day he went to his father-in-law's house and then, too, they gave him wrapped up human fingers and toes to take away. They told him not to look at them on the way, but to give them to their daughter. But he looked at them on the way and beheld toes and fingers

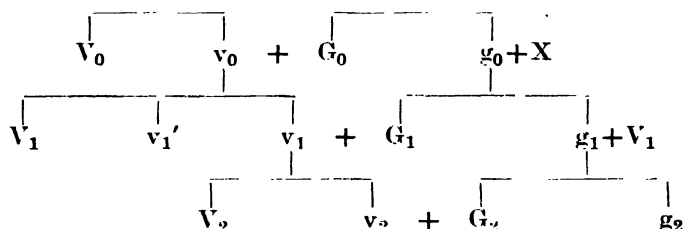
of men. Then he understood and gave them to his wife. While his wife was taking away the toes and fingers she said, "My father's gift is nice to crunch, my mother's gift is nice to crunch", and ate them. Her husband understood and said to his wife, "Show me how you turn into a tiger". His wife refused but he again asked her to turn into a tiger. His wife then said, "If that is the case, go and bring a load of *Shohusü* forked sticks, and one *Thumsü* forked stick". Her husband heeded not his wife's words and brought a load of *Thumsü* and only one *Shohusü* fork. His wife said to him, "When I become a tigress you get up into the ceiling, and when I jump and try to catch you, ward me off with the forked sticks and first of all throw ginger into my mouth, and thereafter throw a small chicken into my mouth". But her husband didn't heed his wife's words and threw the small chicken into her mouth first of all. As a result of eating the small chicken she wanted meat, and so killed and ate her husband, so it is said. After this the woman went back to her parents' house, it is said.



Śātakarṇi Succession and Marriage Rules.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In the latest edition of his work on early history of India, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has raised certain objections ¹ to my theory of Śātakarṇi succession and marriage rules.² The summary he has given of my arguments is however extremely inadequate, and in some places, wrong. I had argued from certain facts that there were two lines of kings, who followed matrilineal succession. Also, as the patrilineal *kula* was continued to be transmitted, in spite of matrilineal descent, some form of kin-marriage must have taken place. I postulated cross-cousin marriage, the simplest type of such a marital rule; and indicated a certain amount of evidence in support of this suggestion. I pointed out that the metronymics Vāsiṣṭhīputra and Gautamīputra alternated among the later Śātakarṇis and drew up a genealogical table indicating how matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage probably worked. It was of course schematic, and did not indicate certain complexities which are inevitable. Cross-cousin marriage may diagrammatically be represented as follows, using V, G as symbols of two matrilineal families, the capitals denoting men while minors stand for women:—



If v_1 marries G_1 , or g_1 marries V_1 , it will be cross-cousin marriage. If the families are of royal rulers and succession is matrilineal, V_0 will be succeeded by V_1 and then by V_2 . Similarly G_0 will be succeeded by G_1 , and then G_2 . If the two types of cross-

¹ *Political History of Ancient India*, by Hema Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, (4th edition), Calcutta, 1938, footnote pages 341-2.

² *Social Organization of the Śātakarṇis and Sungas*, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, 1927.

cousin marriage are both in operation $V_1, V_2 \dots$ will be sons of $G_0, G_1 \dots$ and $G_1, G_2 \dots$ will be sons of $V_0, V_1 \dots$ respectively. But it may happen that a particular heiress v_1 has no children or at least no daughter. Then the heiress will be v_1' or her daughter. The princess v_1' may have married in a different *kula* (of patrilineal descent) and the son will not be the offspring of G_1 . Again, there may be no nearly related heiress of the royal family of this gotra or mother's social group. In that case the succession may pass to another group of kin and a new metronymic may be introduced. Similarly, G_0 may not have a son and some other kinsman may marry g_1 . Or g_0 may not have a daughter; and a distant heiress may take her place.

My suggestions did not therefore go to the extent of stating that all the predecessors of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi or all his successors were of the same mother clan. I restricted my observation to the next two generations and postulated cross-cousin marriage to explain it. In actual fact, I pointed out a big break in the line of the rulers of the northerly realm, termed by me the Q kingdom, to avoid introducing implications of exact limits to it. It is therefore not correct on the part of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to say that according to my views the Matsya Purāṇa contained the full list of Gautamīputras and Vāsiṣṭhīputras, but the revised list in the Vāyu and Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇas contain only the names of the Gautamīputras. What I stated was that barring certain exceptions, explained separately, the revised list contained only names of kings of the ancestral R kingdom, among whom succession was matrilineal.

Again I made it clear in this connection that in matrilineal inheritance and succession, it is often permissible and usual for a father to hand over acquired property to a son. For a king, acquisition of property usually means conquest of a kingdom or obtaining it by political alliance. A king's son can therefore succeed to a conquered kingdom even among a matrilineal people. The stress laid by the Śātakarṇis on their patrilineal *kula* and its preservation shows that their social organisation, though based on mother-right, was mixed with father-right in certain respects. Such a mixed people generally result from the union of two sets of people, one observing father-right and the other, mother-right. The traditions of origin of the Śātakarṇis point to mixed descent.¹ There would be nothing surprising in the succession of a son to a kingdom (acquired kingdom) under

¹ According to the Kathāsaritsāgara, claiming to be based on the Bṛhat-kathā, the first Śātavāhana was born of a Yakṣa father and a woman who was the daughter of a Rṣi. See verse 88 ff. (edition of Durgāprasād, revised by Kāśināth Sarmā: Bombay Śaka 1811-1889 A.D.)

A different and later tradition makes him the son of a Nāga father and Brāhman mother. See Vikrama's Adventures (Vikrama Carita) edited by F. Edgerton, Oxford University Press, 1926, page 18, etc.

the circumstances noted, notwithstanding the rule of matrilineal succession. This last rule would however apply even in that acquired realm in the next generation, since the kingdom would then have become inherited property. Again, by cross-cousin marriage a son's son is the same as the sister's son of a sister's son; for the son marries the sister's daughter. The occurrence of succession of a grandson to the throne is therefore expected in such a social group and does not form an exception. These points have not been noted in the summary by my critic, and several of the objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri have been made overlooking these elucidations in my paper.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also objected in general—

- (a) that certain names of kings or connected facts which have been stated by me as recorded in the Purāṇas, in a certain way, are not so recorded in a few versions (out of a large number);
- (b) that the association which I have indicated between the use of metonymics and the regal title by kings, in their inscriptions and coins have some exceptions.

Before discussing the objections in detail, it is desirable to consider certain general principles with regard to treatment of data.

In any scientific experiment or observation, readings may be taken by different observers. These readings may be of different degrees of accuracy for various reasons. Further, in every observation certain corrections have to be applied. In general, the observers who take the same precautions with the same care will tend to arrive at closely agreeing results. Other observers may not however take equal precaution or apply necessary corrections. Their results will differ from those of the first group, and generally also among themselves. Again even among the careful observers, there will be a small number of readings distributed at some distance from the central or approximately central reading. So long as the range of deviation is not large compared to the total magnitude of the readings, the observations may be treated as accurate. It is not permissible however to consider together with such closely agreeing observations, records of other experimenters which diverge very widely, or disclose internal evidence of oversight of some important precaution or precautions. If it can be shown or presumed that some precaution or correction has been overlooked, such wide divergence may be held as not unexpected. Such data cannot however be compared with other data noted with care. If however it is held that it is not possible to ascertain in the case of any of the different sets of readings whether proper precautions were taken, the entire data should be rejected. A

set of readings cannot be termed unreliable and at the same time be used in opposition to reliable data.

These considerations are necessary, as the dynastic lists in the different Purāṇas with regard to the Śātakarnis vary a good deal, and introduce certain chronological difficulties. The different Purāṇas which furnish information with regard to this dynasty were carefully examined by Pargiter,¹ using a large number of manuscripts and editions. Pargiter examined twenty or more versions each of the Matsya, Bhāgavata, the Vāyu,² the Bombay edition of the Brahmāṇḍa which was based on several MSS., and twelve versions of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. All these seventy and more versions agree on certain points and disagree on other matters.

Thus, the Matsya MSS., except one, state that the total duration of the Andhras was 460 years. The Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, and Viṣṇu agree that it was 456 years. The discrepancy is negligible as being less than one per cent. The total of the reigns of all Andhra kings is therefore a point on which all the Purāṇas agree. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has stressed the solitary exception in a Matsya MSS., but such stress is not justified. He has also referred to a Vāyu passage that the Andhras ruled 300 years. But the passage does not occur in any version with reference to the Andhra kings considered here. It is used in connection with the rule of their servants (*teṣām bhr̥tyānvayā nṛpāḥ*) who were also Andhras or descendants (*vaṃśāḥ*) who were not a dynasty of paramount kings.³ The Matsya calls them Śrīpārvatīyāḥ Āndhrāḥ. The reference to years does not probably even mean 300 but is a misreading, as a comparison with the closely similar line in Matsya shows.

Next we may consider the number of kings said to have ruled in this dynasty. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata state that there were thirty kings. The Matsya notes that there were only 19 kings but the different versions name a number of kings varying from 20 to 30. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa name usually 18 or 17 kings.⁴ The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata name usually 24 and 23 kings. The actual distributions are as follows (excluding versions which have no lists):—

¹ The Purāṇa Text of the dynasties of the Kali age, by F. E. Pargiter, 1913.

² I have counted as separate versions only those MSS. which are said to note variants. They represent independent opinions or observers.

³ Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 45. The references will be shown hereafter merely as (P) and in the text.

⁴ It is printed on p. 36 that the Vāyu included kings 6-8 but the hyphen is a misprint for a comma, as the footnote No. 43, p. 39, shows. Another misprint is 20 for 30 in the group 15-20 in the statement of kings shown in Bhāgavata.

Purāṇa.			No. of Versions.	No. of kings. named.
Matsya	..	..	2	30
			1	29
			4	28
			7	27
			1	25
			1	24
			1	21
			1	20
Vāyu	..	..	7	18
			10	17
			2	16
			1	25
Viṣṇu	..	..	9	24
			1	23
			2	22
Bhāgavata	..	..	19	23
Brahmāṇḍa	..	..	....	17

The fact that the four Purāṇas in all their versions (practically) agree that there were thirty kings proves that there was a tradition of this number of kings. These four Purāṇas agree about the total regnal period of this set of 30 kings. The Matsya also agrees about the duration, thereby indirectly supporting the tradition of thirty kings. It supports it also directly by naming 30 kings in two versions. The wide variation in number and names in the other versions shows that these editors were of opinion that some of these thirty kings indicated by exclusion, each in his own edition, were not entitled to have their names preserved in the dynastic lists. The Matsya Purāṇas generally, notwithstanding the divergence in number named, have noted a tradition of only nineteen kings being entitled to have their names included in the list (of paramount rulers). The diminished number in some manuscripts of the Matsya indicates that an attempt was made to cut down the names to near about nineteen. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions agree very closely regarding the number and names of kings. The only MSS. which deviates sharply shows a hopeless confusion in the arrangement of names and may be rejected as representing records of an inaccurate and careless observer. Pargitor states that its diction is 'rather illiterate' (P. III). The only difference between the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions is with regard to king Cakora who is said to have ruled only six months. Two Vāyu MSS. include his name. Clearly there was doubt whether this short reign was of a kind to justify inclusion. There is therefore a close agreement between the tradition of 19 kings in the Matsya versions, and the 17 or 18 kings found in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa in their numerous versions.

The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* agree about 30 kings and their regnal period with the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, but include, in addition to the names in the two last-named records, six or seven other kings. Obviously the number of kings does not fit in with either of the two traditions preserved. But the different versions agree quite well. We may therefore conclude that there must have been a certain uniform failure to apply a correction or a uniform source of error in the case of these two *Purāṇas*.

From a study of the language, errors in spelling, and grammar of the different versions, Pargiter has concluded 'that the Sanskrit account as it stands in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Brahmāṇḍa* is a Sanskritized version of the older *Prakrit śloka*s' . . . but the main portions of the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* are held to 'consist almost entirely of a condensed redaction'. The *Viṣṇu* account is held to have been composed on the basis of the same sources as the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Brahmāṇḍa*. But 'the *Bhāgavata* account is evidently a later redaction', and was probably composed several centuries after the other accounts. There are indications that 'it must have been composed directly in Sanskrit' (APP., I, P). We know that the writers of the *Purāṇas* were definitely patrilineal, and they were looking for patrilineal genealogies. Let us imagine such editors of dynastic lists with the *Matsya*, and *Vāyu* or *Brahmāṇḍa* versions or the records which led to the drawing up of those editions before them. The *Matsya* version may be imagined to have been one with the full list of thirty names and the *Vāyu* the usual version with 18 names. In other words we consider our imaginary editor of *Viṣṇu* for example as examining the two distinct traditions of thirty kings and nineteen kings, with practically their full lists. He may try to supplement the list with references from literature and other tradition current in his time. If he finds that certain names not noted in the revised *Vāyu* list are of sons of kings shown in it, or of their father, he will conclude that they ought to come in, for he will be expecting them to occur there in patrilineal succession. Let us see how far we can explain the intermediate number of kings in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* on such a view.

The thirty kings in the order in which they are named generally, on the basis of the different versions, are as follows:—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Simuka. | 11. Skandāsvāti. |
| 2. Kṛṣṇa. | 12. Mṛgendra. |
| 3. Śrī Śātakarṇi. | 13. Kuntala. |
| 4. Pūrṇotsaṅga. | 14. Svātiv (= K)arṇa. |
| 5. Skandhastambhi. | 15. Pulomāvi. |
| 6. Śātakarṇi. | 16. Ariṣṭakarṇa. |
| 7. Lambodara. | 17. Hāla. |
| 8. Āpilaka. | 18. Mantalaka. |
| 9. Meghasvāti. | 19. Purīndrasena. |
| 10. Svāti. | 20. Sundara Śātakarṇi. |

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 21. Çakora. | 26. Śivaskandha. |
| 22. Śivasvāti. | 27. Yajñaśrī. |
| 23. Gautamīputra. | 28. Vijaya. |
| 24. Pulomā. | 29. Caṇḍaśrī. |
| 25. Śivaśrī. | 30. Pulomāvi. |

The Vāyu list of 18 names include kings 1-3, 6, 8, 15-23, and 27-30. The Brahmāṇḍa leaves out 21, which is excluded in 11 Vāyu MSS., while two other Vāyu MSS. exclude Āpilaka and one also No. 30, Pulomāvi. The Viṣṇu mentions 1-4, 6-9, 15-30 generally; but one MSS. leaves out 4, 6, another 21 and a third 28, 29. We may neglect these cases as minor accidental variations. The Bhāgavata names 1-4, 7-9 and 15-30 (wrongly printed as 15-20 in Pargiter's book). As it is a later redaction, clearly it is following the Viṣṇu or at least the original version on which the Viṣṇu was based.

A comparison of the Viṣṇu list with the Vāyu list shows that the former includes the following additional kings:—

4, 7, 9, 24, 25, 26.

As No. 4 was successor to No. 3 who was a son of No. 2, and the latter an agnatic kin of No. 1, the editor might include him, considering it possible to treat him as also an agnate. But this would not apply to No. 5 who was not succeeded or preceded by a king known definitely to be a son or brother of a king. Again Lambodara No. 7 is said to have been a son of Śātakarṇi No. 6, and Āpilaka No. 8, of Lambodara No. 7. The Viṣṇu editor may therefore have left out No. 5, considering that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are related or likely to be related according to his known ideas of patrilineal kinship and after them also 6, 7, 8. This would seem to justify our editor in such revision. Again, the king immediately after Āpilaka may justly be included, as he might be an agnatic kin after all, but other unrelated names further down will be considered doubtful. No other kings before 15 are noted as sons or brothers in any version. Since all our editor's predecessors including those with longer as well as shorter lists agree in naming kings 15-23, the Viṣṇu editor will accept these names. King No. 24 is however a famous king, and noted as a son of No. 23 in the longer list. So his name will be added; No. 26 is said to be a son of a king and will therefore be held as worthy of inclusion. But this cannot be done without including his father No. 25. The rest 27-30 are again given in all the earlier Purāṇas. We can therefore explain the addition of six kings to the Vāyu list on the view that our later Purāṇa editors had a patrilineal bias and were seeking to fit the lists into patrilineal succession. The Bhāgavata which follows the Viṣṇu revision has one obvious weakness. The king Lambodara is said to be the son of Śātakarṇi and not of Pūrṇotsaṅga. But the revision makes Lambodara son of Pūrṇotsaṅga as the

Bhāgavata leaves out Śātakarṇi altogether. But it adds tat-sutaḥ and similar phrases in a number of new cases not found in any of the other Purāṇas. Such an extension of patrilineal succession is logical to the Bhāgavata editor. For, if sons were following fathers as kings, there was no harm in mentioning this relationship even in cases where earlier versions did not mention it. Thus he adds tat-sutaḥ to the successor of Śivaskandha No. 26 and also to the next king Yajñaśrī, and his successor Vijaya, obtaining a patrilineal succession in this way for five generations. Similar additions are made for Pūrṇotsaṅga and also Hāla. None of the other Purāṇas support these relationships.

Although it is not possible to offer any direct proof of the reasons for the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions in the absence of any explanatory notes left by the editors of those versions, it can be shown that the Bhāgavata is wrong in its addition of the relationship clause in the solitary case where there is an inscription of such a king. It has also wrongly shown the relationship of Lambodara.

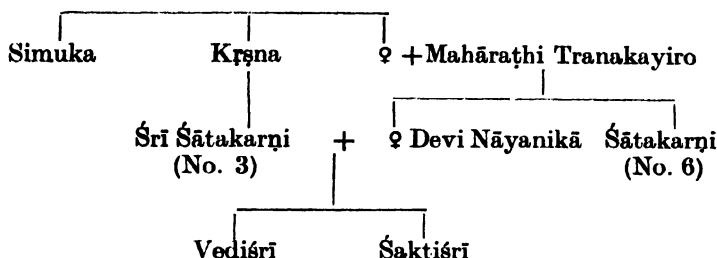
The Nanaghat cave inscription¹ of the lord of dakṣiṇāpatha identified with Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Purāṇas (No. 3) and *Siri Sātakani* of the legend under the reliefs in the same cave definitely stated that he (or his queen) had two sons Veditīrī and Śaktīrī. Śrī Śātakarṇi was already dead at the time; but there is no mention of any king Pūrṇotsaṅga among his sons, or in any inscription under any image. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that this difficulty is not serious as Pūrṇotsaṅga may have been a *biruda*. But a comparison of the names of kings in the Purāṇas and the inscriptions and coins does not permit this assumption. If we allow for changes due to conversion of a spelling in Prakrit to Sanskrit, the two sets of names agree extremely well. The deviations that occur are obvious misreadings and do not support a *biruda* hypothesis.

Name in Purāṇa (with recognisable variants).		Name in inscription or coin ² .	
Śiśuka	}	..	Simuka.
Sindhuka			
Kṛṣṇa	Kaṇha.
Śrī Śātakarṇi	Siri Sātakani.
Gautamīputra		..	Gotamīputa.
Pulomā	Puḷumāvi.
Yajñaśrī	Siri Yajña.
Śivaśrī	Siva Siri.
Caṇḍaśrī or Candraśrī	Siri Caṇḍa, or Siri Cada.

¹ *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, London, 1883, Chap. XII. The Nanaghat Inscriptions, by Prof. G. Bühler.

² Most of these will be found noted in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908. Detailed references will be found in my earlier paper. Rapson's work will be referred to as BMC in future.

Such a close agreement debars us from assuming that Pūrṇotsaṅga of the Purāṇas was really Vediśrī. As Bühler suggests, it is more probable that the two princes never came to the throne but died before succession. A reference to my table of cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession in my previous paper will show that this is expected from the Purāṇa list. I have shown in the list that the sister's son of Śātakarṇi No. 6 never came to the throne; but this king was succeeded by the next heir, the sister's daughter's son, who was also the son's son, Āpīlaka. But Śātakarṇi (No. 6) is shown in my table as sister's son of Simuka and Kṛṣṇa and therefore a cross-cousin, of No. 3 Śrī-Śātakarṇi, father of Vediśrī. The sister of No. 6 would therefore be wife of No. 3, Śrī Śātakarṇi, while No. 6 would marry the sister of No. 3 and have Lambodara as son.



Therefore the sons of No. 3 Śrī Śātakarṇi, i.e. Vediśrī and Śaktiśrī, would be the heirs of No. 6 Śātakarṇi. But I concluded from the relationship of the successor of No. 6 (Śātakarṇi) to the same king, that they had died before the end of his reign (which was very long) and hence been succeeded by the heir of next generation. The evidence of the inscription and of the Purāṇas therefore fit in and verify my genealogical and successional table unexpectedly.¹ The regency of queen Nāyanikā suggested by Bühler supports my hypothesis of matrilineal succession indirectly. Her son was going to rule over her kingdom, which had been managed, i.e. ruled by her brother according to the usual practice among mother-right people. This case is comparable to Gautamī Bālaśrī's mention of making gifts in her own royal right. It further proves my conclusion with regard to the Bhāgavata revision and addition of spurious kinship notes. It is established therefore, as far as historical facts can be established, that a new factor, i.e. bias towards patrilineal succession, in these records—satisfactorily explains the odd revision resulting in a total of kings definite in number but intermediate between

¹ Prof. Ray Chaudhury has for unknown reasons held that Śrī Śātakarṇi and Devi Nāyanikā were not cross-cousins. I have discussed this point later. The genealogy postulated here by me is subject to the limitations regarding cross-cousins previously noted.

19 and 30. We may therefore consider the curious Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions as satisfactorily accounted for. Also, the kinship between one king and another as noted in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata cannot be accepted unless at least some reliable version of Matsya, Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa corroborates it.¹ We may now proceed with the hypothesis, which satisfactorily fits into the traditions of all the Purāṇas, that there were 30 kings who ruled for 456-60 years; but that only 19 were entitled to have their names shown in the list of paramount kings.

In my previous paper I have discussed this point and considered thereafter the reasons for inclusion or exclusion of names of kings in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. The Andhra list, like that of the Śuṅgas and the Mauryas is of a sovereign power, acknowledged to be such in their time. The evidence that such supreme position was the reason for inclusion of particular dynasties in separate lists in succession to one another, was noted. A single great king in a dynasty, followed by failure to maintain the supremacy later on, against the challenge of a rival dynasty did not entitle a line of kings to a separate place in such order. Such dynasties which gave an occasional great king are generally shown in the Purāṇas together with their rivals as contemporary rulers. Such an era, when no single dynasty could claim continued supremacy, occurred after the fall of the Śātakarni emperors and is so indicated in the Purāṇas.

According to the statement, which occurs in the Purāṇas along with certain lists of sovereign powers that 'in this connection, the genealogical verse was sung by ancient Brahmanas',² it follows that the thirty Andhra kings were held to be related, as well as bound by succession. As pointed out here and in my earlier paper, the principal dynastic lists appear to have been drawn up showing the genealogy as well as succession of sovereign kings. The kings retained in the revised list therefore fitted into the genealogy as well as succession, while those excluded must have failed to satisfy at least one of these conditions. As the versions at first included all the kings (to get the total of 30), it is probable that the genealogical connection was present. But the exclusion shows that the other factor, succession, was probably absent. Since genealogy to the Purāṇa writers implied patrilineal descent, it suggests that the succession did not agree with such descent. In other words it was probably matrilineal. I have discussed this point in detail in my earlier paper which may be consulted in this connection.

¹ The different Matsya versions disagree among themselves too greatly to permit of any attempt at finding out the possible reason for error. Even the 7 versions with 27 names disagree among themselves. The different MSS. between them exclude Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7-13, 15, 18-25 and 29. We can only conclude that different editors proceeded on different principles and none hit on the right explanation.

² Pargiter, *ibid.*, Text pages 8, 12 and also 66 and 67.

Let us examine the lists to see what kings actually have their kinship stated with regard to other kings in the earlier reliable versions, and how they fare under the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa revision. I have already noted reasons for not considering kinship statements (of patrilineal descent) in the Bhāgavata when not corroborated by the earlier versions. I shall therefore treat as later and unsupported the addition of kinship relations in the cases of Pūrṇotsaṅga (No. 4), Mantalaka (No. 18), Yajñaśrī (No. 27), and Vijaya (No. 28). The Bhāgavata makes No. 3, No. 17, No. 26 and No. 27, the respective fathers of these kings. At least three of them, Nos. 3, 17 and 27, were famous rulers, known as great kings; and if any of them had really been succeeded by sons or if Yajñaśrī had succeeded his father that fact would have been recorded in the earlier versions which were composed within two centuries of Śātakarṇi rule and one of which was probably composed in Yajñaśrī's time. This is not however the case. As noted before, the Bhāgavata was composed much later; and it has carried forward the extension of patrilineal succession under a bias in its version.

The instances of kinship, noted in the earlier versions, or corroborated by two Purāṇas are as follows:—

Serial No.	Name.	Kinship.	To king.	No.
2	Kṛṣṇa ..	Brother	Simuka ..	1
3	Śrī Śātakarṇi ..	Son	Kṛṣṇa ..	2
7	Lambodara ..	Son	Śātakarṇi ..	6
8	Āpilaka ..	Son	Lambodara ..	7
24	Pulomā ..	Son	Gautamīputra	23
26	Śivaskandha ..	Son	Śivaśrī ..	25
29	Caṇḍaśrī ..	Son	Vijaya ..	28

The line which refers to No. 26 as the son of No. 25 is not found in a large number of Matsya MSS. in that form.

The succession of Kṛṣṇa to Simuka is not debarred on patrilineal succession but fits in equally well or better in matrilineal succession. Śrī Śātakarṇi was a great king who carved out a kingdom for himself and performed the aśvamedha ceremony. He was therefore entitled to mention in the Purāṇa lists as he was a paramount ruler and also genealogically connected to his predecessor. He is however merely mentioned as a great king, and no regnal period is given in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, although this is clearly stated in the Matsya. This may be held as partial exclusion.

The king Lambodara is not shown in the revised list. Āpilaka as the son's son of Śātakarṇi is entitled to rule over the ancestral kingdom as already explained in the preliminary note on cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession. Agreeable to this fact, we find that his name is not excluded in the revised version.

Pulomā was a great king and son of Gautamīputra who was even better known. But he is nevertheless excluded from the revised list.

So far the exclusions and inclusions of kings related as sons fit in excellently with matrilineal succession and do not agree with patrilineal succession. After the successor of Pulomāvi, i.e. after Śivaśrī, the son of the latter succeeded according to the *Matsya* versions; this is followed by *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu*. The revised version excludes both, thereby confirming that Śivaskandha did not succeed to the later Q kingdom. I have pointed out that regular succession of a son of a king of one kingdom to the throne of the other kingdom depends on cross-cousin marriage. The exclusion of No. 26 from the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists therefore suggests that Śivaśrī did not marry his cross-cousin, the heiress of the older kingdom. If we can show that this probably occurred, then the apparent exception would turn out to be an additional support of my hypothesis. We know from inscriptions¹ that a daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa Ru, probably Rudradāman, was the queen (devī) of a Yāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi; and that Rudradāman has referred to a Śātakarṇi, lord of dakṣiṇāpatha, who cannot be other than Pulumāvi, referring to non-remoteness of his relationship with him. The expression used by the Mahākṣatrapa shows that the lord of dakṣiṇāpatha was not his son-in-law. Further, Pulumāvi has styled himself as Siri Pulumāvi and never as Śātakarṇi in any of his coins or inscriptions. It is not reasonable to think that his queen of all persons should name him wrongly, although Rudradāman might refer to him as Śātakarṇi on account of his dynastic name. The probability is that the Śaka princess was married to his heir apparent Śivaśrī who is styled in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi, a designation supported by coins. The Nanaghat cistern inscription may also refer to him. The use of the term *chatarpana* would suggest that he was under Śaka influence. The son of this Śaka queen of Śivaśrī would not in any case succeed to the R kingdom as I have termed the ancestral kingdom of Gautamīputra. We do not know where he ruled, as there are no coins or undoubted inscriptions. The Śātakarṇis would not support him against a rightful heir. The powerful Śaka Mahākṣatrapas may however have put him on the throne of the Q kingdom as I have styled the other realm, where he is said to have ruled a year, or if the emendation of Pargiter is accepted, three years. Normally, according to my simplified diagram of cross-cousin marriage, Vijaya would be the son of Pulumāvi or classed as such, and Caṇḍaśrī would come into the class of Pulumāvi's patrilineal grandson. He ought to

¹ *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V. See also *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X. Luder's list of Brahmi inscriptions : No. 994. This list will in future be referred to as L only, in the text.

succeed to the Q realm, after Śivaśrī No. 25, who would stand to him in the relation of a mother's brother (actual or classificatory near kin). But if the son of Śivaśrī, backed by his Śaka relations, occupied these dominions, Caṇḍaśrī might lose his ancestral (maternal) throne. As this Vāsiṣṭhīputra was the heir of Śivaśrī, his rule would fall within the long reign of Yajñaśrī. This king, Yajñaśrī apparently, reconquered from Śakas, Aparānta and adjacent areas. He ruled also in Andhradeśa. Caṇḍaśrī must therefore have lost his ancestral throne, but the dominions were reconquered as they are found ruled over by Yajñaśrī. The short reigns of Śivaskandha (1 or 3 years) and Caṇḍaśrī (2 years) agree with their rule in very difficult circumstances and fit in with this view. In my earlier paper I was not able to explain why the revised versions did not exclude the name of the king Caṇḍaśrī from their list. I fell into the error of ascribing it to oversight on the part of the editors. But the close agreement of the revised versions precludes such an explanation. A detailed examination of the coins of this king in addition to the data of the Purāṇas however throws some light on this matter. The coins of the king Gautamīputra, and those of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Caṇḍa of fabric A resemble closely in type. The coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra,¹ all bear on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, having in some cases a pellet within each or a crescent above the *Caitya*, and a waved line below it all. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent (BMC 253-258). The coins of Pulumāvi in the Andhra deśa show on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, with a waved line below; and on the reverse, the Ujjain symbol (BMC 88, 89). The coins of Śivaśrī have also these types and symbols on the obverse and reverse as noted (BMC 115-116). This is also the case with the coins of Śrī-Caṇḍa (BMC 117-24) which bear the metronymic. The coins are all of lead, similarly shaped and of the same (A) fabric. Rapson concluded that the close similarity in the coins pointed to close succession of the three last-named kings. As however the Purāṇas put the third of them, Caṇḍaśrī after Yajñaśrī and Vijaya, while Śivaśrī came after Pulumāvi he was faced with a difficulty. It is obvious that this discrepancy disappears on my hypothesis, and the coins uphold my view that all the three Vāsiṣṭhīputras followed each other on the same throne. The close relationship in rule between Gautamīputra and Pulumāvi is revealed in the coin symbol of the former. The successor of Gautamīputra, the powerful king Yajñaśrī, had the earlier part of his rule in the ancestral R kingdom concurrent (according to the chronology based on my hypothesis) with

¹ The comparison is legitimate as the types mentioned are of Gautamīputra and not of Nahapāna.

Pulumāvi's rule in the Q kingdom, while the middle of Yajñaśrī's reign was covered by the rules of Śivaśrī, Caṇḍaśrī, and Śivaskandha in the same Q realm. Some of the coins of Yajñaśrī, of fabric A, made of lead, have the same symbols as those just described (BMC 135-38). There are other coins with different symbols. One variant has a *Caitya* of six arches with a crescent above it and a waved line below. The reverse is as in the other coins previously described (BMC 139-145). Rapson has concluded from a study of these coins that they are of later date than the first type. There is another class of coins of Yajñaśrī, of a different fabric termed B by Rapson, and these have the elephant symbol (BMC 164). Rapson considers that they belong to 'the latter part of the reign of Śrī Yajña' (BMC lxxiv). Again Yajñaśrī had issued coins of Fabric B, with the symbol of a horse standing, on the obverse, and the usual Ujjain symbol on the reverse (BMC 148-63). There are coins of Caṇḍaśrī with the legend Raño Siri-Caḍa-Sātisa, without the metronymic but with the regal title (BMC 125-131). They have the symbol 'horse standing r, in front of an altar', on the obverse. The reverse shows the usual Ujjain symbol of this group of kings. These coins of Caṇḍaśrī or Śrī Candra show that he ruled in the latter part of or even after the reign of Yajñaśrī. Now the Purāṇas agree in all their versions that Caṇḍaśrī ruled in the old ancestral kingdom after Vijaya. Again, according to my hypothesis, based on data of the Purāṇas, this king should come after Śivaśrī in the Q kingdom. Also if any coins were issued by him when ruling over this Q kingdom which was his by inheritance they should bear the metronymic and regal title together. The earlier coins of Caṇḍaśrī, with the legend Vāsisthiputra and *raño*, strongly support by their fabric, symbol, and execution the view of his succession to this kingdom after Śivaśrī. Hence this part of my hypothesis regarding Caṇḍaśrī may be said to be proved. But it is necessary to explain the issue of the other coins and the evidence of the Purāṇas about succession to the R kingdom. The old ancestral kingdom could not come to Caṇḍaśrī through his mother. If it came to him as stated in the revised versions, it must have come from his father Vijaya or by conquest. In such a case we cannot expect to find his mother's name on his coins with the regal title. These coins of later times in fact do not show the metronymic. They support the view that this king ruled twice, once in matrilineal succession in the Q kingdom, and again much later on, in the father's ancestral (matrilineal in the case of the father) kingdom. There is one bit of evidence in the Purāṇas which support such a view and therefore the evidence of the coins. The king Caṇḍaśrī is said to have ruled *ten years* in the Matsya Purāṇa but only three years in the revised version. In other words his rule over the ancestral kingdom of Yajñaśrī was only three years. Hence he must have ruled for seven years elsewhere as a paramount king.

We know from the coins that he ruled in the Q kingdom after Śivaśrī. This rule of seven years was therefore in the Q kingdom. The objection that there are other instances of discrepancies of regnal periods in the two versions is not valid. Most of them are obvious misreadings, as for example *saumyo bhaviṣyati* for *so'pyekaviṃśati*, (P. 41) 'smād daśa for *aṣṭādaśa* (P. 39) and *ekonaviṃśati* for *ekonatriṃśati*. The remaining discrepancies are only two and cannot be explained in this way. They represent genuine difference of opinion about the regnal period. None of them however occur in the case of a king succeeding patrilineally, i.e. anomalously like Caṇḍaśrī.

This discussion of the succession of Caṇḍaśrī has brought out one point which in a sense weakens my hypothesis, but is really not inconsistent with it. The traditional origin of the Sātavāhanas shows that they were of mixed origin. One element was definitely patrilineal, as the stress on the *Kula* indicates. The matrilineal inheritance is therefore to be ascribed to the other element, which apparently held the dominant position, in as much as it was able to impose its institutions on the patrilineal group. Once the practices were accepted, vested interests would continue them. But the patrilineal traditions were not abandoned; on the contrary, they were sought to be maintained (as indicated) even in the midst of matrilineal customs. Hence we may safely assume that in the original home land of the patrilineal group, they did not observe matrilineal practices. If any coins or inscriptions are found of these people in that area, we should expect to find the regal title without the metronymic. Again if the factors and circumstances which supported the dominance of the matrilineal element, and thus brought about the matrilineal succession to kingdoms, disappeared, or greatly changed, the submerged patrilineal customs might come to the top and replace them. I would suggest that this, in fact, is what occurred in the case of Caṇḍaśrī. As soon as the empire with the dual kingdoms was broken up, and matrilineal succession rendered inoperative, the alternative practice of patrilineal succession took its place. The successors of Caṇḍaśrī may on this view be expected not to use the metronymic in association with the regal title, either in their coins or in their inscriptions. The Purāṇas mention only one king, Pulomāvi after Caṇḍaśrī, in the imperial line. But there were other Andhras who continued to rule in outlying areas. We are acquainted with the names of kings Śrī-Rudra (BMC 179), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa II (BMC 180), Śrī Śātakarṇi (171-4), and others from coins found in the Chanda district. The types of the entire series are almost identical, and the metals used are the same. All the coins show on the obverse an elephant with trunk upraised, standing r, and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with a surrounding

circle. Two kings—Pulumāvi (BMC Nos. 90–93) and Śrī-Yajña (BMC Nos. 165–70)—have also a crescent surmounting this symbol. None of these kings use the metronymic. It may be that the home land of the patrilineal element was in the neighbourhood where these kings ruled. Two widely separated areas have been suggested as the original home of the Śātavāhanas.¹ Both views may be reconciled if the two areas are held to be the homes of the two distinct elements which merged to form the mixed group.

I may note here an objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri regarding the revised list of 18 kings. He states that since three Matsya MSS. leave out actually the great Gautamīputra (No. 23) in their revised list, the hypothesis of revision put forward by me is contradicted. It has been pointed out by me in a footnote on p. 326 that the Matsya MSS. exclude among themselves 20 kings. Three editions exclude 2, 5, 15; four MSS. exclude 5, 15; one 9, 20, 22; another, 2, 5, 20; a third 2, 5, 20, 23, 24; a fourth 24, 25, 29; a fifth 5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 29; a sixth 5, 9–11, 20–23 and 29; a seventh 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20–24; an eighth 1, 2, 5; and a ninth, 20. Such a remarkable variability in the number as well as names excluded point clearly to the fact that the observations were extremely inaccurate. The editors were clearly fumbling in the dark, and proceeding on different principles in a haphazard manner. Even the three versions which exclude No. 23, Gautamīputra, show totals of 25, 21, and 20 names, and do not agree also in excluding five common names among themselves. The value of the lists in such versions is therefore nil so far as the factor involved, i.e. revision is concerned. The exclusion of the name of Gautamīputra in these three Matsya MSS. cannot be seriously considered as evidence against numerous and closely agreeing versions of the Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa or the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. The fundamental canons for discrimination of statistical data do not permit of such use of these three Matsya versions.

Before passing on to other objections, it is necessary to dispose of an alternative hypothesis put forward by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to explain the discrepancies in the dynastic lists. He has stated that the evidence of inscriptions and references in literature point to the existence of lines of subordinate Śātakarṇi kings in Kuntala, and three of the names of kings in the Purāṇa list, according to him, are found to be associated with Kuntala. Therefore, he states, it is 'fair to conclude that the Matsya MSS. which mention 30 Śātavāhana kings include not only the main group of kings but also the Kuntala kings'. In support of his hypothesis, he refers to the following pieces of evidence:—

¹ For a discussion of the different views, see Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's book on Political History of Ancient India, pp. 342-3, referred to before.

(a) The inscriptions of the Banavāsi Śātakarṇis which consist of two inscriptions of Haritī-putra Viṣṇukaḍa-*cuṭu*-Kulā-nanda Śātakarṇi and his daughter. (L. 1186), (L. 1195).

A prince Skanda-nāga Śātaka mentioned in one of these inscriptions is identified with Skandsvāti of the Purāṇas. No reasons are ascribed by Prof. Ray Chaudhury for this identification beyond the resemblance in name. There is no evidence that Skandanāga Śātaka ever even came to the throne. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri himself has (rightly) rejected Rapson's identification of this prince with the Haritiputra Śivaskandavarman referred to in the Malavalli pillar inscription of the Kadamba king who succeeded the *Cuṭu Kula Śātakarṇis*. Again the Śātakarṇis of the Purāṇas, so far as we know, were Śātavāhanas. This prince was not stated to be of that *Kula*. The identification is therefore not based on facts. If such identifications on mere resemblance of names were permissible the Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi of the coins (BMC No. 180) obviously of later date would have to be identified with the king of this name, the brother of Simuka; and the Purāṇas condemned for placing his name so early. Fortunately the inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa Śātavāhana at Kanheri (L. 1144) has prevented such a conclusion. It is true Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has supported a similar view of alleged misplacement of names in the dynastic lists, relying on Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit's identification of a copper coin found recently, as that of Āpilaka.¹ But, the metal, shape, stamping as well as inscription of the coin all disagree with known coins of Śātakarṇis in the area where it was found and the identification is not justified. The coin is of copper, round in shape, and shows an elephant standing right on the obverse, with the inscription Rāno Sivasirisāpilakasa. The reverse is blank. As Mr. Dikshit himself states, the only copper coins of the Andhras are the square coins found in Western India (BMC 7, 8, 87). They are inscribed on both sides. The only round copper coins apparently of this period are of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka (BMC 237-42). But they also are found in Western India; nor are they stamped on one face only. Mr. Dikshit tries to get over these difficulties by stating that 'Āpilaka must have followed some local prototype'. No such local prototype is known or indicated by Mr. Dikshit.

Mr. Dikshit has laid great stress on the elephant symbol on the coin. But this type of symbol is found also on certain copper coins of Jaydāman, son of Caṣṭana (BMC 269), and also in the potin coins of Śāka era 131 (= 209 A.C.), probably issued by Mahākṣatrapa Rudra Simha, and also a later king (BMC 374-6 and 402-18). It may be conceded that there are additional symbols in the last-mentioned group of coins. This

¹ *A New Andhra Coin*, by K. N. Dikshit. *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. III, 1937, issued October, 1938.

however agrees with their later date. Let us now examine the legend. The coins of Andhra kings always have the regal title spelt *raño*, but here it is spelt *rāno*. Again the name of a king never has the form 'Sirisa' before it, in the Andhra coins. It is always in the form *Siri-Yaśa*, *Siri-Cada*, and so forth.

The entire evidence furnished by the coin is therefore definitely against its identification as of Āpilaka of the Andhra dynasty of the Purāṇas. Its obvious later date, therefore, does not on that account require any revision in the list of Andhra kings in the Purāṇas.

(b) Kuntala Śātakarṇi is stated by the commentator of the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana to have been so named from his birth in Kuntala country.¹ Apart from the possibility that the explanation may have been a speculative guess on the part of the commentator who wrote several centuries later, does it prove that this king was of 'the Kuntala lines'? If we accept the derivation as correct we can logically infer only that his mother was in the Kuntala country when the prince was born. We can further conjecture that the Kuntala country probably formed part of the domains of his father, or mother's father, or mother's brother, or some such close relation. We know from one of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra (L. 1125) that Kuntala or strictly speaking Banavāsi was included in his dominions and administered by a royal officer. I may note that according to my hypothesis, Kuntala ruled over the Q kingdom. Hence his father should be a king or prince of the older kingdom which in later times was ruled over by the Gautamīputra and his successors. Kuntala could therefore have been born in the place after which he is said to be named. This bit of evidence of a Kuntala line brought out by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not therefore support his hypothesis at all, but fits in easily with my views.

(c) Hāla is associated with Kuntala in a verse quoted from the introduction to Gathāsapta-Śatī. But if Hāla were a king of the subsidiary Kuntala line postulated by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri, his name should be excluded from the final revised list. But none of the Purāṇas except one MSS. exclude his name. The solitary exception is one Vāyu manuscript (the 'e' Vāyu) which begins the dynastic list with 11, 18, 21, comes back to 12-15, adds a Śātakarṇi here and then goes on to 25-30. Finally it records 1-4 and 6-10. The extraordinary confusion in the order of names and the total which is neither thirty nor near nineteen shows this version to be untrustworthy. It is on this solitary version that Prof. Ray Chaudhuri relies for support of his theory ignoring the unanimous inclusion of Hāla's name in all other versions and Purāṇas.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's inference that the Matsya versions include in their list the Kuntala (more appropriately Banavāsi)

¹ Kāmasūtra: Note on II-7-28 (Benares, Chowkhamba Series, 1912).

Śātakarṇi is therefore untenable. A far more important point to be noted in this connection is that the Kuntala hypothesis would place the excluded kings in succession to the included line as Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not agree with the view of two kingdoms with matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage. The impossibility of conjoint rule of father and son combined with patrilineal succession has already been pointed out in my previous paper. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's view would therefore make the arrangement of the Andhras in the dynastic list wholly wrong except perhaps in a few cases. But if in such an important matter as the arrangement of successions, over seventy out of seventy-five versions of Purāṇas are unreliable, how can we trust the lists with regard to any order at all? So far as inscriptions show, the order of kings is not wrong in the Purāṇas. Is it then permissible to characterize the Purāṇas wrong to support a theory which is not supported by facts and which does not fit in with the traditional data? Prof. Ray Chaudhuri may reply as he has done in another connection that the Purāṇas are not always right and they state Kṛṣṇa (No. 2) to be the father of (No. 3) Śrī Śātakarṇi, but this he considers erroneous in view of the records in the Nanaghat cave (p. 7 of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's book referred to before). An examination of the Nanaghat cave inscription however does not reveal a single line stating Śrī Śātakarṇi to be the son of Simuka. There are a number of relieves which have been broken and have practically disappeared. Under some of these there are inscriptions. One is said to be of '*Rāya Simuka Sātavāhana Sirimāto*' and another of '*Devi Nāyanikāya Rano Cha Siri Sātakanino*'.

It is an inference of Bühler and others that Simuka was father of the Śrī Śātakarṇi of this inscription. I have suggested that Śrī Śātakarṇi carved out a kingdom for himself and founded a new line. It may be that his father's brother Simuka had no son and placed his nephew in charge of his distant and conquered dominions as a ruler owing to his military talents. (The Purāṇas mention that Simuka was helped by his kinsfolk.) It was not in the line of succession to the ancestral kingdom. This went in fact to Kṛṣṇa the brother of Simuka and then to the matrilineal heir. A record of combined genealogical and royal succession may therefore validly leave out Kṛṣṇa's name in the case of Śrī Śātakarṇi. The inferences of Bühler and others would have been justified only for a patrilineal people recording patrilineal succession.

(d) There is a reference to a king Sātavāhana of Kuntala in the Kāvya Mimāṃsā.¹ It does not prove that the king

¹ Kāvya-mimāṃsā of Rājasekhara: Gaekwad's Oriental Series: Baroda 1934: pp. 50 and 55. The notes in pages 197 and 205 quote other verses referring to Sātavāhanas, including Hāla. The date of Kāvya-mimāṃsā is said to lie between the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

ruled only over Kuntala but that it was his headquarter, for there are other kings referred to in this work, similarly mentioning only the well-known parts of their dominions. Also, it throws no light on any identification of the kings named in the Purāṇas. Kuntala, as stated, was in the Śātavāhana dominion. It is also not impossible that it may have formed the stronghold of the Śātakarṇis and an important province of the ancestral kingdom, since some Śātakarṇi kings kept hold over it even after the overthrow of the paramount Andhra kings. A reference to my earlier paper will show that my views lead to a chronology according to which the king Hāla ruled in the ancestral kingdom about 77 A.C., when the Śaka Kṣatrapas were overthrowing Śātakarṇi rule in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has suggested that the reference to king Śātavāhana in Kuntala may be to Hāla. Such an identification does not go against my hypothesis. When the imperial domains of the Śātakarṇis had shrunk for the time being, the reference to the stronghold or headquarters would become apposite. The tradition of that time may have been preserved in later records.

I may now consider the other objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to my views.

I have stated in the earlier paper that in the inscriptions of the Śātakarṇi kings, the regal title and the metronymic occurs and disappears together, except among the earlier kings who founded the kingdoms and did not inherit them through the mothers. Prof. Ray Chudhuri refers to the Myakdoni inscription¹ and states that it furnishes an exception. He has overlooked the fact that the inscription is not by any royal ruler, nor any royal officer. It is by a villager who himself does not use any metronymic. Further the regal title is not here used in relation to the king as in other cases. If the inscription had run as *raño Puḷumāvisa* 'of King Pulumāvi' it might have been called an exception to the usual practice, though it would not have gone against my hypothesis for the reasons stated. Actually it runs *Raño Śātavahananam S(i) ri Pulum(ā)visa sava 8*, etc. 'In the eighth year of Siri Puḷumāvi king of the Śātavāhanas'. The term *raño* is here used, not as a form of royal address but as a descriptive word. Hence his objection is not valid.

With regard to coins the exceptions are Śrī Śātakarṇi who built up his own title to royal dignity and did not inherit his kingdom from the mother; Caṇḍaśrī (No. 29); and certain later kings. I have already disposed of these objections.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also stated that my hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage is disproved by the known fact that:—

- (a) Śrī Śātakarṇi's wife was Devi Nāyanikā.
- (b) A Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi married a Śaka princess.

¹ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XIV.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has not given any proof that Devi Nāyanikā was not a cross-cousin of her husband. All that we know is that her father was a Mahārāṭhi, of Aṃgiya Kula. The husband of Nāyanikā did not inherit his kingdom through his mother, nor was he managing it on behalf of his wife. Hence no metronymic could be mentioned when the husband's name of his queen was recorded. Earlier in this note I have stated that very probably her father married the sister of Śātakarṇi's father. There is absolutely no evidence proving that this was not the case. As regards the marriage of a king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi to a Śaka princess, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has failed to realize that marriage to a cross-cousin does not exclude marriages for political or other purposes with princesses of other realms. As I have pointed out matrilineal succession cannot be combined with continuity of patrilineal *kula* unless there is cross-cousin marriage. As a number of the Śātakarṇi kings, named in the Purāṇas, are Sātavāhanas, I concluded that they must have practised this type of marriage. It does not mean however that all queens of all kings were cross-cousins. Nor that all the royal princes and princesses married cross-cousins. Kings are polygamous and there may have been other queens besides the cross-cousin. Again a cross-cousin may have been lacking through death, or there having been no children of a brother or a sister. I have discussed some of the complications which may arise, earlier in this note and shall not repeat them.

In support of the various possibilities which I have referred to, I shall note some facts from a set of inscriptions of patrilineal kings of the same area whose ruling period followed that of the Śātakarṇis very closely in time. The inscriptions at Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa¹ show that the king Mādhariputa Sīri Virā Purisadata married the daughters of the sister or sisters (actual sister) of his father king Vāsiṣṭhiputa Sīri Chāṃtamūla, who performed an aśvamedha sacrifice. He had also other queens apart from two of his cross-cousins, who are named as his Mahādevīs in inscriptions of the same date. One of these other queens Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā was the mother of the royal heir, Vāseṭhiputa Sīri Ehuvaḷa Chātamūla. She may or may not have been a cross-cousin, although the particular metronymic and the fact that another paternal aunt (father's sister) who is a Vāsiṣṭhī calls the king Sīrivira-Purisadata as her son-in-law (after stating he is her brother's son) suggests it. There is a fourth Mahādevī, Rudradhara-bhaṭārikā, who is a Maharaja's daughter from *Ujjeni*. As the inscription was in the reign of Sīri Virā Purisadata and the queen was associated with the aunt of the king in a work of piety, and is called mahādevī, her husband must have been

¹ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, (Delhi 1933). Prakrit Inscriptions from . . . Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, by Prof. J. Vogel.

the reigning king.¹ So we have definite evidence of cross-cousin marriage and polygyny including marriage with an unrelated princess in a royal dynasty that followed closely upon the Śātakarṇis, in their rule of the Andhra country. I have not been able to give such a direct proof for the matriliney of the Śātakarṇis. But Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has ignored the Pabhosa inscriptions (L. 904 and 905) which show that royal dynasties closely related to Śuṅgas followed matrilineal descent. The inscription shows that a patrilineal royal ancestor had a different gotra, and that a mother and sister in that line had the same gotra. I have pointed this out in my earlier paper and also the fact that the Śuṅgas use metronymics like Śātakarṇis. The evidence quoted is incontrovertible. I may further note that matrilineal descent and succession to royalty can be proved to have been prevalent in later times in the area where the Śātakarṇis had their headquarters. A king who ruled in Tulu, Konkan, and adjacent areas in the sixteenth century² was succeeded first by his younger brothers and then by his sister's son Devarāya. The same mode of succession to sister's son was followed in the case of Deva Rāya. Even now, matrilineal descent is common in this area, and there are ruling princes a little further south in Cochin, who follow matrilineal succession. I had also mentioned in my earlier paper the fact that the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage in this area shortly before the time of Śātakarṇis and shortly after it, is noted in authoritative works of these periods. It is a matter of surprise to me that so many definite pieces of evidences should be disregarded and two instances of royal marriage which do not at all go against the hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage seriously put forward as evidence of its non-existence. I may note that even the expression 'prevalence of cross-cousin marriage' among a people does not mean that a hundred marriages out of a hundred are between cross-cousins. Thus the Hill Marias of Bastar practise this form of marriage. Actual statistics collected for a certain area by Grigson showed that 'such unions formed 54 per cent of the Hill Maria marriages' into which he enquired.³ This is in fact quite a high frequency.

Another objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri is that it is not correct to speak of separate kingdoms for the two lines. Thus, according to him, Gautamīputra

¹ Another point of interest in these inscriptions is that these patrilineal kings have their mother's gotra stated as an indication of the individual meant; but often in the same inscription the regal title Mahārāja is later used without the metronymic, showing that the two were not associated as among Śātakarṇis.

² EpCar, (Vol. VIII, Part II), Sagar Taluq Inscription 55 (page 190 text), Bangalore, 1904.

Inscription No. 163 refers to 'descent in the female line', i.e. matrilineal descent (p. 123, translation).

³ The Maria Gonds of Bastar, by W. V. Grigson, 1938.

is stated to have been king over provinces or places quite close to Paithan and over areas which fell in Dakṣiṇāpatha. He forgets that the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdom had earlier ceased to exist under the onslaught of the Śakas, and it was Gautamīputra who reconquered the territory. His son may have helped him, and succeeded to this kingdom as much by ancestral right through the mother as by favour of his royal father. It may be noted that the place names are set out in a panegyric of the victories of Gautamīputra, set out by his mother in the reign of his son. Gautamīputra is termed the king of kings, and it may even be that the son, king Pulumāvi, acknowledged his suzerainty during his father's life time. The fact that these kings of the Q realm were excluded from the Purāṇas in spite of their genealogical connection, shows that the ancestral line was looked upon as the suzerain or paramount power which alone could find place in the dynastic list. A Q king however who could claim to be paramount might find mention. One such case was of Śrī-Śātakarṇi (No. 3). An examination of the inscriptions show that both Gautamīputra and Śrī Yajña Gautamīputra had to reconquer the lost Dakṣiṇāpatha dominions; and Pulumāvi was the last really powerful lord of the Q line.

My conclusions are not affected by reconquests of a lost dominion and fresh rights acquired by military prowess. They apply to inherited realms.

Folk-lore of the Assamese.

By R. GRACE LEWISON.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

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CLASSIFICATIONS.

I. HISTORICAL.

A. *Nature Powers.*

Why is the sky so high ?
Why do trees have leaves ?
Why do big trees have small fruit ?
The causes of earthquakes ?

B. *Heroes.*

The queen's jewel box.

II. MORAL (FOR DISCIPLINE).

A. *Social Institutions.*

The heart of religion.
Steadfast faith.
The greedy bride.
Disguise.
The thoughtful youth.
Wisdom.
The proud elephant.
The proud toad.
Holy days and unholy days.
The village of Mulanath.
Showers of gold.
The cat and the dog both gain.
The tale-bearer.

B. *Death and the hereafter.*

Yama the god of death—why men die.
Faithful worship.
The Brahman and his daughter-in-law.
In whom shall we have faith ?

C. *Demons and the Evil Eye.*

The boy catcher.

III. AMUSEMENT.

What does a name mean ?
The brave billy goat.
How a clever boy used the truth.
The story of the merchant.
How to provide for old age.
The Brahman of Lotkon.
The frog and the snake.
All God's works are good.
Unity (the tiger and the toads).
Fate.

PREFACE.

When I first began work here in Assam I often felt puzzled because the people did not react in what, to me, seemed the accepted way. I was advised to study their social manners and customs if I would know what reactions to expect from them. I tried to be more observant and asked many questions, some of which must have seemed to the people to be very rude. One of the teachers was a very good story-teller and one day on a train journey she amused me by telling folk stories. I had read some of the 'Grandmother Tales' in my second year of language study and had enjoyed them. This interest in their stories soon became known and they thought it great fun to tell me a new story. This book is one of the results of that hobby of collecting any tales that I could get the people to tell me.

One was told on the site of the Old Ahom King's palace near Sibsagar, another on the banks of the Sibsagar tank just before sunset, some of the others as we sat in the moonlight on a hot summer's evening. I tried to write these out from memory but often found it difficult and the repeating seemed to spoil the effect. Then as I heard them, if there was a new one, I asked the teller to write it as I thought of having them printed in Assamese and I wanted them to be well written and complete.

While I was taking a course of study in 'The Primitive People', in America we were required to write out some of the customs as we found them in some of the folk tales. In a talk with Dean Faye Cooper Cole I said that I had some of the folk stories of the Assamese people. He asked me to bring some that he might read them. There were not many in English and I felt that the ones I knew in Assamese should be translated. A paper was written for Dean Robert Redfield and in connection with it the matter of the stories again came out. He gave some valuable suggestions as to the classification and urged me to continue with the translations. Later both Dean Redfield and Professor Andrade read the ones I had done. Professor M. J. Andrade advised me to have them published but I had not the means at that time to have it done. Upon my return to India the translations had to be checked to be sure about some of the difficult sections.

There are many such stories in Assam being handed down from mother to child as they sit in the open courtyard under the stars or in the cold weather about the fire. Owing to the rapidly changing conditions it may be that some are being dropped and many of the younger generation seem to be indifferent to them. I feel that they have a very definite historical value and should be preserved. I have found the getting of them slow and difficult work. Even when I have succeeded in making friends with the grandmother and think I have her confidence, I have been disappointed when I asked for a story.

At first she will tell me that she cannot remember any, but after I have discussed one that I am sure she knows, she may respond with one. So I have had to wait until I heard a reference to one or a part of the story to ask to have it written out. I think that may be why the old man who helped me with many of these used to say, 'That reminds me of.....' with a brief reference to some name or event in a story. I think it may be that a remark or an event will call up a train of memories which brings back the tale.

The more common ones seem to be used for discipline to remind a child of the dire consequences of such unwise actions. Others are told from one generation to the next explaining the purpose and meaning of the festivals. The animal ones are numerous but those told for amusement often reveal something of the intimate family life. It seems that the women are the keepers of these stories that more or less regulate the home life just as they preserve the beliefs and customs of religion. I hope that this book will prove of value as well as interest to those who wish to know the Assamese people better. They have a very unusual history which they have handed down in written form since early in the thirteenth century.

GOLAGHAT, ASSAM.

R. GRACE LEWISON.

August 25, 1939.

1. WHY IS THE SKY SO HIGH?

Long ago the clouds used to be very low down. So low, in fact, that unless they were very careful, tall men used to bump into them.

One day an old hunchbacked woman took her broom in hand and went out to sweep up the courtyard. As she was stooping to sweep, a cloud was so low that her hump struck it. This hurt made her so angry that she stood up and struck at the cloud with her broom. The cloud was so ashamed to have her strike it with her broom that it went up very high and never came down again.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

2. WHY DO TREES HAVE LEAVES?

In the era of Truth everyone could speak, even the trees, and they all could understand each other. Well, one day what do you think happened? Listen and I'll tell. Now at this time

trees did not have any leaves, that is none but the banana tree. It had very lovely leaves and during this era men used to eat their rice off of a banana leaf. It was very happy because it could be of help to men and used to say things to the other trees. The other trees, unable to endure this, put a curse on the banana tree to make her keep from talking. The curse fell and after that not only the banana tree but all of the trees were unable to talk. The other trees began to bend and even break in their sorrow and God felt so sorry when He saw it that He said, 'Let the trees have leaves'. Then the leaves appeared and even today all of the trees have leaves as well as the banana tree.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

3. WHY DO BIG TREES HAVE SMALL FRUIT?

One day about the first of April a man was walking from Kumalabari to Lakhimpur. On either side of the road were many gardens with fruit trees, and many of the trees had fruit on them. But of all the different kinds of fruits he saw more pumpkins than anything else. He said to himself,

'I do not understand God's wisdom of having the big fruit on small trees and the little fruit on big trees.'

About noon he began to feel tired and walked more slowly. At last he decided to go over under one of the trees at the side of the road and sit down to rest. Soon after he sat down he became sleepy and began to dream. He saw a great space just over him covered with pumpkin vines and one after another of the pumpkins grew large right before his eyes. As he watched, one broke its stem and fell, striking him right in the eye. He jumped up shouting that he was dying with pain and that one of his eyes had been put out, but he soon wakened and found it only a dream. Then as he walked along, he said to himself,

'God is an all-wise God. He knows that if the big fruits were growing up high like that one I saw in my dream, that when it fell as it did, my head would have been smashed. Yes, God knows. He never makes mistakes.'

T. C. HANDIQUE.

4. THE HEART OF RELIGION.

Once there was a king who had ruled for many years and because he regulated his kingdom by the rules of religion the people were happy and he too was happy. But there was one

thing he wished to know and that was, 'What is the heart of religion?' So he called all of his ministers and all the wise men of his kingdom and asked them, 'What is the heart of religion?' But not one of them was able to give him the answer. Every place he went he searched for the men from foreign parts and asked them the same question but no one could answer. One day he saw a holy man whom he asked the same question. The holy man answered that he was sitting on the ground and the king was on his throne, so how could he tell. Then the king came down from his throne and sat on the ground with him, and this is what the holy man said, 'If you will go to the east of your city and climb the mountain there, you will find a cave on the other side where an old man and his wife live. If you just ask the old man, he can tell you what you wish to know. While you are gone, I will sit on your throne and keep your kingdom for you'. So at once the king made ready and left in search of the cave. After some days of travel he came at last in the morning to the cave where the old man and his wife lived. At the foot of the mountain there was another kingdom, the people of whom supplied the old man and his wife every day with food. In the morning they had two cakes and milk and again in the evening each had two cakes and milk. When the old man saw the king coming, he was distressed because he did not know what to give him to eat. He went to his wife asking her to share her food with him so he could give his to the guest, but she would not. Since there was no other way he gave his share to the guest and he fasted. In the evening he did the same.

Now the old man and his wife each had their own hollowed out place in the stone where they slept. When it came night the man asked his wife to let him sleep with her so he could give his bed to their guest. She answered him sharply that she did not wish to be crowded in order that the guest might sleep. When the old man heard this he went to his guest and besought him to tell what his errand might be saying, 'Please would you mind telling what it is you wish me to tell you. I may not be found in the morning, so please tell me now'. The king answered, 'For many days I have desired to know what the heart of religion might be. At last one told me of you and said that if I would ask you I should hear the answer. So I have come to ask you and to listen to your answer'. Then the old man told him he should go to the palace in the morning and there he would find that the king's daughter-in-law had given birth to a child. If the king would only speak to the child, saying, 'Oh prince, Oh prince, what is the heart of religion?', the child would answer and tell him all. 'But now you must go to bed and sleep. To-morrow you will not find me', said the old man. When he had seen the guest comfortable in his own bed he went outside. The old man had had no food all

day but his wife was well fed and soon fell asleep, unmindful of her husband. Then the tiger came and found the old man who made only a morsel for a hungry tiger. The next morning when she awoke she went to the door to call her husband but as soon as she opened the door the tiger saw her and soon she was made to join her husband in making a good meal.

The guest, weary with his travelling, slept heavily and heard nothing of all this. When he awoke he hunted for the man and his wife, but found only the bones strewn about the mouth of the cave. Then he remembered the words of the old man and his hair rose with fright, so he went at once to the palace. He asked the young child and received this answer, 'If you will go to the head of the village you will find in the home of a family there a pig that has just given birth to some little ones. The weakest among them will give you the answer you seek'. He went and found the pig with her little ones, but one was so weak that the others crowded it away so it could get no milk. The king spoke to this poor, weak, little pig saying, 'Oh little piggie, Oh little piggie, what is the heart of religion?' The little pig answered, 'What shall I tell you? You can see for yourself. We the old man and myself lived on the side of the mountain in a cave. One day a guest came and the man gave him his food to eat and his own bed to sleep in while he slept outside and became the food the tiger sought. Down at the palace the young prince, which has been born, makes them happy. I was selfish and would not divide my food nor would I share my bed. Now as you see I am weak and cannot get near my mother to get milk and must lie here in the dust. That woman has been born a little pig and the man has become the young prince. What you wish to know you have seen and heard from my own lips.'

N. C. DAS.

5. THE GREEDY BRIDE.

Now there was a man, his wife, and their only son of whom they were very fond. One day they picked out a very lovely girl to be their son's wife and not long afterward the marriage took place and the new bride was brought into their home. One day the new daughter-in-law went to the river to wash boiled rice (this is a kind of rice that is boiled before it is husked). As she was filling her pot with the nicely washed rice, she could not resist the temptation to taste it, and filled her mouth full. Just then her father-in-law appeared and asked, 'Daughter-in-law, where is my son? where has he gone?' Now her mouth was full of rice so she could not answer. Torn between shame at being thus caught and fear as to what would happen because she did not answer her father-in-law she fell as though in a faint

to the ground. When the father-in-law saw her lying there limp and silent he became very frightened and was sure an evil spirit had taken possession of her. He went at once in search of the magician who could drive out such evil spirits. Since the magician owed this man quite a sum of money he agreed to undertake to drive out this spirit if the man would pay by releasing him from his debt. So they came together to the bank of the river.

The magician examined her carefully and found that she could not speak because her mouth was so full of rice. He went and brought a kind of poisonous plant (similar to nettle) and beat her well from head to foot with it in order to drive out this evil spirit. As he beat he kept repeating over and over this charm (mantra) to make the spirit respond :

‘You silly girl, chew, chew,
Then swallow what you chew,
Disgraced you shall not be,
If from my debt I’m free.’

At his order she began to chew and soon her mouth was quite empty, so in a very short time she was fully recovered. When they spoke to her she answered them easily. They were so glad to have their daughter-in-law restored to them that they gladly cancelled the magician’s debt.

N. C. DAS.

6. STEADFAST FAITH.

The men of our land believe that if they have faith in anything, no matter what, it will save them. Even an idol of wood, if it is believed to be God and worshipped, will reward him with salvation. Once a Brahman was wandering about in a village when he came upon an elephant driver who had a Halgram¹ tied about his neck as he sat working over the cane. The Brahman asked him without revealing his thought, ‘Driver?’ The driver answered, ‘My Lord, what is it?’ The Brahman said, ‘I will give you four annas (eight cents) if you will give me your shell’. The driver answered, ‘My Lord, I will. Take it’ and gave the shell to the Brahman and received his four annas. The Brahman went home happily, bathed the shell with spices, made a throne for it, and placed it on the throne and began to worship it. Each day he bathed it and worshipped it but at night he dreamed that he was arguing with the shell.

¹ Halgram—Bassel shell found in the Gandak river and worshipped as an emblem of Viṣṇu.—*Dictionary*.

The shell would say, 'Oh Brahman! why did you take me from the driver and keep me with such care? I did not ask anything from you. You are doing all of your work for naught, for I shall kill your son. Take me and give me back to the elephant driver. He squeezed my neck and cut on my shell but I liked the sound Keh keh, as he cut'. Then the Brahman answered, 'I hoped that you could save me and that is why I took you from under the foot of the elephant driver and brought you here where I could worship you as you deserve, and so you must save me. I will not let you go until you save me'. The shell said, 'I will never save you but will kill your son'. The Brahman said, 'What you do you may do but I will not release you'. Thus by day he worshipped the shell and at night argued with it until his son was taken ill. As the Brahman slept the shell said, 'See I have made your son ill and if you do not take me back I will cause him to die'. Thus a few days later the boy died but the father worshipped as before, and that night his argument continued.

The shell said, 'You must take me back. It was because of me that your son died and so take me back at once or I will cause the death of your wife too'. But the Brahman did not take it back even though his wife became ill. Day by day he worshipped even though at night in his dreams he still quarrelled with it. The shell tried to show him that now that his wife was ill, he should not delay longer in taking him back lest his wife die. The Brahman said, 'I will never take you back. You should not even speak of it to me again'. The shell said, 'Very well then, but do not hope to save your wife'. After a few days of such arguing the wife left and went to join her forefathers and the poor Brahman was left all alone. In spite of all the work about the house he had to do, still the Brahman found time to go to the throne of the shell to worship. Again at night the shell talked with him. The shell said, 'See I have killed your son and now your wife, now will you give me back to the driver. If you do not, I will kill you too'. 'If you wish you may kill me too, but I will not give My Lord into the hands of the driver,' answered the Brahman. A few days later the Brahman himself fell ill, but in spite of his illness he continued to worship. As he grew worse he called several of his fellow Brahmins. He gave them a paper on which he had written, 'I worship the Halgram and when I die, bind it on my breast. Should any one keep it then seven animals, seven men, and seven saints will have to suffer death'. A day or so after that the Brahman died. They fastened the Halgram to his breast as they had been directed to do in the letter. Then as the fire rose to the body the dead Brahman sat up alive. He arose chuckling and then began to laugh. 'You said you would not save me, but now why do you save me? It was because you were afraid of the fire, wasn't it?' said he to the

shell. Then the Brahman went to his house and began to worship again and built him a new house and raised another family as he lived to be very old.

It is said, 'If any one worships me I will strike his eldest son, cause the tiger to eat his team of bullocks, set a fire to his granary, and if then he does not leave me, I shall be near to bless and help him whenever he calls upon me'.

N. C. DAS.

7. THE THOUGHTFUL YOUTH.

A young man, who had no father or mother, had a very hard time getting his education, but when he was through he built a tiny cottage for himself right in front of the King's palace. When the house was done he could not find any work even to earn a pice (penny) so that he had nothing for food and clothing. One evening when he was going to his house his mind was troubled and he said, 'Oh, oh, what an unlucky one I am! I cannot even get my salt and yet I am right in front of the King's eyes. If the King wished he could give me a big work, but if not, at least some small thing, so that I might have a handful of rice to eat.' The King, who was out for a walk, heard these words of the troubled youth, and the next day he sent a man to call the boy. When the youth came, the King asked him, 'You are hunting for some dull work to do. For this reason I give it to you. How many leaves fall from this tree daily? Keep an account of them and give me the record each evening. Now go and each evening bring the account to me'. With these words he bade the youth farewell.

The youth went to his house and then returned to sit under the tree, collecting the leaves and counting them. Day by day he gave the record to the King, but the word salary was not mentioned nor did the King say when he would give it. But on the other hand, every one knows the overseers receive from the King and for that reason he always stays under the trees. Also if any one hit another or there was any little trouble they were afraid to tell the King but they went to the overseer. He would then hear both and decide who should be punished and dismissed them. Thus he was busy with judgments most of the time. His earnings too began to increase, so that the youth who could not even buy salt could now sit at a table under the tree and write his accounts.

When the King saw it he said, 'From today you are not to write an account of the leaves which fall. I will give you a different work to do and that is, give me an account of all of the leaves taken from the palm trees in my kingdom each day'. The youth answered, 'Oh! Great King, I am but one man, and

how can I travel throughout the whole kingdom each day. Can Your Honour give me some way to do it? Or, have a man appointed in each village and sent to me each day, or I shall not be able to do it'. So the King appointed a man in each village to bring the account to the youth. The youth told them to find out how many leaves fell each day from each householder. If eight leaves then cut sixteen and keep eight and bring in eight. You do not need to keep an account just cut double and you keep half. I will write the record'. So saying he sent each back to his own village. When the leaves came in he counted them and gave the account to the King. On the other hand, the merchants bought the leaves for a pice (one half cent) a piece and carried away great bags of them. In this way the people were getting money and the youth had all the food and clothing he needed. The King saw that this was a hard-working and worthy youth and again promoted him to work in the court. From that day on he was honoured by the King and was always before the eyes of the people. If one can be a good thinker he will be honoured by God and man.

N. C. DAS.

8. WISDOM.

A man who trapped and sold deer for a living went out to the forest and set his trap. The next day he saw that instead of the animal he had expected he had caught a tiger. He turned away to go home when the tiger saw him and said, 'Look! I have had nothing for a long time, let me loose'. The man answered, 'No, I can't free you because if you are hungry you will eat me'. Tiger: 'I say honestly, three times honestly, I will not eat you'. The man then went and loosed the trap. The tiger, as soon as he was loose, said, 'I have missed two meals and I am so hungry I'll eat you'. Hearing this the man was at a loss to know what to do but asked, 'Can a snake eat his benefactor?' Tiger: 'Yes, he may'. But to establish a fact three people must agree, so the man said he would ask two others. He went to a tree and asked, 'May a snake eat his benefactor?' The tree answered, 'Yes, he may eat, because men rest in my shade, they eat my fruit, they cut parts off of me, and leave me half dead. Yes, to eat a man is no evil in my sight'. The tiger heard all this and thought now he could really eat. Now there had been two witnesses to this last word, but three persons must agree before the thing can be done. So they went to the water. He asked the water the same question, and the water answered, 'He may eat. I give men water to drink, to bathe in, and to wash their clothes, and they throw their refuse on me. So for such ingratitude I see no need of saving

them'. Then the tiger said, 'Now two have said that I was right, how much longer must I wait?' Then the man said, 'Wait, we must ask one more, if he says the same then you may eat'. As they talked a jackal came along. So they asked him, 'Can a benefited one eat his benefactor?' The jackal said, 'But who is it that has assisted and who is the snake who desires to eat? How can I tell unless I know more about it?' The man began to explain, 'I set a trap for a deer, but this king fell into it. He said three times truly he would not eat me if I loosed him but as soon as I let him loose he said he would eat me'. The jackal asked, 'Now, how did you set this trap and how did the king get into it, tell me that so I may give my answer'. So the man set the trap and the tiger put his foot in to show how he got caught. Then the jackal told the man, 'Now he can't get away, beat him'. The man saw his chance and killed the tiger and saved himself.

N. C. DAS.

9. THE PROUD ELEPHANT.

The small birds used to build their nests in the reeds that grew on the river bank. But an elephant used to come there to bathe in the stream and he broke down the reeds and destroyed many nests with eggs or young in them. The birds decided to ask what could be done to save the nests and their young ones. They went to the horsefly who told them that there was a kind of crow who could help. They found the crow and told him their trouble, but he said he needed a frog to help. They found the frog and he agreed. When the elephant came, they all watched him bathe, and when he came to the bank the frog jumped into his ear, the crow came and pecked him so hard the blood came, and the fly went and infected the place until it became a big sore which caused the elephant much trouble.

N. C. DAS.

10. YAMA THE GOD OF DEATH—WHY MEN DIE.

In the beginning Brahma created man and made him perfect. That is to say there was no weakness or imperfection, so there could be no death. In this way time went on for ages. Yama the king of death waited for someone to die so that he could bring him into his kingdom to dwell. But because man had been created to live for ever there were no deaths. Yama, weary with waiting, sent two diseases into the world to destroy men, but

they returned very much ashamed saying that they could not get near men, much less attack them.

As time went on Brahma continued to create until the whole earth was so full that it could hardly bear the burden of them all. Yet no one died and Yama grew impatient. The words of diseases made Yama so angry that he mounted a water-buffalo and went in search of Brahma. Brahma, when he saw the guest coming, made great haste to receive him with all honour. Yama, when he met Brahma, seized him and began to beat him about the head with a rod. Brahma was so surprised that instead of receiving the guest ran inside and closed the door. But Yama followed and grabbed him saying, 'What kind of men are you creating? Is this the work of your hands? Not one man dies and sickness has no effect upon them. God has made me to be king over dead men but not one ever comes to my city. There is no hope that any will ever come. I shall take you instead of man and you shall live there'.

Brahma then in great fear replied, 'If you take me then who will create men for the earth? It is my work to create men. But if you will release me I will create men with some weakness, so that they may come to your city to dwell'. So from that day men were so created that they could die. Those who had been created with eternal life became gods. Yama returned to his realm and to this day reigns over his kingdom in happiness.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

11. FAITHFUL WORSHIP.

Once there was a Brahman who made a journey to a distant land, and on the way he became very hungry. He was so hungry he did not know how to stand it, so he looked from side to side hoping to see if he could find something to eat. Then he saw a seral garden but he could see no one near. He was so hungry that his stomach hurt, but what should he do; he would pay for what he took, or it would be stealing and a sin. So he entered the garden, sought out a good ripe seral, picked it, pulling back the leaf he placed on it one anna (two cents), ate half of the fruit, and placed the other in his bag to eat on the way. Soon after this he saw some men coming toward him; when the man who followed him saw them he called out, 'Hey you men! this Brahman has eaten one part of a piece of cow's flesh and the rest he has in his bag and the blood is dripping as he goes'. When the men heard this they began to cough and spit, but when the Brahman heard it he said, 'Shree Krishna! Shree Krishna!' and began to berate them. The men told him to turn his bag upside down and when all the men said the same he did tip his bag upside down, and there was a piece of cow's flesh. The men began to abuse the greedy Brahman. The Brahman when

he saw it was so ashamed that he went off down the road wailing and weeping. When the weeping let up, the man said to the Brahman, 'Lord, whose days are these can you tell? Can you tell what days these are? These are (Koli's) Satan's days. I am Satan. During my time you do not take a seral, and leave an anna (two cents); you break the plant as much as you can and put as much fruit as you can in your bag, eat all you can and destroy all the rest. You did not do this and so earned merit; and that is why I did as I did. You threw your bag away and I have brought it. It is on your shoulder and your seral is there as you left it'. Then the Brahman said, 'Whatever you do or say I can do no evil'. Satan and bad men may give shame to a man who does no evil, they put thorns in the path of right, but if that man has steadfast faith in God then his enemies will at last come to shame.

N. C. DAS.

12. THE QUEEN'S JEWEL BOX.

One day when we were visiting the ruins of the King of Assam's palace we were told of all the greatness of the king, the beauty of his queens, as well as the grandeur of the palace in those days. Just before leaving I stood looking down at the reflections in a small tank about forty by fifty feet which was probably half full of dirty muddy water. Now I would have called it a big mud hole but the attendant told me that this had been the private bathing tank of the favourite queen. Then he said, 'You know that when the Burmese came up to fight with the Assamese they wished to take possession of this place because there was supposed to be much gold buried in different places in these grounds. When the King of Assam feared that he would not be able to hold out much longer he sent his queens out by another way to a village where they would be kept in safety. But the favourite queen feared that she might be killed for her jewels if she wore them, so she put them all in her box and threw them into this tank. Now during the first week of new moon that box can be seen floating on the surface of the water but there is a small light which burns on the top of this box. Many have tried to get it but always when they go into the water it disappears and cannot be found.'

I thought this was a very good story for a guide to tell, but to my surprise I found that it was one that was well known. Several years later when I was working in this district with my women I spoke of the old ruins as we sat talking in the evening and they told me this same story except that the box had a large jewel on top which gave forth this light.

ESTHER DAS.

13. THE BOY CATCHER.

This seems to be a folk story in the making but I cannot be sure about that. The story has not yet taken shape or if it has, the variations were too pronounced for me to recognize the similarities. It seems to refer back to the time when the offering of human sacrifice was common but it is told as a custom practised in very recent times. I took it to be a story to restrain children from playing about after dark but I may be mistaken about it.

It was told to me as we watched the last light of a young moon on a hot July night. The smaller children had been playing and catching fireflies as I talked with the older ones. Suddenly we heard the cry of a jackal and one of the older children said, 'The jackal is weeping and searching for the dead'. This seemed to frighten the little ones and they all crowded up close to us on the steps. I asked the girls to tell good stories and not frighten the children. But several answered at once saying, 'But they should be afraid of jackals', to which I had to agree though I did not say so.

When the children had been put to bed one of the older girls, who as a nurse now, had been a teacher, told this story which had been brought to her mind by the incident—'The Boy Catcher'.

There really are 'boy catchers' near Sadyia. They try to catch the children who stray away from the others in play. Or if they find a child playing all alone, they will try to coax him to go with them to a lonely place where they may catch him. They even offer sweets to get the boys to come closer to them. They will catch girls also but must have boys to offer as the sacrifice to the river goddess and the boys must be between 10 and 14 years old. They seem to make an especial effort toward the close of the day to lure the children away from home as it seems that the sacrifice must be made at night. After the sacrifice is made they take the head and hands and place them at the base of the pillars of the new bridge. If they offer a child for each pillar and place the head and hands at the base then the bridge will be able to stand during the flood waters in the spring when the rains and the melting snow cause the streams to surge and roar and show their anger. Only a bridge thus built will be able to stand against the anger of the river.

The bridges do have a hard time standing the strain of the flood waters and most of them are swept down the river at this time. This girl says she and her brother were actually chased by these 'boy catchers' one evening and that their parents saw the man run after them but could not recognize him.

PRISCILLA SYMON.

14. THE BRAVE BILLY GOAT.

Once upon a time a billy goat was feeding in a field and slowly it became evening time, but the poor fellow did not notice it until suddenly it was quite dark. When it was dark the poor thing could think of nothing else to do, so he climbed upon a white anthill and closing his eyes settled himself to chew his cud. After some time a terrible tiger came out and saw the goat lying there. The tiger, seeing the goat, decided that now he would kill him and have a good meal. Just then the goat smelled the tiger and opened his eyes and found that the tiger was so close that there was no escape for him, but even so the goat was not frightened. Getting up, he gravely shook his head and spoke to the tiger angrily, saying, 'Come, come, let us get together for destruction. If I do not get to eat the red beast I will destroy the forest'.

When the tiger heard this he got so frightened that he ran away as fast as he could.

A jackal saw the tiger coming as fast as he could and he called out asking, 'Why are you running so fast?'

The tiger paid no attention but the jackal called again louder. The tiger decided that he should tell the jackal what had happened. When the jackal heard it all, he laughed as loud as he could and asked why he was so frightened. 'Come, show him to me and I will kill and eat him.'

Even though the tiger found it hard to believe this, still he decided to take the jackal and show him. After going a little way the tiger began to tremble with fright and refused to go any farther. The jackal, seeing the tiger's fear, said, 'I have a plan'.

So he went off to get a strong vine, one end of which he tied about the tiger's body and the other about himself. In this way they crept along until they could see the goat. The billy goat showed no sign of fear but raised his head, and said, 'Oh, you went off to get another one, did you? Well, that is good. Bring him here'.

How could the tiger stay to hear any more when he was already paralyzed with fear? So he turned and ran with all his might. The jackal, who was tied to him, ran too, but how long could a jackal keep up with a tiger? He soon became exhausted but there was no escape, so he gritted his teeth and died.

When the tiger looked around, he saw the jackal's teeth, and said, 'Here I run with fright and you just grin and laugh. All right, get away from me'. So he bit the vine in two.

Then thought the tiger, 'I wonder where he will go and what he will do!'

So he looked to see, but the jackal did not move and the tiger saw that he was not laughing but that he was saying good-bye to life.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

15. HOW A CLEVER BOY USED THE TRUTH.

Once there lived an old man and his wife in a village. They had a pair of children. The girl had been given in marriage to a man of that village and the boy herded the cows. One day when the boy saw his brother-in-law coming to their house he began to think, 'If my sister comes home too then I will not get any fish to eat. Now if I can by any means send him back home then should there be fish I shall have gained'. As he was thinking his brother-in-law came near and asked if his father and mother were at home. 'Mother is gone to the sea to get precious stones and father has gone to get the lower earth and bring it up on top,' answered the boy. The brother-in-law, half dead with hunger and thirst, hearing this turned around and went back home.

In the evening the mother asked her son if he had seen his brother-in-law. He said that he had seen his brother who had asked about his parents-in-law. But when he had been told where they were he had gone back to his own house. The father, seeing that their son had deceived them, gave him a good beating and drove him out of the house. When night came he was so hungry he could find no peace, so he decided to steal some food. When everything was quiet at night he went to a cook-house to steal some food. Searching around for food he came upon an old broken drum which he began to beat. At once the owner of the house awoke, came out, found him, and bound him securely. The next morning he took his prisoner and started for the King's palace where the trial would be held.

On the way they saw a farmer plowing in a field. Just at that moment one of the bullocks pulled his head from the yoke and ran off. The plowman seeing his bullock running in their direction called out, 'See, this bullock is very bad. Can you not beat him or stop him for me?' The boy at once struck the bullock with the stick he had in his hand and the animal fell over dead. Then the plowman became very angry and he too would go to complain before the King that his bullock had been killed.

Next they came to a market place. The boy said, 'I am so hungry. I would like just one pice worth of bananas to eat'. So they took him and went to the woman who sold bananas. She said, 'Son, give a pice and I'll give you three bananas. Then strike the chest and go'. The boy gave the pice, took the bananas, ate them, and then struck her on the chest. The woman gave him a good tongue lashing, but, not satisfied, said that she too would go and witness against him before the King.

When they came into the presence of the King each one began to make his complaints known. The King said, 'Is this so? Did you do this?' The boy answered, 'Lord of Heaven, he told me to beat him so I did strike the bullock, the woman also told me to strike, so what is wrong in obeying them? This first man calls me a thief, that too is absolutely false. What man would beat a drum when he went to steal. Ask them if my words are true or false, and when you have proof, give me the punishment I deserve'. When the King asked he found proof that all the boy said was true. The King told his minister that the boy was very clever as all of his words were sharp. Thus the King cleared the boy, gave his enemies a good scolding, and dismissed them.

Later when the King and his minister were alone together the boy came to them with a great big cooking pot. The King asked him what he wanted. The boy answered, 'Lord of Heaven, you have said all my words are trustworthy, so I have brought this cooking pot to be filled with ten thousand rupees. Now will you give me the rupees?' When the King heard this he was very much surprised and asked his minister what to do. The minister said, 'Give him the rupees'. The boy took the money and went his way. Soon he met the daughter of the minister and called out, 'To the one who gives me a good meal of rice I will give all of my money'. A friend of the girl heard this and told her she had better feed the boy and get all of the money. The minister's daughter hearing this called the boy and dished out the rice. However, he wished to take a bath before eating, so she brought the water for him. Then he said, 'If I give you so many rupees you should wash my body for me'. After the bath he said, 'For all this money you should be willing to feed the rice to me'. This she did and when he had finished she brought the tamal-pan (betelnut). After he had rested he returned to the King and said, 'Who would give a man a bath, feed him his rice, and then bring him the tamal-pan to chew?' The King answered, 'No one but a wife would do such a thing'. 'Then from today I am the son-in-law of the minister. Today his daughter has bathed me, fed me rice, and then brought me tamal-pan to chew,' cried the boy with joy. The minister was very angry but the King explained that the boy was so very clever that he would make a good son. Then the minister gave his daughter and the King himself gave them the sacred book. They lived happily after that.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

16. THE STORY OF THE MERCHANT.

Once there was a merchant. His wife died leaving a pair of children (a boy and a girl). Fearing that these children

would be uncared for the merchant decided to marry again. But the children instead of being cared for got a basketful (bushel) of trouble. The step-mother felt toward them as toward a cinder in the eye or a toothache.

One day the merchant before going on a journey to buy goods called his wife and said, 'I go on a business trip and while I am gone care for the pair of orphan children as you would care for me. As for eating, sitting, clothing, speaking, in a word, in nothing give them trouble'. The wife let the tears roll down her cheeks (falsely) as she said, 'That too will I do and they shall not have the least trouble. Even though they beat me I will worship them'. The merchant after this talk with his wife went away on the trip.

After her husband had gone the step-mother began to abuse the pair of children. She would not let them have anything but the water left from bleaching the ashes and rice while she ate fish, turtle, fern greens, and arum stalks made into a delicious curry. As for clothing she wore fine Chinese silk, white Assamese silk, and the golden silk (mogha) while she dressed the children in coarse, torn, dirty pieces of old cotton cloth. They cleaned and brought water while she cooked and ate and sat with her feet off the floor like a queen all day long. Besides for even the smallest word she scolded them and cursed them, and hunted for an excuse to kick them. Will a man stand so much abuse? The children grew thin and dried-looking.

After many days the merchant returned from his trip. He brought several kinds of cloth for each child besides several other nice things, but when he saw their condition tears came to his eyes. Without a word of questioning he took his wife by the hair, dragged her out, and said, 'Ha! how could the children be so thin and bad if they had not a fever or an illness? Tell the truth or I will cut you in two pieces. You have abused them'. The wife was so frightened that she drew a great sigh. The merchant did not let her go but asked, 'You are so happy. How many times in a day did you eat? Tell the truth or I will not let you go even if it thunders'. She shrank from him in fear and said,

'How much sobbing and weeping
Come in the noonday word
With the child comes the tears,
These are with you
I cook and serve trembling,
I take and weave thus,
Three times I swear, Lord
Three handfuls of wet rice ground.
And if I ate more, Lord
I swear by your head.'

When he heard this the merchant was very angry and said, 'If you ate so much and the children ate so much then you will

be eating my head'. So saying he cut off her nose and her ears and put her out of the house. From then on the merchant and his pair of children began to live happily.

'My clothing was black with dirt and I went home,
True true true.
The key-word cuts the skin
When cut and open wipe it.
I arrived at my own house.'

M. M. BORDALOI.

17. HOW TO PROVIDE FOR OLD AGE.

Once there was an old couple living in a village. They had no son or daughter. Now in their old age they had no one to earn for them so the old man began to think of some clever plan by which he could earn some money. Finally the old man asked his wife, 'How many rupees have you? Give them to me and I will go out to get some more'. The old lady, hearing that he was going out to find wealth, gave him twenty rupees. The old man went and bought a poor old horse with ten rupees and fed the other ten together with some grain to it. As he came along the road towards home leading his horse he met a band of robbers. The robbers took the old horse and, since the old man could not be separated from it, the old man too.

The next morning the old man went out to his friend the horse and began to knock apart the manure with a stick. There to the astonishment of the robbers he found ten silver rupees. The robbers said, 'If we could only get this horse we would soon become rich'. So they told the old man if he would let them have the horse they would let him go. But the old man told them that he could not give them the horse because he could not part with it. After much bargaining the robbers offered many rupees and the old man was persuaded to part with the horse for the money.

The next day they went out and examined the manure but did not find a pice (copper). So they decided that they had been deceived. Then they went in search of the old man and on the second day came to his village. The old man having sold his horse went his way and met a man with two rabbits. He bought the rabbits and took them home. One he tied near his wife and one near himself. From time to time he loosened them and let them run between himself and his wife who was in the cook-house.

When the robbers came to his home he said that they must eat and take a little rest. Then he told the rabbit to go and ask mother if the food was ready, as he set it free. Since there was

no other way of escape it ran to the cook-house where the old woman tied it and let her's loose to run out to her husband. When he saw it he took it and told the robbers that the rabbit had reported that the food was ready. After they had eaten the robbers asked for the rabbit so they could send word to their wives to have the food ready. The old man made many objections but at last in exchange for many rupees let the robbers have the rabbits.

When the robbers were nearing home they decided to send the rabbits ahead to tell the women to have rice ready for them. So after giving the proper instructions they set the rabbits loose. They being wild rabbits went immediately to their own places in the forest. When the robbers reached home they asked for food but the rice had not yet been placed upon the fire. They got very angry because they were so hungry their stomachs burned. Then they asked, 'Did you not receive word from the rabbits to have food ready for us?' The wives said that had they known they were coming they would most certainly have had the food ready but they had not seen any rabbits. Then they understood the old man's scheme and promised to have revenge on him.

The old man kept two sticks in his house and told his wife when he struck her with one she was to fall down, roll back her eyes, and give the appearance of being dead. But that when he struck her with the other one she was to come back to life, otherwise there was no salvation for them. So when the robbers came he went out and began to tell about his two sticks. To prove it he struck the old woman and she fell down and made her face look like a dead person. Then he took the other stick and struck her and she rose up before their eyes and went to prepare the food and serve it as before.

They became so interested in the two sticks they forgot their duty and began to bargain for them. As the robbers offered many rupees the sticks were finally given. The robbers went home and with the one stick beat their wives until they fell down dead and then went off on a two or three days' trip. When they got back they found that the dead women smelled bad. They took the other stick and began to beat them but they only smelled worse—but how could you get dead women to get up and cook. Now they knew the old man to be a mischief-maker and decided to bind him and burn him alive. So they brought him to the edge of the forest and tied him to a tree while they went to gather wood. Soon after they left a cowherd boy came by on his way home with his cows and saw the man. He asked, 'Big brother, who tied you to that tree and why did they bind you?' The old man answered, 'Son, a man has brought me here to marry me to a girl of the village. I am an old man and what should I do with a young girl? I objected very strongly but they would not hear my words. If any one will let me loose I will give him the girl'. As soon as the boy

heard this he said he would untie him if he would let him marry the girl. The boy untied the old man and in simple faith let himself be tied to the tree in his stead. The old man after tying the boy went safely back to his house.

It was evening when the robbers came back and found the boy instead of the old man tied to the tree. They were so angry that they wanted to throw him into the fire at once and burn him. But then they began talking among themselves saying that the old man was very clever. He might be able to kill them all so they had better not give him any more trouble but leave the place at once. So they went to their houses and took everything and went far away. The old man by his clever tricks had gotten enough money so his last days were passed in comfort and happiness.

MELLING SYMON.

18. THE BRAHMAN FROM LOTKON.

A very poor Brahman lived in the country of Lotkon. His wife had a very sharp tongue. She was always scolding her husband because he did not bring in a lot of money. One day he felt very sorry because of the scolding. He thought, 'I shall leave my house. If I am not able to bring back some silver I shall not return'. So he left the house.

He walked along the way until noon without finding any food or water and his stomach was empty and he began to feel faint. Then he saw at the side of the road a sweet meats shop and went over to it. The shopkeeper had gone to eat his noon meal and left his eight-year-old son in charge, and he too was dozing in the corner. When the Brahman came and stood near the sweets the boy said, 'What do you want? What is your name?' The Brahman answered, 'I came to get some sweets to eat. My name is Bee'. As he took a few pieces of the sweets and put them into his mouth the boy called his father saying, 'Father, father, a Bee is eating the sweets'. The father was just dozing off and feeling annoyed answered in a daze, 'If a Bee eats the sweets let him, and do not keep annoying me'. The Brahman kept on eating until the boy could stand it no more and shouted, 'Father, Bee is eating all the sweets'. This time the father sighed saying, 'If he eats all of them let him, but do not keep pestering me'. When the boy heard this he decided to go in and explain it all to his father. The Brahman saw that now he had not only the sweets but the money box as well and he opened it, took out forty rupees in silver, and ran off. The boy shook his father and explained the whole thing, so he came out and found his sweets all gone. Then he got very angry at the boy but the boy answered, 'Did I not time after time tell you saying, "Bee is eating all the sweets",

and you said "let him" '. 'But you said "a Bee is eating". Why did you not say it was a man?' asked the father. But, 'He said his name was Bee,' said the boy. Then the father asked which way he went and got on his horse to chase him. The Brahman, having quickly finished the sweets while walking rapidly down the road, felt tired and sat down under a tree by the side of the road to rest, when suddenly from the jungle a hog came out toward the Brahman grunting. The Brahman started to hide behind the tree but the hog circled the tree too. Thus they ran around the tree until the Brahman jumped and grabbed the hog's tail. As he held tight to the tail and ran, the rupees came out one at a time and began to sow themselves around the foot of the tree. But the Brahman did not dare to let go the tail lest the hog should gnash him.

On the other hand, the shopkeeper on his horse came by and saw this man hanging to the hog's tail and running around a tree. Then he stopped his horse, got off, and went over to the man saying, 'Big brother, why do you hang to this hog's tail and chase him about like this?' The Brahman answered, 'I have little time to answer you. Do you not see the rupees on the ground?' He answered, 'I see them'. 'When I chase the hog around this way he drops those rupees so that is why I run him'. The shopkeeper thought he had lost many rupees this day and if he could only make a handful in this way it would not be so bad. So he said to the Brahman, 'Big brother, will you let me run him around a few times? I too have fallen into great difficulties. If I run the hog around a few times and get a few rupees it will help a great deal. An unusual thief has today deceived me and stolen many rupees'. The Brahman said, 'You have received much trouble, if I help you it will clear me. All right, run him'. As he said this, still running, he let the shopkeeper grab and as soon as he had him, the Brahman let go and began quickly to pick up the silver about the tree. When he had gathered all he mounted the shopkeeper's horse and rode off. The shopkeeper, unable to let go the tail, kept on running because he now saw that if he let go the hog would kill him.

The Brahman on the horse rode a long way and at night stopped as a guest in a house by the road. After having a good meal he went to bed and before daylight he got up and put ten rupees in the hay in front of his horse and then went back to bed. When morning came the Brahman got up and with his host went out to see his horse. When he shook the grass in front of the horse ten rupees fell out. The host was astonished at this. The Brahman told him, 'This horse eats his grass but always in what is left I find ten rupees and thus he supports me'. When he heard this the host felt greedy. He began at once to try in every way to buy the horse. He offered the Brahman six hundred rupees and was refused as he could not

part with his horse but then he offered still more. At last for six hundred and fifty rupees and his own horse to boot he succeeded in buying the horse.

The Brahman then hastily tied the money up in a bundle and got on the other horse and rode away. He rode along the same road he had come and saw that the shopkeeper was still hanging to the hog's tail and running around the tree. When the shopkeeper saw him he called, 'You have deceived me, there is no silver and I keep running about hanging to this hog's tail until I die'. The Brahman said, 'Big brother, I did not deceive you. If you will listen to my words and go around one hundred more times you will find one hundred rupees'. The Brahman saw that the hog was getting weak and probably after one hundred more turns he would fall over and die. Then he struck his horse and rode off. The shopkeeper took courage and went on for a little when the hog fell down dead. Then the shopkeeper thought 'I am saved at last' and went off home. When the Brahman got home he gave the money to his wife saying, 'Is this not silver?' When she saw the silver she forgot all her scolding and treated him kindly.

N. C. DAS.

19. THE FROG AND THE SNAKE.

One day a frog went in search of food and when he returned he jumped right in front of a snake. The snake caught him. The frog felt his last day had come so began to pray to the Creator, 'Save me, save me'. The Creator came and the frog began his pleading, 'Save me out of this mouth of death'. The snake, seeing the Creator, also began to pray, 'I have fasted for two days; now that I have the food, do not let me be cheated out of it'.

Hearing both prayers, the Creator said to the frog, 'Lie still and die', and to the snake, 'Yes, if you lose it you'll not get it again'. The frog did as he was told and did not move. The snake thinking he was dead, and being tired from the struggle, put him out of his mouth and looked about. The frog took a chance and jumped away. The snake chased him but could not catch him. The snake lost the food out of his mouth, and the frog was saved from the jaws of death.

N. C. DAS.

20. UNITY (THE TIGER AND THE FROG).

A long time ago there was a whole clan of frogs in a pond. They went in search of food on land as well as in the water. One day one of them went in search of food on the land where he

met a tiger, the king of the forest. The king of the forest saw the frog and began to laugh as he said, 'Hallo Mr. Frog, how far do you think you can go jumping like that?' The frog said, 'O king of the forest, I can go as far as you can, and even if you run you could not keep up with me'. 'Well!' said the king of the forest, 'if you can go faster than I then I will be your slave for a month'. 'All right, come prepared day after tomorrow and we shall have a race to see who can go faster', said the frog. The tiger said he would be there and went off in the forest.

The frog went at once to call his clan to discuss how they might win in this race with the tiger. After consultation they decided that they would place one at such a distance as the tiger would be able to jump. Then as the tiger at each jump would call out, 'Oh frog', the frog in front would answer 'Yes', so that the tiger would think the frog was ahead of him.

On the day set, the tiger appeared and each frog was in his place. Soon they were off with an even start. The tiger after a couple of jumps called out, 'Oh frog!' and the answer came back from a little ahead, 'Yes'. The tiger was greatly surprised to find that the frog was in front of him. He thought to himself, 'How can this be, I ran so far and so fast and that frog is still a bit ahead of me?' Then he ran again taking great leaps each time and again called out, 'Oh frog!' Again the frog just in front answered, 'Oh'. Each time when the tiger called out the answer came back from in front of him. He was astonished and had to admit that he could not keep up with the frog. So the tiger became their slave for one month. Thus it is that today for one month out of each year the tiger is seen feeding on the edge of a pond. By their united strength the frogs were able to keep the tiger as their slave for a month.

N. C. DAS.

21. THE CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKES.

A great big cobra snake lives under our great flat earth. This snake holds the world on his head. When the men of the earth become disobedient, sinful, and wicked it becomes very heavy and the snake to relieve the burden shakes his head and the world trembles and throws down the houses and even breaks open the ground sometimes. Then the sinful men are killed and the world is lighter again.

The world is hung by ropes from the four corners and sometimes the squirrels playing on these ropes chew at them until their sharp teeth cut through and that lets one corner fall and causes the earthquake.

The earth rests on the back of a great elephant and he does not mind the weight at all. But when a mouse comes near him he moves quickly to get out of the way and this makes the earth tremble until it breaks open and water comes out and sometimes many men die. Only the wicked ones die in the earthquake.

JAUNAKI SINGH.

22. IN WHOM SHALL WE HAVE FAITH ?

A man once had a piece of land on the edge of a forest. He cultivated it very carefully and planted in it rice. But when the rice began to ripen a wild boar came and started to eat it. The owner of the field took his spear and went out to see what was destroying his fine crop when he saw the wild boar. He struck him with the spear but the boar ran to a nearby tree and scratched himself a while and then ran off into the forest. Each day the boar came and each time the farmer speared him he ran to this tree and after scratching his wound was healed. Then the man saw that this tree had great power so he cut it down and carried it away. The next time the boar came to eat, the farmer speared him and again he ran to the tree but even the scratching on the stump healed his wound and he returned to the forest. Finally, the farmer became angry and dug up the stump and threw it away too. This time he would get the boar. So when the boar came he threw the spear very hard and again the boar ran to the tree but he could not find it. Then he scratched himself on another tree but it did him no good and he died of his wound.

This is the meaning of the story. As long as we keep our faith in the Living God we are saved from all harm and danger. Just as the boar scratched himself against the wrong tree and lost his life so we will lose our lives if we do not find the True God. One who is himself weak cannot save others.

N. C. DAS.

23. A BRAHMAN AND HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

In a village in a little house surrounded by a small garden lived a Brahman. He was a great miser and would not spend even the smallest sum of money. So his wife was forced to fast until she sickened and died, but he remained firm. He was always trying to add to his store of wealth. But his daughter-in-law was just the opposite. Although he could not bear to give a crumb to a hungry beggar she was generous. She used to fill her water-pot with rice and give it out along the way as she went to the stream to get water.

Now a fisherman came and built a house near that of the Brahman's. Every day he went out with his net to catch fish. In the evening he saved out those he needed for himself and took the rest to the market place where he sold them and bought such other things as would make him a nice meal. The Brahman would try to satisfy his hunger by eating a small amount of cold left-over rice with a bit of salt and some peppers rather than use a bit of his precious store. The daughter-in-law's keen eyes observed the different ways of the two men.

One day as she was going to get water she saw a dead cow surrounded by vultures. But the vultures only sat and looked at the animal. When they saw her they called to her saying, 'Daughter, will you drag the cow over this way? It is lying on the nobleman's land and we dare not eat it there'. She answered, 'How could I move such a big cow from that place?' The vultures said, 'We will add our blessing and you will be able'. Then she tried and was able to drag the cow so that it did not rest on the nobleman's land. The vultures in their joy said, 'You may have any power you wish. Choose what it shall be'. Then she told them, 'I desire to see how a man's spirit leaves his body when he dies'. 'Had you chosen anything else it would have been better for you. Since this is your desire you may have it but you must be very careful. If you tell this before anyone then you will die'. So the vultures turned to their eating and the girl after taking her bath took her water-pot and returned home.

Not long after this the Brahman died and she was very anxious to see how his spirit left his body. She watched very closely but what she saw made her very angry. The spirit left the body and then returned slapping the face, kicking and turning the body from side to side, abusing it and saying, 'In all this time that I have lived with you, you never gave me one good meal to eat. You never gave me a good garment to wear but always made me suffer. This is the way you bid me farewell, now I leave you'. Several times it returned and slapped and beat the body. The girl became so angry that she could no longer endure the sight and came away. She not only did not weep but showed no signs of sorrow at the death of her father-in-law. The neighbours were very much surprised and called her a very hard-hearted daughter-in-law.

A few months later the fisherman died. The girl was so curious and eager to see how his spirit left his body that she went to watch. As she watched the spirit left the body but clung to his neck, sobbing and crying as it said, 'You were so good to me and I was so happy. You always fed and clothed me so nicely. Not even for one day did you give me trouble. Now I must go and you will stay. How hard you worked to keep me happy and feed me well I shall never forget it'. In this way the spirit came back six or seven times to cling to his

neck and kiss him in fond farewell. The girl fell to weeping bitterly as she saw all this.

The neighbours began to talk saying to one another, 'When the fisherman dies why should she weep? When her father-in-law died she did not show the least sign of sorrow. It must be that there was something between them'. Because of these doubts they called everyone in the village and began to ask her before them all, 'What have you to say for yourself?' She answered, 'I have nothing to answer'. 'Why did you not cry when the Brahman died? If you did not weep then why should you weep when this fisherman dies?' 'I cannot tell you', she said, 'If I tell I will die'. This made them angry and they said, 'Do not think you can frighten us and thus save yourself. You must tell'. She asked them to prepare for her funeral and she would tell. Then she began to tell how because of the gift given by the vultures she was able to see how the spirit left the body of her father-in-law and how it left that of the fisherman. Just as she finished telling how it was, she fell over dead. Then the neighbours believed and performed the funeral rites according to the custom.

When the vultures came to know of this they came in great crowds and began pouring water upon her so that she came back to life. The vultures told her, 'You must not leave this place until someone comes and formally marries you', and then flew away.

Some time later a man passing through the place saw the Brahman's daughter-in-law sitting there and asked, 'Are you not going home?' 'Unless someone comes and takes me in regular marriage I will not go,' she answered. The man went at once to her husband and told him that his wife was sitting in the burial ground. He went at once to bring her home but she answered him in the same way. Her husband immediately went home and began to send out the betelnut and fresh leaf (the customary invitation to a wedding) to all his friends. In a short time he had completed the arrangements, married her and took her home.

One day not long after her marriage she saw her father-in-law in a dream. He begged her to give him a storehouse of rice. He told her that there were three storehouses for rice in the house of death but they all contained the black paddy (a kind of rice which Brahmans do not eat). The meaning of this was, that during his lifetime there was a festival of the eleventh day of the moon. As the Brahman sat peeling a banana ready to eat it, a beggar came along hoping to get something to eat. The poor hungry beggar asked for something from him and he ate the banana and threw the peel to the beggar saying, 'Here eat this'. The beggar was so hungry that he took the peel to the river, washed it off and began to chew off the inside, took a drink of water, and went his way. For this reason the Brahman

found only the food which he could not eat when he got to the house of death. In his agony he remembered his daughter-in-law and appealed to her. She felt so sorry for him that the next day she sacrificed a storehouse of grain in the name of her father-in-law. So from that day the Brahman had food and did not appear in dreams any more.

There is an Assamese saying that,

‘A gift destroys distress,
Bathing destroys sin,
Give one measure of money and
Receive a hundred-fold.
There are no gifts in the house of death
You receive just what you have given.’

N. C. DAS.

24. WHAT DOES A NAME MEAN ?

There used to be a boy in a village who, no matter what work he was given, would do it very well and without a word of objection. As a result the people gave him the name Lotikai. So that even when he became a man the name Lotikai remained with him.

One day he decided that he would not remain in a village where everyone called him Lotikai but would go where no one knew his name. He soon left the village behind and walked for some time until he saw a strange tree by the side of the road. As he stood looking at it a man came along and he asked him, ‘I say, brother, what tree is this?’ ‘They call this the undying tree,’ he answered. ‘But,’ said Lotikai, ‘how is that? It is called the undying tree but see it is dying’. This puzzled him so much that he was still thinking of it when he came to a place where the water came gushing out of the ground. Then he saw a man and asked him, ‘What is this that the water comes gushing out like that?’ ‘Why? Don’t you know?’ he asked, ‘this is called an ooze’. This troubled him even more that it should be called an ooze when it came gushing up and out. ‘What a strange name to give it,’ he thought. He stopped the next man he met and asked him what his name was, to which the man answered, ‘My name is Dhonai’. ‘Then,’ said Lotikai, ‘you must be very rich’. But the man answered sadly, ‘No, my lord, to show you how poor I am let me tell you that I eat one meal and one I do not eat’.

This puzzled him still more so that he kept repeating to himself, ‘The undying dies, the ooze gushes, the rich man has not enough to eat. These names are absolutely the opposite to what the things really are’. Then he met an old woman with a basket on her hip. So he asked her, ‘Mother, where

are you going?' 'Son, I go to beg for food. Begging is the staff of my life. If I do not beg I must die,' she said. Now with these cases all before him he began to weave them into verse :

'The undying dies,
The ooze gushes,
The poor man is Dhonai,
The daughter of Lakhmi¹
With her basket goes abegging,
But where do I Lotikai go?'

Now that he began to understand that the name did not mean what the person was like but just the opposite he decided to return to his own village. Now the name Lotikai (vinelike) was no longer ugly to him and he did not mind hearing the people call him that.

N. C. DAS.

25. THE TALE-BEARER.

This good man worked very hard to support his mother, his wife, and children. Every day he walked seven miles to his work. He worked on a farm where they cultivated many different kinds of grains and fruits. He used to bring some of the seeds home and plant them in his own garden. So that together with his salary he had his grain, so he became quite wealthy.

One day a man came to their home while he was away and began to talk with the mother saying, 'Mother, you should do something about your son. He has a very bad smelling breath. This is a sign of a very bad illness which, if not cured, may kill him'. On the other hand, he also spoke to the son saying, 'Brother, do you know that nowadays your mother has a very bad disposition and I am afraid of her? If she gets a chance in the evening while she is sitting in the cook-house she will say, "Let me see your face" and will eat that person alive'.

The doubt which this evil man had put into the mind of the old lady about her son worried her so that she wished to go to him to see for herself. He had also poisoned the mind of the son so that he feared his mother. The mother's love overcame her so that she could not wait for her son's return. She took her cane and started on the long walk, resting from time to time under a tree by the way. At last she arrived just at evening time. She went at once to the cook-house to bathe and massage her tired feet. The son, coming in from his work, also went to the cook-house to wash his feet. The mother was so eager to see if her son really did have a bad

¹ Goddess of wealth.

breath said, 'Son let me see your face'. She put her hands around his neck and drew him down so that she might smell his breath. But because of the words of the tale-bearer the sight of his mother's face with her mouth slightly opened in her eagerness to smell his breath frightened him. 'Maybe it is really true then that she will eat me,' thought he. Crying out 'Oh! My!! she will eat me' he struck her such a blow that the old lady, weak and tired from her long walk, fell dead at his feet. He had struck with all the force of one afraid of his life. Then he looked at her face and realized what he had done. It was with great sorrow and weeping that he performed the funeral rites for her.

A snake is evil,
A tale-bearer is evil,
Both are alike deceitful,
But the tale-bearer is worse,
Much more wicked than a snake,
By medicine or magic a snake can be controlled,
But the tale-bearer can by no means be controlled.

N. C. DAS.

26. FATE.

A son may be a soldier, or he may be a leader, or he may be rich, or he may be handsome one never knows.

Once there was a man who had four sons. The eldest one was a great leader and would always be found where there were crowds. The second was very handsome and loved to dress in nice clothing. The third son seemed to be simple and liked to just wander about from place to place. The fourth boy seemed to have none of these special qualities but worked in the fields from early morning until evening.

One day when he was returning home, tired from his day's work, the thought came to him, 'There are four men and their wives who eat but I am the only one who works. If we four brothers would all work just think how much we could raise!' With this in mind he spoke to his brothers when he reached home. The older brother said, 'Come let us all four get into a boat and go to another town and see what each of us can bring back'. So the next day they took the boat and went to the town where the King lived. They fastened the boat to the wharf and sent out the youngest one saying, 'Now you go into the town and let us see what you will find'. He left the boat and went into the town and since he was a farmer he soon noticed a man hoeing and went to him asking, 'What can you give me? Can you give me some food because there are a number of us who have come?' The man marked off a piece of ground and

said, 'If you will hoe this piece then I will get some food for you'. The young man said, 'Yes, I will do the hoeing, you go now and get the food'. So the man went home and took a measure of rice, a red pumpkin, another kind of pumpkin, a handful of fish, oil, salt, peppers, etc. This he made into a bundle and gave to him. He took his reward and returned to the boat, very happy to show his brothers.

They decided that the next day they would send the third son, the simple one, out to see what he would bring back. He was up early and away almost before it was light. As he walked along he saw two men who seemed very busy binding up something into a bundle to be carried on the head. Just then he cleared his throat very loudly and the two men were so frightened that they left the bundles and ran away as fast as they could. The simple fellow took the bundles one at a time and carried them back to the boat. The two men having killed a man had stolen all of his jewellery, clothing, and valuables and thought they had reached a safe place where they could bind them into bundles. How true it is that a thief is himself robbed, and the hornet stings the wood and hurts only himself.

Then the second son, the handsome one, was sent out. He dressed in his best and looking his handsomest he walked with great dignity towards the city. Suddenly the King's daughter, on her way down to the river to bathe, saw this handsome man. She thought him so very beautiful that she fell in love with him at once and instead of going to take her bath she returned home greatly troubled. Later when she did not come to eat her meal the King was greatly disturbed and sent in search of her. They found her at last in a very melancholy state. She refused to be comforted so the King and the Queen asked what she desired and why she had entered this state. Then she said, 'This morning when I was going down to bathe I saw a very handsome man. I shall not eat unless you bring that man and let me marry him'. The King sent his men out and soon found the man whom they brought to the palace and the couple were married. The King gave such an enormous dowry with the princess that boat-load after boat-load was sent and the animals had to be driven. There were elephants, camels, cows, horses, goats, etc., being taken in droves along the river bank.

The last one to go was the eldest brother who left their boat to show what he could bring back. As he walked along towards the market he was wondering, 'Let us see what I can bring back'. In the road ahead he saw a large group of people who seemed to be discussing some important matter. As he listened it seemed that they were not able to decide anything, so he sat down and asked them to tell him the whole matter from the beginning. Then the leader of the group began to tell him that 'There is a woman who seems to have two husbands and they both claim that she is their wife. We are not able

to decide which one is her real husband whom she married. Some months ago her husband took his small stock of goods in his boat and with his oarsmen started down the river to trade. Two or three weeks afterwards he came back saying, "As I was on my way I met some robbers who killed my oarsmen, took all of my goods, and it was only by good luck that I escaped with my life". The wife said, "What is money and goods? Let those things go. The important thing is that your life has been spared. We have enough. If you live we shall manage". But this week another man comes home and says he is her husband. He says he has been trading and brought home many things and finds another man in his house who claims to be his wife's husband. So he has called this council to decide who is the rightful husband. The two men are the same in complexion, the same features, the voice and manner of speaking is the same, so we have not been able to decide anything.' The new leader, in order to get at the inner truth of the matter, asked someone to bring an earthen water-pot. Then he said, 'Now the woman belongs to the one who can get inside of the water-pot'. The man who had just come and who had been trading lost all hope of getting his wife. But the man, who came home first, came and said, 'I can do that' and quickly entered the pot. The leader then thrust a big piece of wood in the mouth of the pot, made a fire, and set the pot upside down over the fire. After a while when the fire died down they looked into the pot to find a badly charred raven. They called the other man and told him, 'Now we know that he was only an evil spirit and the woman is yours. He has been able to assume your shape and live with your wife all of this time and has been able to throw sand in the eyes of all the villagers even. But some day even a thief will meet his match and this one has met his end as you see'.

Everyone was so happy at the way the difficulty had been settled that they told the husband to find some suitable reward for this excellent judge. So the husband gave the half of all his wealth and escorted him back to his boat with great joy. The next day the four brothers loosed their boat and started home with their goods which they had received. A few days later they reached their own village and sent word to their wives who came down to help them bring in the gifts. The youngest and his wife were able to carry all the rice, vegetables, and food in the one trip. The third son, the simple one, and his wife had to make two trips to carry off all the things the thieves had left. The second, the handsome one, and his wife had to make many trips to carry all that he had received and besides that he had brought home a princess. The cattle which had been driven along had already arrived. The boatmen had to help the eldest brother and his wife to carry the many loads of things he had received. They had all been asked by the eldest not to use any of their goods until they had met and

decided what to do. When they met the eldest brother asked, 'Now, brother, do you still wish to live separately?' The youngest brother answered at once, 'No, I do not', as he was very happy to share with the others.

N. C. DAS.

27. THE CAT AND THE DOG BOTH GAIN.

Once there was an old man and his wife in a village who had raised an owl for their pet. The old man used to do his farming as the owl told him. At the beginning of every year the gods used to hold a meeting to discuss whether they would send rain or not and where to plant the rice to get a good crop. This owl used to go every year and sit under the seats and listen to all that was said and then he would come and tell the old man about it. That is, he would tell the old man that this year there would not be much rain so he should choose a low piece of land and plant his rice there. Then the old man would go and start to plow a low piece of land. When his neighbours saw this they would call out to him, 'Old man, why do you cultivate there? That is very low land and when the rains come there will be eight or nine feet of water there. Even if you do plant your rice there you will never get a crop'. The old man would only answer, 'This low piece of land was not being used and so I thought "let us see what it will raise this time if I cultivate it"'.

The village people thought of him as a very simple old man. However, when the rain did not come and no one was able to plant, the old man's rice grew beautifully and he and his wife filled their barns with the rice from their fields. Another time the owl would tell the man to cultivate a very high piece of land. Then, too, the villagers would tell him that he would never get a crop on such high dry ground and would talk among themselves about his being a bit crazy. But again they found that at harvest time his crop was very good and he had all the rice he could store. While the other villagers who planted on the lower ground lost everything when the floods came. The old man had plenty while everyone else had nothing.

The gods became interested in the fact that the old man always had a good crop and decided to make themselves visible and visit the old man in his home. Of course the old owl heard this too and said to the old man, 'Now when these gods come to your house, plant a row of banana trees on each side of the path leading from your gate to the house and sweep the ground very well, spread down mats and on top of them spread a cloth. Then each of you with a jug of water in your hands stand on either side of the gate to wait for them. When they come, first fall down and worship them, then wash their feet, and lead them

on the cloth to the house. If you do all of these things then you will find favour in their sight, but if not, they will send misfortune to you'. So the old man and his wife did just as the old owl had said and they stood by the gate, each with a jug of water waiting for them. In a short time the gods came and the old couple fell down in worship, washed their feet, led them on the covered path to the house, and seated them with great reverence. Everything went well until they saw the owl. Then one of them said, 'Well! now I begin to understand who has done all these things. You, owl, have told the old man where to plant. From now on you shall not live in men's houses and you shall be able to say two words only. The only words you will say will be "Sur, sur (Thief, thief)" and the second will be "Niyu, niyu (I take)". You will no longer be able to tell men what you hear. Now fly away from here'. From that day the old man had to suffer his losses as well as enjoy his gains as other men since he was as blind as they as to the future. His bird could no longer help him.

N. C. DAS.

28. DIWALI (THE LIGHT FESTIVAL).

Once there was a merchant living in a village with his wife and only son. His house was small and so too was his shop, but he never seemed to lack anything he wanted for his family. One day he was ill and could not go to his work. That night he called his wife and told her that he was going to die. He asked her to be sure to tell their son about the lights. He told her that the god Yama would come for him but that she was not to weep or feel sad as all would go well if they would only remember the lights.

Nevertheless the poor widow did feel very lonely after her husband's death. What should she do and how would she be able to raise her son now? The boy was still only a child so she went with him to the shop every day and was surprised to find how much money she had at the close of the day. The boy too was very happy to be in the shop and soon learned to care for it very well. But still she worried about how she would buy the new goods when these were all sold.

She did remember the lights and the boy was delighted to keep the little lamps filled with oil at first but later became sleepy. When his mother came later she found him sitting there fast asleep. She was frightened and quickly filled the lamps that were empty but there were a few still burning. But she need not have been so worried for the goddess of wealth, Lakhshmi, had come in while the boy slept and blessed both the house and the shop. Their shop still continued to prosper and the other merchants began to wonder how a woman and a small boy could make anything.

When the time came again for the lights to be put out the mother in her gratitude put out more and they kept them well filled. The merchants were watching to see why they kept these lights but they did not see when the goddess entered. They did hear the mother when she came and again found her son fast asleep. She roused the boy telling him that he must remember to keep the lights burning. 'If the lights go out then the goddess may not find her way into our home or may pass by our shop and then we will suffer.' The boy put fresh oil in the lamps and the merchants went off to their homes saying that they too would worship this goddess and they too would put out lights another year so that their shops might be blessed.

JANE SYMON.

This festival comes every year and we receive an invitation from the shopkeepers to come and enjoy their hospitality. It is one of the most beautiful festival I have seen. The Assamese people are very clever in arranging the lights in all kinds of fancy patterns and how they can get these tiny clay lamps to give the impression of lights hung in mid-air I do not know. The potter has a good business at this time of the year as all these little clay lamps not bigger than the palm of your hand but about an inch deep must be bought new. It is well worth one's time to walk about to see all of the different places so beautifully decorated with lights.

The festival takes place during the dark of the moon about the last of October or first week of November. The date of the invitation I have with me is October 31st, 1929. The cloth shops are all owned by men from Marwar. This to them is a new business year. They have closed their business for the year and decorate the shop with the most gorgeous silks, great mirrors, lovely lamps, and flowers to give it all just that artistic look which they know so well how to create. The table in the centre of the room holds fruits, the lovely silver perfume container as well as spices, cigarettes, and the betelnut. Each guest is received and offered any and all of the kinds of refreshments and each is sprayed with, or touched with, the real 'attar of roses' or some other oriental perfume. When the guests leave they all wish the firm a prosperous year. It is expected that you will call on all of the firms where you have done business during the year and it is polite to call on any new business man. This is a festival to the business man's goddess, Lakhshmi, who grants success or failure for the firm.

In the village however, it is quite as important to keep this festival as for the town folk. We drove through a number of villages one year to see how they kept this worship of Lakhshmi. It was beautiful to see the tiny lights in among the trees, for there is not another light and these tiny lamps must be filled

often with mustard oil and the rag wicks kept pulled up so the tiny spark will keep alive. These must be kept burning all night because if they should go out then the goddess will turn away and you will fail in your attempts to raise a crop or to make a good bargain for your grain. This story seems to be common all over India but there are many versions of it. The ones in the villages have more to do with the crops and grain. The sacrifice takes place about one o'clock at night when the offering is made before the idol or picture of Lakhshmi. This lasts only for one night and must be all cleared by noon of the next day. The coming of the electric lights has somewhat taken the place of the beautiful lamps in the Bengali shops, but street lights are off for the evening. It is lovely to be in a town on the river banks for the festival as they set lights afloat in tiny boats made of banana leaves or the pith. I do not know of any other printed form of the story though many descriptions of it have been written.

29. SHOWERS OF GOLD.

An old man and his wife had seven sons. When the eldest son was married and brought his bride home they asked her to cook for them. After about two years the second son was married and brought his wife home. Now she was asked to do the cooking. In this way one by one they all were married and each new wife was asked to be the cook for the family. But when the seventh son brought his wife and she was asked to cook she said, 'I will be the cook but be it sister-in-law or brother-in-law or these whom I have taken to be my father and mother, if they come from the field or from any other work, whatsoever it may be, let them bring something in their hand. Should they not bring anything then I will not give them any rice to eat'. When they heard this everyone, great and small, began to complain, 'The work in the fields is so hard and where shall we get anything to bring home'. But the old man and his wife both said, 'This is a good plan and if I do not bring something home then do not give me anything to eat'. So it became a rule that no one of them could come home empty-handed. There is a saying that, 'He who wishes to eat and live, must attend to the calls of nature also'.

So it was that he who worked in the field would bring home a fish, some arum, some fern leaves, a bit of wood, etc. But whatever he brought he would place it in the courtyard and call out, 'Oh, bride, come out'. She would come out and receive whatever was brought, then they would go, have a bath, and come back to eat and rest. Then in the afternoon they went out to their work again. One day one of them could not find

anything to bring but saw a dead snake skin and decided to take that home. All of the others had nice things but all he had was this snake skin. When he gave it he said, 'I could find nothing else so have brought this'. She looked at it and said, 'Throw it on the roof of the house'. He was quite relieved and having taken his bath came back for his rice. Another day one could find nothing but some dung. So he took an arum leaf and carefully wrapped it up and took it home. The young wife was somewhat angry at this but told him to put it away very carefully in the cowshed, which he did, and after bathing was allowed to have his meal.

One day the King's daughter, when she went to the river to bathe, took off her necklace of gold and laid it on the sand while she went into the water. This bright shining thing caught the eye of a hawk who came down and caught it up in his beak and flew away. The princess sent a man to follow the hawk and try to recover her necklace. The hawk circled about for some time and at last came to rest on the roof of the old man's house. Here he saw the old dry snake skin and after looking at it for some time decided to take it and leave the golden trinket there. The man who was following the hawk arrived in the courtyard just in time to see the exchange. He shouted out to the old man, 'The hawk snatched up the princess' necklace and has dropped it on your roof. Will you please let me get it down so that I may return it to her?' The young wife came out and heard what had happened. She said, 'Unless you will give one-half of its value I cannot allow you to take it'. When the man ran to tell the princess she was very willing to give half the value and sent to her father for the money at once. When the man returned the young wife asked her husband to get the necklace down for him. The whole family was so pleased with the wise words of the young wife that they forgot all the unkind thoughts they had had and rejoiced in this new wealth.

About this time one of the King's enemies was successful in poisoning his food so that the King was about to die. Word was sent out that the only thing that could save the King's life was some twelve-year-old dung. Men were sent out to go from house to house in search of it and then they remembered that one of the sons brought in some a long time ago and put it in the cowshed. This they took to the palace and very soon the King was restored. As soon as the King was able he asked who had saved his life and the men told him that they found what they needed at the house of the old man with seven sons. The King caused his kingdom to be divided into four parts and bestowed one-quarter on the family as a sign of his appreciation. This increased still more the family pride in the young wife.

There was an old Brahman living in the village who, when he heard of the good fortune of the family, began to plan how, when the old man died, he would get a goodly portion of this

for his part in the funeral rites. He became anxious that the old man die soon but how was this to be brought about. So he went to the astrologer and explained his desire to him. The astrologer began to find out the good and bad omens that might influence the old man. Finally he smiled and said, 'There is one bamboo in particular that leans over the roof of his house. If you can get this without harming it in any way, take it home, dry it, and burn it, the old man will surely die and his wife too. Go now and do exactly as I have told you. Get only that one that hangs over the roof'. The old Brahman did not wait but went straight to the house of the old man. When he entered the courtyard the old man greeted him with, 'Well, my Lord, what can be your business today?' The Brahman answered at once, 'You have something which I need very much. I see that you have many bamboos and there is one which leans over the roof, I need a bamboo like that very much'. 'Well, when the boys come in from work I will have them cut it for you'. As they sat waiting for the sons to come in from work they talked of many things. But as soon as they did come the father asked them to cut the bamboo for the Brahman. They said, 'What could you do with that one? Why not take a good one? This one is so crooked it is of no use', when they saw which one they were to cut. 'But I need one that is bent like that,' answered the Brahman. Just as the boys cut the bamboo the old brown cow in the shed became restless and the young wife went out to set her free. She went straight to the newly cut bamboo and began to eat the leaves. The Brahman picked up his bamboo and carried it home. Then he split it and placed it in the sun to dry. In a few days it was dry and he watched it burn with great satisfaction. But even though he waited he received no word of the old man or his wife's death. He then went back to the astrologer and told him all that he had done but it brought no results. 'But,' said the astrologer, 'you say that when the bamboo was cut the brown cow came and ate some of the leaves. I told you that you were to bring it to your house without harming it in any way. This you have not done. Now if you can bring away the cow then your desire will be fulfilled, but if not, it cannot be done'.

The Brahman then instructed his son what to say and do and took him with him to the old man's house. The boy at once began to shout saying, 'Oh father, ask the old man to give me the brown cow. I want her'. Hearing this the old man told his sons saying, 'The Brahman's son wishes to have our brown cow. I think he especially wants the calf. What shall we do?' The sons said, 'Give her to him. Take her son'. When they went to the shed there stood the brown cow with the tears running down her face. Then the young wife came out, took a new towel from her pocket, and wiped the tears from the cow's face and put the towel back in her pocket. Then one of

the sons led the cow out of the shed and gave her to the Brahman's son. They went off home happily. But after a week when there still was no news of the old man's death they did not know what to do. The Brahman could endure it no longer and went again to the astrologer. The astrologer looked at him kindly but said, 'How many times must you bother me? Why do you not complete the thing at once? You worry me. The cow cried when you talked of taking her, didn't she? Then the young wife went out and wiped the tears with a towel and put the towel back in her pocket. Now you must get that towel if you desire the death of the old man'. Immediately the Brahman returned home and began to instruct his son what to say. The two of them again called on the old man and again the son called out, 'Father, that day when we took the brown cow the daughter-in-law wiped the tears off her face with a towel and took it back into the house. I must have that towel'. The old man could not see why he should not have it, so ordered his daughter-in-law to give the towel to the boy. She brought out the towel but the boy said it was not the one. Then another and he said it was not that one, until at last she brought out the one that had been used. She broke off a couple of threads and handed it to the boy who was so pleased that they soon went home. This time they were sure that within the week the old man would die. But he lived on and the Brahman went again to the astrologer. After he explained everything the astrologer looked at his book and said, 'You did bring the towel but the wife broke off two or three threads and swallowed them. So now you must kill the young woman before the old man will die'. Then the Brahman went home very sad but at last he thought up a plan. When he again called on the old man he was received with such respect and given the seat of honour. The old man asked, 'My Lord, what words do you bring today?' 'I have come to try to save you and your family from a very great danger. A great misfortune is coming to you and we must think of some way of escape. Your youngest daughter-in-law is expecting a child, is she not? I have had a vision in which I have been warned that your daughter-in-law is about to give birth to a monster, one who will eat human flesh. When he is born he will eat you and your wife first and then your sons and their wives and his own father and mother and then he will eat the neighbours. After that he will eat anyone he finds until all are destroyed. Therefore you must employ every means possible to prevent this'. The old man took all this in simple faith and went at once to try to find some means of killing his daughter-in-law.

In the evening when the sons all came in from work he called the youngest one aside and told him about this awful thing that was about to befall them. The only way for them to escape was for the young husband to kill her before she gave birth to

this monster. He also promised his son that if he would do this to save them then he would get him another beautiful wife. After they had eaten their rice the young man took his knife and began to sharpen it. His wife watching him said, 'That is so sharp that one could easily cut a man in two with it. It is not necessary to sharpen it any more'. 'I noticed that the jungle was very thick at the back of the garden and it will take a sharp knife to cut and clear that.' After that he took a couple of chews of 'pan', worshipped his God, and went off to bed. He waited until he was sure that his wife was asleep. Then he took out the knife and went over to her. Then just as he raised his knife the flare of the lamp seemed to chuckle saying, 'You will never get it, you will never get it'. Two or three times he raised his knife and lowered it again. Then his wife wakened and saw him there, ready with the knife in his hand. She jumped up from her bed and threw her arms about his neck crying, 'Why did you not kill me while I slept?' Then the young man's heart melted and he told her that they must leave. 'If we stay in this house I must kill you. We had better both of us go away at once.' So they gathered a few things and tied them into a bundle and left the house together.

The next morning when the pair were not to be found the family began to grieve, especially for the young son. A short time after that the old man died and his wife soon followed him, leaving the family sad indeed. The old Brahman came and performed all of the funeral rites and received much money and gifts. There is a saying like this, 'Potatoes seek curry, Brides seek a bridegroom, Brahman and vultures seek the dead, Astrologers seek the sick'. After this one misfortune after another came to the family until the six brothers and their wives became so poor that they did not have enough to eat.

Now let us turn to the younger brother and his wife. They entered deeper and deeper into the forest until it came time for the birth of the child. The woman said that she must rest there under the tree as her time was near. The husband said he would go on to the stream and get some water for her. But on his way the words of the Brahman came back to him. 'Your wife will give birth to a demon who will eat you all.' Then he thought, 'Now he is about to be born and if I am there he will surely eat me. Well, now that I have come away I shall stay away. I shall not go back'. So he followed the stream on and on. The young wife calling upon her God was left alone in the midst of the forest to give birth to her beautiful son. She waited for a very long time for her husband to bring the water to bathe the boy and had given up hope of getting it. Just then the great Lord Krishna and Parbhati were passing that way in their chariot. When Parbhati saw this woman she called out to the Great One, 'Stop the chariot and see what has happened. Let us see if we can find some help for her'.

Then the Great One said, 'Devi, how you do keep me going here and there to do things. There you had to bring a house for an elephant, then to keep watch over the tigers and bears. Then I had to make the long-horned buffalo give milk to feed the monkeys. I stole food from men's houses to feed other monkeys. Here I shall have to stay until the boy can walk'. When the child was a little larger she and her son bade Krishna and Parbhati a fond farewell and went to seek shelter from the people in a village. She found a place with a widow. Now this woman was barren and was also a widow. When she went out in search of food and rice she used to tell the woman that if the baby had a bowel movement she was not to wash him but that she herself would wash him when she returned. The widow answered angrily, 'Oh mother, do you think I am a servant that I would clean up for other peoples' children? Even if you had not have told me I should not have bathed him'. After a little while the baby's mother went to the village for rice and oil for her meal. When she returned she found that the widow had bathed the baby. So she asked her, 'Why did you bathe the baby? You said that you did not wish to care for another's child'. She said that she had done nothing with the baby. Why should she bathe him? 'Just as boiling water makes a noise, so those who live in another's house become dependent,' said she. The mother made no answer.

The widow had not thought much about the baby until the mother told her not to bathe the baby and then she became curious. The more she thought of it the more she wished to know, so she decided to examine the baby and she was surprised at what she found. The child had had a bowel movement but she did not find ordinary excretions but bits of gold which she took and put away very carefully. She was afraid that the mother would return any moment, so she had to work very quickly. The next day when the mother had gone out for her rice and supplies, one of the late King's ministers came to the village in search of a likely child who might become the future ruler, as the King had died without an heir. Royal servants had been sent throughout the kingdom to search for a boy who might become the future king. When the minister saw this baby he decided that here was one who should be chosen. When he asked who was the child's mother the widow said that it was her child. So the minister took the woman and child with him back to the palace. When the mother had obtained enough rice and other food she returned to the house to find her baby gone. The widow was also gone and when she asked the neighbours they told her all that had happened during her absence. She ran straight to the King's palace and finding the widow began to scold her.

This of course attracted a great deal of attention and the officials tried to send this unknown woman home. At last they

decided to put the two women in the same room for the night and stationed two faithful men as a secret guard to listen and try to gain information. The widow woman said, 'They came to the house in search of a boy child and when they saw the baby they seemed to be pleased with him. Then I thought they will take him to become the future king and so I said I was the baby's mother. I have suffered so much and have cared for you and the baby all of this time, so why shouldn't I have a little comfort and ease in my last days. Now you have no gratitude for all I've done for you but try to take the little happiness I get away from me'. The mother answered, 'I do not wish to give anyone trouble nor do I have the power to give them happiness. Under what trying circumstances did I give birth to my son. How much we have endured together since? Now you knowing some of this would take him as your son and leave me empty. What shall I say? My heart is broken. I never thought you would do this to me'. So throughout the night the two women talked.

The next morning the guards reported the conversation to the officials. The officers were quite convinced that the woman who came alone was the real mother. They called the two women and told them that it was impossible that they both were the mother of the child. They said, 'We feel sure that the woman who claimed the child and was brought in by the minister is not his mother. She only said, "He is my son", because she thought he was to become the King and if she claimed to be his mother she could live at ease the rest of her days. We know that the woman who came later is the mother who suffered to give birth to the child and has endured much that her child might have food and shelter. We have decided to keep this woman, the true mother, here at the palace to care for him. Now you must leave the city at once and go back to your own village and stay'. The mother, with deep gratitude and such tenderness that there could be no doubt, received her son into her arms.

As the boy grew he soon made friends with other boys and used to enjoy playing with them. As children often do, they would sometimes in their play offend each other. When they were offended they used to call this child 'the boy without a father'. So one day he went crying to his mother saying, 'Where is my father? The boys call me, "the boy without a father"'. The mother's heart was very troubled because of her son's words but decided to tell him the whole truth in a story form. The boy was so surprised at the greed of the Brahman, the lack of love and courage of his uncles and especially his father, and the deceitfulness of the barren woman who was so eager for a little fame. Of course all this was in the past and so was beyond his control but he began to think of some way by which he could find his father. He must find where his father was, now that he knew something of what had happened.

The mother and son between them finally decided upon a plan which might help them. If they were to offer more money than the usual rate for some work then men from many parts of the kingdom might come. In this way they might find some one who could tell them of the father or they might be lucky enough to find the father. They decided to have a very large tank dug and they would pay the men who came to work ten times more than for other work and they were to receive their money, ten rupees, each evening. So the call for workmen was sent out and many poor men came to work for the King. Each evening the men came and stood in line to receive the day's wage. The mother had planned that they were to enter one door which she could see from her place behind the curtain and go out by another door. Thus she could see each and if any one were to be questioned they would ask them to wait inside. So the boy gave out to each man until seven men came together and the mother from her hiding place asked him to delay paying these men. As they entered the boy asked them to sit and wait until the others had received.

They were very surprised and began to plead with him saying, 'Great King, we have laboured all day and are hungry. If you will grant us our money now we may still go to market and buy food'. The King's only reply was, 'I shall not delay you long. Only wait and let me finish with these first'. Then they began to wonder and feared that there might be some danger near. They whispered to each other saying, 'What will he do with us? Why did he keep us and not the others?'

When he had finished with the others he went to his mother who told him, 'Those six are your uncles but that one, do you see him, the youngest one, is your father. Do not let them go home now. Tell them to have their baths and change their clothing as they are to stay here for the night and will have their food here'. So he returned to them and gave the message. The seven men went to bathe while his mother cooked the food for them and when they returned she served them. So as she served them she asked the one, 'Have you married? Have you any children?' The youngest one answered, 'Yes, I married, but there was some trouble about it'. 'What kind of trouble came to you? Tell us about it,' she said. He did not wish to tell but since the mother of the King had asked he felt he should. He began at the beginning to tell how the Brahman had sown doubt in his mind and how his father had told him what he must do. When he was nearly finished the young King could wait no longer and interrupted with, 'Tell me. Am I a demon or a man?' The man was astonished but answered at once, 'Your Honour, you are a man. Who says you are a demon?' 'But you believed the Brahman and at the time of her greatest need you left your wife alone in the jungle. Were you not a coward to do that?', asked the young King.

Then the mother made herself known to them. The brothers were very pleased and remembered how they used to come in and how she used to serve them.

Then the six brothers began to tell her what had happened after she left them, saying, 'After you and your husband left our house father died and mother followed him in a short time. The Brahman who performed the funeral rites took what he desired. What happened to the remainder we do not know but in a very short time it was all gone. We had to work here and there in order to get money enough to feed our families'. The mother was so surprised that she said, 'Then it was the Brahman who said that I must be killed. He found it necessary to get me out of the way so that he could kill the old man and his wife, did he? Of course when they died he could conduct the funeral and get a great amount of money for it and fulfill his heart's desire. But see what happened to the rest of you. Even though you did try to cut me in two, God has saved me and my baby and has given me great happiness. Now will you all come here and live with us? I shall be happy to have you and shall see that no harm comes to you as long as I live.

The wives of the six brothers had heard from other workmen of the village that they had seen the youngest brother and that they were sure the brothers too had seen him. The wives then began to weep as their husbands had not returned and they feared some accident. They were very sad as their husbands had not returned and there was no money to buy food.

The six brothers were so pleased to see their younger brother and began to ask him about himself as they waited for their money. They told him, 'Our father and mother have both died. Since then all of our wealth has gone we know not where. We must go out working as servants in order to get money to buy food for our families'. He then told them about himself saying, 'When we left we went into the jungle and walked for days. When it came time for the child to be born my wife lay down under a tree and I told her I would go to a stream nearby and get some water for her. As I went along I could not but remember what the Brahman had said and became frightened. When I got to the stream I decided that this was a chance to escape and went on, never returning to see how my wife was. Since then I have worked for my food in different places'. The villagers went on to tell the wives that, 'Last evening we all went to the King's palace to receive our money. When the seven brothers went in he asked them to wait. We do not know what will be their fate'. The six women fasted all night long waiting for their husbands' return.

The next day when the six brothers returned to their homes they found their wives in tears. But there were soon smiles when they heard from their own husbands that they had found

the younger one and that the mother of the King was the youngest daughter-in-law. That when they had been detained they had been given food which she had prepared. That while they were eating she had made herself known. 'She has requested that we bring all of our families and come to live with her and says that as long as she lives we shall lack nothing. She wishes us there where she may look after our welfare. Now eat something and then we must put our things together as we must go at once.' So in a short time they were ready and all went to the King's palace to live.

N. C. DAS.

30. THE VILLAGE OF MULANATH.

In a certain country there was a village by the name of Mulanath. All of the shops of this village were run by men who were under the King and anything one wished to buy must be bought from one of the King's shops. They all wished to gain as much as they could for the King. If a stranger came they would try to get all he had to put into the King's treasury. Thus the King had a great collection of very curious things, and every one who saw them was very much astonished. One thing was a stone boat which when one got into it would go about all over the tank. Another was a very unusual tree that would blossom, bear fruit, mature the seed, and even the seed sprout and grow while one watched. As all the strange merchants saw these things they were very pleased and would praise the King for having had such a privilege. They all said that never in all their life had they seen such things. Then the King would ask, 'What strange things have you seen?' Then the stranger would tell all the wonderful things he had seen. The King would ask, 'Can you show me those things?' Of course the men were sure that they could and if they could then they were allowed to come and go and trade freely, but if not, the goods would all be taken and put into the King's treasury and the men held as captives.

These traders had seen those things and so were very sure they could show the King as well. But when they tried to find them either they could not find the place or the wonders would not appear. Of course the King knew that these things were not real but appeared to be real to the strangers. So as many as went to that village to trade all met the same fate.

One day an old merchant called his son and told him to trade any place but never to go to the village of Mulanath as there was no chance of gain in that village. The following year the old man died leaving all of the wealth to his son. The young man began to think of the trade and especially of this village where it was said to be impossible to gain. He decided that

he would like to see the place, so prepared his boat for the journey. He loosed his boat and started downstream but was surprised to find himself entering the village he sought so soon. As he came near the docks a white rice bird flew over. When he had fastened his boat he saw a washerman who was washing the King's clothing. When he spoke to him the washerman told him that he watched the rice bird and washed the King's clothing until it was as white as the bird's wing. The merchant then asked, 'If this is your bird, why do you not keep it more carefully? Your bird has eaten the spawn which my fish have laid. Make your bird give me back the spawn or we shall not have any fish in February (Magh)'. The merchant had brought some special sengra fish there to spawn. So the merchant took the spawn away from the bird. Now the poor washerman was undone because he said the bird was worth one hundred thousand rupees.

Soon after he left the docks the merchant met a blind man who said, 'Merchant, your father took my eye to sell and he said as he left me, "I'll send your eye back with my son, or I'll send a lac of rupees". Now give me the eye or the money'. Then the merchant answered, 'I have brought your eye now. You may either take out your bad eye and put this in or I will do it'. The blind man was not willing to do either and so quickly left the merchant.

Now the merchant had been successful in these first two trials but the third and harder one was to come. This was to play cards with the King. The King explained before they started that the stakes were to be high. If the King won the merchant would lose all of his wealth and himself become the King's servant. If the merchant won then all of the former merchants who had been kept prisoners and whose wealth was put into the King's treasury were to be his. They sat down to play and fastened the light on the back of the King's pet rat. The King had a secret way by which he could always win, so the merchant had brought a pet cat with him under his shawl. Just as they started to play the merchant let the cat out so the rat could see it and off went their light. When they had gotten a light again the merchant had arranged everything so that when they played he won. The King wished to play again thinking that another time he would surely win but the merchant said he had won and would not give in. So by winning the game he won the freedom of the others and all of their wealth. He returned to his home rejoicing that he had gained where his father had said there could be no gain.

N. C. DAS.

31. DISGUISE.

Once there was a man who had such a bad character that his neighbours could not endure him. At last the men of the village took sticks and drove him away. After having received so much punishment he began to think as he walked along toward another village. Finally he decided, 'If I do live in this village, as I did in my own, they too may drive me away. If the people who have always known me became so angry that they drove me out, what about these strangers? As it is my life is of little value. I think I shall sit like a priest and I shall mumble prayers and they will think that I am a holy man and they will honour me. They will give me food and I shall be able to eat all I want and live without working'. So he dressed himself in rags, found a cord which he put on in the approved manner and went along the way mumbling. When the people of the village saw him they thought him to be 'a holy man and bowed before him, brought him food and offerings.

But one day a man from his own village saw him and heard that he only mumbled the prayers. When he went to him he said,

'Count your prayers with great austerity,
As the foam rises on the Lohit.
That you may become religious,
How are you now?'

'I am thus now,
That in the future I may be religious.
I was unable to endure it
So I do this.
The people think me a priest.'

Hearing this the man walked away and left him.

N. C. DAS.

32. HOLY DAY AND UNHOLY DAY.

Once there was a king who had an only son. He used to keep a low caste boy as a companion to care for and play with his son. When the people saw them they always saluted the young prince but they did not like to salute the low caste boy who was always with him. At last they told the young prince that he should not have this boy with him so much, because if he continued to allow him to sit with him everywhere they could not honour the prince without seeming to honour the servant too. The young prince thought this over very seriously and at last decided to tell his companion that he wished to travel alone and see the world. But the boy answered

very obediently that he would be willing to go any place and would not think of letting him take such a journey alone. So they started off together to visit different parts of the kingdom and see the world.

One day as they travelled they came to a lovely palace. This was the palace of a friendly king whose daughter had been promised to the prince. When the girl's mother saw him she was very eager to know how he had come without being announced and where he came from. The prince told how he had visited his own kingdom and then had gone to other places to see something of the world. The future mother-in-law urged him to stay on for a time. The king too later talked with him saying that now that he was here they might as well have the wedding. The prince consented and soon the arrangements were made. His companion watched all of this with great interest. Soon after the wedding the prince wished to take his bride to his father's palace and planned the return journey. The companion, of course, went with the bridal pair as they began their return trip.

As they went the companion was trying to think of a plan whereby he could get this girl for his own. Then he remembered that the prince was very particular about the auspicious and inauspicious days. So he called out, 'Oh prince, is this an auspicious day?' To which the prince answered, 'This is an auspicious day and anyone who makes it otherwise will be destroyed'. 'Then if everyone says it is an auspicious day that is well. But if someone says it is not, what will you give me?' 'If anyone says that it is inauspicious then I will give you what I have on', answered the prince. Soon they saw an old man leaning on his cane and weeping as he came wearily down the road. As he came nearer they heard him saying 'My! My! what an evil day! That I should ever see the day when I should have to take a beating from a son!' The servant went to him then and asked, 'Would you say this is an auspicious day or an inauspicious day?' 'I say that it is very inauspicious that I, an old man, should receive punishment from my son,' answered the old man bitterly. When the prince heard this he was surprised but borrowing a cloth from his wife he at once took off his own clothing and gave it to the servant.

They walked on in silence but the low caste boy having won this victory was anxious to try his luck again. Again he asked the prince and the prince again answered, 'I say these are auspicious days and I still say so. They are not evil days'. 'Very well,' answered the companion, 'if the next person says this is an auspicious day I will give you back all the clothing I have on. But if they say it is an evil day what will you give me?' The prince said, 'I have nothing to give. I gave you all I had'. 'But your bride has a lovely chain about her neck. You could give that,' answered the covetous boy. 'My friend you have

been very bold to think of such a thing. Well, even that I will give if this is an inauspicious day,' answered the prince.

It was some time before they met anyone but when they did who should it be but an old woman. She too was weeping as she trudged along in the dusty road. The boy went to her and asked, 'Mother, do you say this is a good day?' The old woman answered, 'Son, evil certainly has a very strong hold on the world. What men are saying is true, that sons do not obey their fathers, disciples do not follow their masters, wives even disobey their husbands, and the young people disrespect their elders. My own children have scolded me and have turned me out of their houses. Now I must go about begging for food. These certainly are evil days'. Then the boy called to the prince saying, 'Did you hear what she said?' The prince answered, 'Yes, I heard and I am taking off the chain. Come and get it'. So the companion took the chain and tied it securely in the corner of his cloth. They talked of many things as they walked along but again the question of the days came up. The prince still held to his point saying, 'I have said and still say that this is a good day'. Then the friend said, 'I will ask again and if they say it is a good day then I shall give you back the chain. But if they should say it is an evil day, what will you give me?' The prince was puzzled and said, 'I have not a single thing to give. What do you expect?' Then the servant said, 'You do have your bride, do you not? You could give her if you are so sure'. The prince was surprised and asked sadly, 'So you have come to that, have you? Well, of course I do not hold my own life dear as against religion. This is an auspicious day'.

After some time they met a little child in the road. The little fellow was alone and without food, clothing or shelter. The companion went up to him and said, 'Son, is this a good or an evil day?' The child was uncertain but said, 'Well, from the way the people treat me and my own wretched condition, I would say that it must be an evil day.' This delighted the low caste boy so he called to the prince, 'Did you hear what the child said? Now you must give me your wife'. There was no other way out for the prince and he had to give her up. But the companion could not find courage to take the bride right before the eyes of the prince. He must think of some other way. So he said that he would try again and asked the same question of the prince. Again the prince said, 'I have given you everything that I have. Everything that I held dear you have. What more could you ask?' The boy said, 'You still have your eyes'. So the prince promised, 'Yes, I still say this is an auspicious day. I am willing to give my two eyes should I be wrong'.

Next they met a woman screaming and crying as she came. When they asked her she began to tell all of her troubles saying,

'My! what shall I do? My husband does not love me. I work day and night to please him. I do not spare myself a bit. I do not get a bit of food for myself but even so he only listens to the relatives and accuses me all the time. He even beats me and now he has turned me out of his house. I have no father or mother, or brother or sister. Where shall I go and what shall I do? Where shall I die? Where is religion to allow such? There is no religion, all is gone and this is an evil day indeed'. The boy was so sure of his prize now that he shouted to the prince, 'Now what do you say? She too says this is an evil day'. The prince only said, 'I will give my eyes but not now. You know that if a young vulture has not eaten the flesh of man its wings will not grow and it cannot fly. See that nest over there in the tree. There is a young vulture which seems to be fully grown but he is not able to fly. Let us go there under the tree and you will put out my two eyes and the young vulture will eat my flesh and be able to fly'. So they all went over and the prince lay down on the ground ready to have his eyes out. The companion thought his heart's desire was within reach as he went up to put out the eyes of the prince. The prince rolled in agony and the boy unable to endure the sight took the young bride and started away.

The young vulture left its nest and went out on a limb of the tree where it could better see what was going on below. When the mother vulture came back with food for her young one she was surprised to find that the young bird was intent on some thing on the ground. It said, 'Look mother! What is the matter with that man?' Then he told all that had happened to his mother. She said, 'Now if someone does not heal this man's eyes he will die. If he dies I shall not eat and I too shall die'. The mother hearing this went off in search of some herbs which she knew about and brought them back in her mouth and rubbed them into his eyes. The prince's eyes were restored and when he recovered his senses he had a bit of the herbs in his hand. But then he discovered that even the cloth he had borrowed from his wife had been taken by the false friend and he was naked. He could not leave the place because he had no clothing.

Just then as he rested he saw a blind goat wandering about. When the boy came to get his goat he called to him to bring the goat close to the tree. When the boy brought it near, the prince applied the herbs to its eyes and it being healed ran off to its own house. The boy in astonishment ran after the goat but saw that it went straight home and that it could see. When he reached home the boy called out, 'Mother, mother, there is a young man over there under the tree who rubbed something in our goat's eyes and caused it to see'. The woman started at once to thank the young man. When the prince saw her coming he called out to her, 'Mother, do not come near me as

I have no clothing on'. When she heard this she turned back to her house found some clothing which she brought and gave to him. She told him to put on this clothing and come to her house and she would give him food and shelter. When he came she said, 'Son, you have healed my goat of its blindness. What can I do for you? You must stay with us and let me give you food and shelter as long as you need'.

The news of the healing of the goat spread throughout the land and came at last to the ears of the king. Now the king was blind and had been so for many years. When he heard this good news he sent at once for the young man to come and bring his medicine. The young man approached the king with fear and trembling. But when the king heard his steps he called out, 'Doctor, I have not seen for many years. If you can heal my blindness then I shall give you the whole of my kingdom'. So the young man went near and the king permitted him to apply the herbs to his eyes and his sight was restored. 'In his joy he at once placed the young prince on the throne and ordered his elephants that he might go out to see his kingdom. When he returned he had a big wedding for his daughter and the young prince to whom he had promised to give her as soon as his sight was restored. Now he could take his ease and enjoy the rest of his life.

Not long after that the prince told his father, 'Father, I wish to have a very big tank made, for we need more water. I do not wish to do this without your permission and it will cost as much as rupees four hundred every day'. The old king answered, 'Son, I have told you that you may do just as you wish. I have no objection to this new tank'. The next day the prince called for one man from each village. Then he explained that he was to be the overseer for his village. He was to bring all the men of his village who had been married but had no children. He was to be very careful that there were no unmarried men and no men who had children in the group. This was all explained very carefully and the men were sent home to collect the men and bring them to work on the morrow.

In the evening the men came for their money passing in one door and out the other. The young king was busy giving out when one man said, 'Your Honour, I too have worked'. Then the king answered, 'This is not an auspicious day it is inauspicious. Sit down and wait a while. I cannot give to you just now'. So the king continued with the men for some time. Again the man spoke up and the king said, 'Be quiet. These are not good days'. When he had finished with all of the others he called a servant and asked him to bring a live coal. This was put into a large cooking vessel. This was placed on the head of the man and the overseer was ordered to take him throughout the village stopping at every door when the man was to call out, 'Today is an inauspicious day. Whoever says it

is auspicious must do evil work as his punishment'. The overseer was to beat him with a piece of rattan if he did not say it at every door.

Thus the overseer took him off but as they went the coal burned all of his hair and even his head. Later the king ordered that he was to be trampled to death by the elephants so that no one who called the day an evil day should live. Then he called the overseer and asked how long this man had lived in his village. The overseer fell on his knees and said, 'Your Honour, this man recently came to our village and I do not know who his people were or where he came from'. Then the king asked about his wife. Again the man fell on his knees to answer, 'Your Highness, I did see the woman but she did not seem to be happy. "A tiger and a black leopard will feed together but they will never agree" (The high and the low have little in common) is the way to express it. Just as Ram and Robin could never agree but always fought each other'.

Then the king said, 'From what you have said I can understand much. Now go to this house and say, "The one whom you married is now the king. The man who took you has been killed. The king orders you to come with me"'. The man bowed and left the palace. When he reached his village he went at once to the house of the woman to give the king's message. The woman was very willing to go to the palace with him when she had heard all. As soon as they entered the palace gates the prince saw them and came running to meet them. He embraced the woman and they both began to cry. He led her into the palace and sent word to the father. When the old king and queen heard the news they sent for them to come into the inner courts. The prince began at the beginning and told them all that had happened. Then he told of his joy at finding this his bride. Then the king and queen blessed them both and accepted her as another daughter. The young prince who was faithful to his auspicious days had been restored to life, had been made king, and had regained his wife. The one who held that the days were evil or inauspicious days had lost everything, even his own life. So they accepted the two queens. They asked the young king to love them and care for them equally so that neither would suffer because of the other.

N. C. DAS.

33. THE PROUD TOAD.

Once there was a toad who started out from his home for a long journey. As he went along the way he saw a two-anna piece on the ground. His eyes grew large as he picked it up and looked at it. He stopped in his tracks and just looked and looked at this wonderful thing. Some of his friends came

along and found him there in the middle of the road looking at the beautiful bright thing. They said, 'Stand aside and let us pass'. But he only answered, 'Just look what I have found!' Then his friends having admired it again told him to step aside as the trampling of so many feet, big and small, was dangerous. Someone might not see him and step on him and his life will be crushed out of him. But he had swelled himself up as big as he could in his happiness over the great treasure. He therefore paid no attention to the warning but went on dreaming of the future and how great he would be.

His friends went on their way but he was too absorbed. Many animals did come that way, both great and small, and among them was an elephant. He, of course, could not see the toad but planted his great feet firmly in the dusty road and one great foot landed squarely on the toad. What chance was there even for a proud toad who had found two annas? When the elephant passed by he lay in the dust as flat as his lovely two-anna piece.

JUGASWAR SAIKIA.

One hot summer evening about twenty girls and I sat on the grass and listened to this story as told by a man who had come to conduct our evening vesper service. While Jugaswar has not received much education in the schools still he is a keen observer and has learned much in the 'school of life'. He had been reminding the girls of his lack of education and told them he had a very humble message to give them. He asked them to remember that these blessings they had received were given so that they might be used. Then he told the story of 'The Proud Toad' to illustrate what comes to those who become 'puffed up with pride'.

The story was a new one to the girls as it was to me. Several of them spoke to me about it later saying what a good story it was. They said they would find it useful in their own lives and hoped to be able to help others by it.

34. ALL GOD'S WORKS ARE GOOD.

Once upon a time a blind man and a hunchback became very good friends. They went everywhere together. Neither of them could work so they used to go about from place to place begging. Whatever was given to them the lame man used to divide and give the blind man his share.

One day a woman gave them some milk. In the evening when they were sharing the things of the day the lame man asked the blind one if he wanted some of the milk. The blind man said, 'What's that you say "milk"? What is milk like?'

His friend laughed and said, 'It is white and moves as one who crawls'. 'Moves? How does it move? What is it like?' So the lame man put his finger into the milk and said, 'See it moves like this'. When the blind man took hold of his friend's hand and felt it carefully he said, 'Oh my, that long thing and it moves? How can one eat it? It seems to me that would stick in one's throat. You may eat that. I'll not take what I do not know or see'. So the lame man did drink all of the milk. As they lay down for the night he thought to himself, 'This blind man is a fool'.

Another day when they were begging they found a bag of gold in the road. The lame man kept thinking how lucky they were as this much gold would provide for them many days and they would not need to beg from house to house any more. So he said to the blind one, 'Oh, blind one! Today we have found gold, come let us sit down and divide it. You sit here'. As they sat facing each other the lame man dug a hole in the soft earth and put his share in it. Then he put the other pile out on the sand so that they would seem about equal. When he had it all done to his satisfaction he said, 'Now you choose which pile you want and take that and I will have the other'. The blind man put out his hand and felt about a little then said 'I shall take this', with his hand on that in the hole. The lame man said, 'Now I see I have made a mistake and the two are not the same'. He did not wish the blind man to know he had chosen the larger share. So he said, 'Wait, I shall do it better this time'. But each time the blind man chose the larger share.

Then the lame man decided that his friend was not really blind but had been deceiving him all these days. He was so angry now that he said, 'All right, you wait, I'll see to your blindness', and gave him such a slap on the cheek that the blind man was hurt. He stood up and struck the lame man such a blow on his back that it was straightened. Then he realized that his eyes were opened.

T. C. HANDIQUE.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

‘IRĀQI: THE SONG OF LOVERS (‘USHSHĀQ-NĀMA). EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR J. ARBERRY. 8½ x 5. Translation pp. i-xxii, 1-84, and text pp. 1-99. Islamic Research Association Series, Bombay, Publication No. 8. Oxford University Press, 1939. Rs.5.

The text and translation of the ‘Ushshāq-Nāma by Fakhrū’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm *ibn* Shahriyār of Hamadān or ‘Irāqī prepared by Dr. A. J. Arberry and published by the Islamic Research Association of Bombay is a very useful addition to the literature of the lesser known Persian poets of the 7/13 century.

‘Irāqī’s ‘Ushshāq-Nāma is a treatise in ten chapters consisting of 66 sections of *Ghazals* (poems) and *Mathnawīs* (verses) ‘on the subject of Divine Love, the mystical-philosophical discourse being illustrated and enlivened with anecdotes of famous mystics and others’. With the text, which is based on a collation of four manuscripts, is issued the text and an abridged translation of an hitherto unpublished biography of the poet by some unknown author. The important variants in the four MSS. are published in an appendix of some 12 pages and a few useful notes regarding various important personalities referred to in the poem and special references to the Holy Qurān are also dealt with in a short section. The lithographed text, which is remarkably free from misprints, is a proof of the great labour expended in producing a faithful text both by the editor and the copyist. In trying to produce a ‘faithful and literal’ translation, the editor has, however, at times confused the sense of the original and the translation as a result does not conform closely to the Persian text. In a few passages of the translation such as in ‘After wandering lost that day and night’ (p. xv), apparently some words have been missed. On the whole, however, the work is a very valuable addition to the published texts of the period, and the editor deserves to be congratulated on his excellent performance. It would, however, have been useful if the editor had discussed at greater length the style, composition and the basic theme of the composition of ‘Ushshāq-Nāma.

B. PRASHAD.

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES: By **KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.,** Asst. Professor of History, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. Royal Octavo, pp. xix + 306. There is a useful index at the end. No price is mentioned. Neatly bound in cloth. The book is evidently the thesis which won for the author the Doctorate of the University of Calcutta; but there is no express mention of the fact anywhere in the body of the book.

Dr. Datta is a quiet scholar and it is always a pleasure to read his contributions. They are always homely and plain and seldom brilliant, dealing most often with familiar subjects. But the honest industry of the author begins to incline the reader in his favour from the very first page of his books. The present monograph on Alivardi has all the above characteristics. It has been a pleasure to read it through and the profit and instruction gained is also very considerable. The reviewer could note only one notable omission. While the discussion on Hindu society is fairly satisfactory and readable, the author appears to have purposely omitted describing and criticizing Muslim society and the morals of the Muslim ladies and gentlemen of the period, probably under the apprehension that the community in Bengal may not at present be in a mood to appreciate such criticism. But that Dr. Datta does not lack historical insight is sufficiently indicated by the following able and spirited passage by which he pronounces on Alivardi's victory over Sarfaraz, his master's son:—

‘The political atmosphere of the time was utterly vitiated by the vices of inordinate ambition, treachery and ingratitude. Alivardi's behaviour towards Sarfaraz, son of his benefactor to whom he was indebted for his early prosperity, was highly abominable . . . A nemesis followed it when his favourite grandson Sirajuddaulah fell a victim to the same forces that had been used by him to overthrow Sarfaraz. It might be very well said that the battle of Palassey was the reply of historical justice to the battle of Geria.’ (P. 41.)

If the well-known portrait of Alivardi preserved in the palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and reproduced in the book under review is a true representation of the great Nawab, he looks more like a soft-hearted poet than a stern administrator and we easily see in him the indulgent grandfather and the doting father. The purity of his personal character, which bears such a sharp contrast to the generality of characters of the period, is also found reflected in his mien. That such a man had to face the ravages of the terrible Maratha raids and ultimately had to take recourse to treachery to get rid of the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit, is only a very sad feature

of the times. The scrupulous chivalry of Alivardi towards the captured female members of his enemies' families was a brilliant feature of his character. Alivardi's Begam is also brought out in a very pleasant light by the author:—

'Alivardi's Begam occasionally appeared on the battlefield with her husband and also "played the rôle of a supreme political officer in Bengal, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Marathas". She encouraged her husband when the latter gave way to despair Holwell writes about her: "A woman whose magnanimity, wisdom, benevolence and every amiable quality reflected high honour on her sex and stations. She much influenced Alivardi's Councils and was consulted by him in every material movement in the State except when sanguinary and treacherous measures were judged necessary, which he knew, she would oppose, as she ever condemned them when perpetrated predicting always that such politics would end in the ruin of his family "'

The noble soul of a pious and high-minded lady shines forth in the above picture and it is sad to ruminate that the offsprings of such a high-souled pair turned out so badly.

The conclusion of the author is worth quoting:—

'The period supplies a student of history with two important lessons. It shows that even in political circles crime begets crime and that a power gained by treachery and force cannot be a source of real peace and happiness to a usurping adventurer or his family . . . It also demonstrates that it was even then not impossible for a wise and tactful ruler of a country, so much internally divided as Bengal, to secure ordinarily the support of all the communities in his administration.'

There are occasional lapses in language and diction but they will surely be removed if the book sees a second edition. We conclude by inviting the author to undertake an authoritative monograph on Sirajuddaulah, for which task few scholars appear to be better fitted than the author of the book under review.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

Siva-seal of Mohenjo-daro.

By A. AIYAPPAN.

(Communicated by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.)

A figure seated in the yogic pose on a low stool, with its arms stretched out and hands placed on the knees, and with the head adorned by a pair of horns, engraved on a few of the seals of Mohenjo-daro (numbers 222, 420, 235 figured in Mackay's *Further Excavations*) has raised more than usual interest for the reason that Sir John Marshall has tentatively identified it as Siva-Pasupati. Dr. Saletore¹ has recently tried to identify the same figure as Agni. As our knowledge of the Indus Valley culture is still meagre, differences in interpretation are of course inevitable. When at a future date the legends on the seals are satisfactorily deciphered, all the explanations given, including the one attempted here, may turn out to be wrong, but that eventuality does not deter us from seeking the true meaning of the figure with the material at our disposal.

In spite of the view expressed by some eminent archaeologists that the Harappa culture is exotic, evidence is accumulating to show that it was locally evolved. The latest bit of evidence is from the study of the Proto-Neolithic cultures of Sukkur and Rohri in the neighbourhood of Mohenjo-daro, which show close affinity to the stone artifacts of the Chalcolithic culture of the latter. Scholars are much exercised over the origins of the Harappa culture, and the issue will be weighed very much in favour of the Aryan hypothesis if Saletore's identification were found to be unassailable. A dimorphism between the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan or Dravidian cultures has been vehemently denied by some students, and equally strongly asserted by others. Granting that the two have been blending with each other for centuries making it very difficult to classify their special traits, I think it is yet possible to recognize a Dravidian culture complex as distinguished from the Aryan, with its peculiarities in language, social organization, architecture and religion. Agni is a distinctively Aryan deity without any counterpart in the Pre-Aryan cultures known to us. The importance, therefore, of Agni in the discussion of Mohenjo-daro origins is unequalled.

Marshall's arguments in support of his thesis are so well known that they do not require to be enumerated here.

¹ *New Review*, 55, X, 1939.

According to him, the trident-like head-dress of the figure, the yogic pose, the erect *membrum virile*, and the numerous animals sculptured round it, are all cumulatively suggestive of Śiva. Saletore's objections to this are: (1) that the Śiva-līṅga cult is of post-Mahābhārata date as there is no reference to it in the great Epic; (2) the Mohenjo-daro figure is two-eyed or possibly three-eyed, while Śiva is three-eyed; (3) Śiva's trident is in his hands, not on his head as in the figure under discussion; and (4) the horns of the trident-like head-dress are not the speciality of a pre-Aryan deity, for, the Vedic god, Agni, also has horns.

Dr. Moraes has answered most of these points in a subsequent issue of the *New Review*, but he agrees with Saletore in regarding the Mohenjo-daro figure as three-horned. Saletore's arguments require this figure to be three-horned, and therefore he says that the central cap-like part of the head-dress may be regarded as a third horn which has been rounded off by the sculptor for some reason not known to us!

This head-dress is such a prominent and definite feature of the figure that it should, in my opinion, be regarded as the key to our understanding of the nature of the religious representation intended by the seal. Taken as a group, the seals with this type of head-dress leave no doubt about the fact that the sculptor of Mohenjo-daro wanted this figure to be only two-horned. Though Agni has been described sometimes as three-horned, in certain other contexts he has been mentioned as four-horned. It is impossible to say whether these horns meant animal horns and if so, of any particular animal, or whether the term was used figuratively for some of Agni's attributes. It is well-known that Yāska explains the horns, etc., of Agni in the terminology of the fire sacrifice, and Patañjali regards them as references to *śabda* or speech. According to Macdonnell, 'the anthropomorphism of his (Agni's) physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire, mainly in its sacrificial aspects'. Vogel has made the following remarks on the iconography of Agni:—

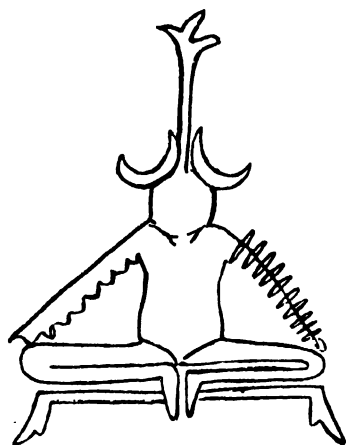
'... the epithets applied to Agni in the earliest Vedas, such as "butter-backed", "butter-faced", "seven-tongued", "thousand-eyed", do not find expression in later iconography. Even the epithet "flame-haired" does not readily apply to sculptural representation which shows the flame as quite distinct from Agni's hair and surrounding his head after the manner of a halo.'¹

All later sculptures show the ram as Agni's vehicle. In the R̥g Veda, Agni is likened to various animals such as the bull, steed, winged bird, etc., and in the epics he is described as a goat

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, LXXII (1933), pp. 228ff.

or goat-faced. Nowhere do we have any suggestion that Agni should have a pair of bison or buffalo horns such as those sculptured on the Mohenjo-daro Seals.

To the ethnologist the head-dress of the figure on the Śiva seal is full of interest. At least three different types of it are represented in the seals numbered 222, 235, 420, and 430 (fig. 1). In the first two, the central segment of the head-dress



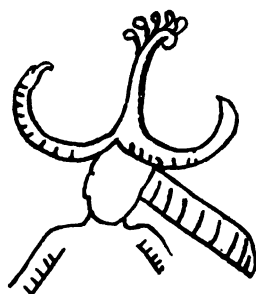
222.



430.



420.



235.

FIG. 1. The Head-dresses of Divine Beings sculptured on Mohenjo-daro Seals.

is narrow and surmounted by twigs or plumes. In 420 it is broad and arched at the top, while in the last it is conical. All these types have their counterparts in the head-dresses of

modern Indian tribes such as the Bison-horn Gonds, the Koyas and Savaras of the Eastern Ghats, and the Naga tribes of Assam. The elaborate head-dress of the Kalyo Kengyu warrior of the Naga Hills described by Dr. C. von Furer-Haimendorf is almost a modern copy of the head-dress of the Mohenjo-daro figures. In 235, the figure seems to have only one face—though Mackay thinks it has three—and it has a pig-tail of considerable length. The standing 'tree-spirit' of seals 430 and the seated figures are thus linked up by the similarity of the head-dress and the pig-tail. The kneeling worshipper of the so-called 'tree-spirit' has the plumed head-dress similar to that depicted in seal 222. If, as I presume, the 'tree-spirit' is the same as the seated figure of the other seals, the horned chief, priest or worshipper is offering to the god the animal behind him as sacrifice. We have no tradition whatsoever of Agni's priests being horned, whereas, among the non-Aryan tribes, divine as well as earthly chiefs were entitled to wear the horned head-dress.

The meaning of the horned head-dress of Mohenjo-daro can, I believe, be understood only if it is considered from the ethnological angle. I have already indicated the close resemblance between the tribal and the prehistoric head-dresses. In spite of the similarities, it will be hazardous to postulate that the two are identical in their significance. Among the Naga tribes such as the Lhotas the priests—*puthis*—and warriors of eminence are entitled to wear a head-dress embellished with boar tusks¹ and two *mithan* (*Bos frontalis*) horns one on each side. These horns, however, are not mere ornaments. There is a close relationship, according to Naga belief, between the human and the *mithan* souls: human souls in heaven reside in heavenly *mithan* bodies, and divine spirits in earthly *mithans*. Among the Nagas and their neighbours buffalo and bison horns are used as emblematic of fertility and prosperity. The Aos attach them to the heads of the human victims of the head-hunting raids, the object of the ritual act being fertility. Warriors among the Konyaks have the horn motif tattooed on their chest and arms. Among the Angamis the horns are carved on doors as a symbol of wealth.

Sections of the Gond tribes use the bison-horn head-dress in their dances, but it does not seem nowadays to have any special significance. The Koyas of the Godavari District, and the Khonds and Savaras of the Districts to the north have the bison-horn head-dress embellished with plumes of peacock feathers, but the significance of it remains yet to be investigated. The Koyas and the backward Hindu castes of the Telugu country worship a godling, Potturaju by name. The name of the godling is itself significant. It means literally 'the male

¹ I have a strong feeling that the crescent moon that forms a part of Śiva's head ornaments originated from the use of the boar tusk as is seen on the Naga warrior's head-dress.


king'. *Pottu* in the sister languages, Tamil and Malayalam means the buffalo. Now, Potturaju is the younger brother of all the mother-goddesses of the Telugu folk pantheon, and three wooden rods, carved and looking very much like the *hanal* poles planted near Gond graves, representing Potturaju can be seen in front of all mother-goddess shrines. Potturaju spends all his time in the company of the female deities. He stands between the villagers and the wrath of the mother-goddesses who are the distributors of pestilences. After offering sacrifices to the mother-goddesses, and requesting them to leave the village limits, the villagers utter the following conditional curse: If you return again to our village, we shall consider you as having committed incest with your younger brother, Potturaju. Potturaju is thus the protector of the villages from plagues and pestilence, and has precedence when offerings are made at the village shrines. Some of the carved rods representing Potturaju are phallic in form; his name is suggestive not only of masculinity but also of the buffalo; and his function is essentially that of protection, while the mother-goddesses are mainly malevolent. I have dealt with the Potturaju cult to show that rites associated with fertility and buffaloes exist among many tribes and even among some Hindu castes, though they are vestigial and attenuated. There is nothing improbable in our holding that the people of Mohenjo-daro and the Gond tribes might have had cultural contacts in prehistoric times. In a cultural *cul-de-sac* like Assam Hills, an ancient religious trait with the buffalo or bison horn as its central point still survives in a living form, while it has left only mere relics in the remaining regions of India.

The horn motif has survived in architecture and in religious sculpture of the Hindus in historical times. In Pallava sculptures and shrines, a form of the trident showing the horns in the most unmistakable manner can be seen. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry has pointed out an important characteristic of the Dvārapālas (door-keepers) of Śiva shrines of Southern India, namely, that in all early types of them, the head is adorned with a pair of horns. A beautiful specimen of a Pallava door-keeper in the Madras Museum shows this interesting feature.

The Mahishāsura sculptured in Pallava shrines in his anthropomorphic form has the typical bison-horn head-dress which resembles the Koya one or that on seal number 430 of Mohenjo-daro. Whether the story of Mahishāsuramardini has a historical core or not as suggested by Gopinatha Rao is immaterial in the present context, but the sculptured representation of the theme shows that the bison-horn head-dress had some real significance in the stories of the Hindus. What became a mythological relic may have been a living cult at the time when the culture of Mohenjo-daro flourished.

To return to the seated figure of Mohenjo-daro, the animals surrounding the deity do not merely indicate his attribute of creatorship. The tiger, for example, is represented as threatening to attack the seated figure, but he remains unperturbed. The performance of feats of physical and mental endurance was a part of religious exercises of which the epics tell a good deal. I should like to suggest that there is in the scene depicted on the seal a suggestion of a great *tapas*. The *tapas* of the Hindus and the vision-seeking of the American Indians are essentially a quest of power.

It has to be pointed out that the Mohenjo-daro deity does not possess many of the attributes of the Śiva of modern Hinduism, but his most fundamental qualities are nevertheless suggestively indicated in it. The horns are suggestive of the trident, and less directly of the fertility aspect of Śiva; the erect *membrum virile*, of the phallic aspect of Śaivism; and the pose and the surroundings of Śiva's yogic characteristics. On the other hand we look in vain for the club, the axe, the girdle of serpents, the bow, etc., but it might be asked whether these were not later accretions that grew on the archetype that they had at Mohenjo-daro, in the course of the millennia that have since elapsed. The conclusion that I should like to draw is that this figure is nearer Śiva than Agni or even Rudra.



**Digvijaya of King Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar
Inscription.**

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

(Communicated by Dr. Kalidas Nag.)

Exaggeration with reference to the achievements of kings is a remarkable feature of royal *prastis* of the medieval period.¹ It is however by no means absent in the earliest Indian literature. There are, for instance, the following two *gāthās* in the *Śat. Br.* (XIII, iii, 5, 11 and 13):

(1) अष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौष्यन्तिर्यमुनामनुगङ्गायां वज्रघ्नेऽवध्नात्
पञ्चपञ्चाशत् हयानिति ।

(2) परः सहस्रानिन्द्रायाम्बेधानाहरद्विजित् पृथिवीं सर्वांमिति ।

According to the first *gāthā*, Bharata, son of Dushyanta, performed 78 *Aśvamedhas* on the Jumna and 55 on the Ganges—in all 133 horse-sacrifices. According to the second *gāthā* however Bharata celebrated more than 1,000 *Aśvamedhas* after conquering the whole earth. Critics cannot fail to note the difference between the definite nature of the statements in the first *gāthā* and the vagueness of the number 'more than 1,000' and of the expression 'after conquering the whole earth' in the second *gāthā*. Conquest of the whole earth means the same thing as *digvijaya* (conquest of all the quarters, i.e. of all

¹ Cf. the absurd claim of Dhaṅga in the following verse of an inscription discovered at Khajuraho :

का त्वं काक्षीरूपनिवर्तिता का त्वमश्रुधिपक्षी
का त्वं राक्षसपरिहृत्तधुः का त्वमश्रुधिपक्षी ।
इत्याद्यापाः समरजयिनी यस्मै वैरिप्रियाणां
कारागारे सज्जमानयन्दीवराणां बभूवुः । (Ep. Ind., I, p. 145.)

There is always a considerable amount of exaggeration in the royal *prastis*; generally however, the earlier the record is, the greater is the amount of truth in the claims. Definite statements (e.g. mention of the personal names of adversaries) are generally more trustworthy than vague claims. Whatever be the amount of exaggeration, there is certainly a considerable amount of truth in the claims put forward in records like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola.

countries in the north, east, south and west).¹ One who has control over this 'whole earth' is called Sārvabhauma, Chakravartin, etc.

The conception of a mighty king performing *digvijaya*, that is to say, conquering the whole earth, as we find in the case of Bharata, permeates the whole body of the epic and Puranic literature. Epic heroes like Karna (*Mbh.*, III, 253) and the brothers of Yudhishtira (*ib.*, II, 26-32) are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karna completed his *digvijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west, and

एवं स पृथिवीं सर्वां वशे हत्वा महारथः ।

विजित्य पुरषध्यान्नो नागसान्नयमागमत् ॥ (*op. cit.*, v. 22.)

It is however interesting to note that the lists of countries (in the four different directions) conquered by the epic *digvijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of the Bhāratavarsha, as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Purāṇas and other works. The Bhāratavarsha, as we all know, is:

हिमालयादासमुद्रं पुण्यक्षेत्रञ्च भारतम् । (ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण) ;

and एतत् भारतं वर्षं चतुःसंस्थानसंस्थितम् ।

दक्षिणेऽपरतोऽस्य पूर्वेषु च महोदधिः ।

हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कर्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥ (मार्कण्डेयपुराण)²

It is significant that the land traversed by the epic *digvijayins* (as indicated by the lists of countries conquered) is also bounded, roughly speaking, by the Himalayas in the north, and the ocean in the east, south and west. According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (IX, i), 'the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea is the Kshetra of a Chakravartin'. There can therefore be no question that 'the whole earth' conquered by the *digvijayins* is the epic and Puranic Bhāratavarsha.

¹ Cf. दिशाम्यति=king (literally ruler of the quarters), Childers, *Pali*

Dictionary, s.v. Apto's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains दिग्विजय as 'conquest of the directions, conquest of various countries in all the directions, conquest of the world'.

² See also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 77-79. Cf. reference to fame spreading 'from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge' in the Eklingji stone inscription (Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1171). Apparently this land has been called Jambudvīpa in an inscription of Aśoka, and in such Puranic passages as in *Kūrma*, I, 35, 41. Prof. Raychaudhuri draws my attention to the use of *Puṣhavi* in the sense of *Vijaya* in R.E.V. (Dhau) of Aśoka.

Stories of the epic *digvijayins* were no doubt very popular during the age of the early Gupta kings. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the 2nd century A.D., but also by inscriptions and literary works of the early Gupta period. Raghu's conquest of all the quarters¹ in the *Raghuvamśa* (Canto IV) of Kālidāsa who lived in the 4th-5th century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the *digvijayas* of Karna, the Pāṇḍava brothers and others. It is again interesting to note that inscriptions refer to the conquest or possession of the whole earth by all the early Gupta kings. Passages like सर्वदृष्ट्वोविजयजनितोदयस्याग्निनिधिरावनि-
तस्तं², कत्तुदृष्ट्वोविजयार्थेन रात्रौवेच सञ्जातः³, चतुःसमुद्रान्तविद्योत्तमेच्छतां * * *
दृष्ट्विर्वी प्रभासति⁴ and एवं स जित्वा दृष्ट्विर्वी समग्रं⁵, found respectively in the records of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, directly refer to the epic traditions of *digvijaya*. In inscriptions and literary works the boundaries of this 'whole earth' are described in two different ways. Sometimes it is vaguely said to be bounded by the conventional *chatuḥ-samudra* or four oceans in the four different directions.⁶ In some records and works however definite localities (some of them are sometimes mythical) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of 'the whole earth', and, as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of the epic and Puranic Bhāratavarsha.

In the Karhād grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 284-85) of Kṛishṇa III, the king's dominions are referred to in the verse :

अनमस्ता पूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलदीपात् ।

यं जनकाज्ञावशमपि मयइलिनखदृढदृढभयात् ॥

Here the boundaries given are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern ocean (Bay of Bengal); S. Ceylon; W. the western ocean (Arabian Sea).

¹ Cf. इति जित्वा दिशो जिघृक्ष्यवर्तत रथोद्धतम् (*ib.* IV, 85). Mallinātha rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating एकच्छत्रत्व, universal sovereignty.

² Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 1, l. 29).

³ Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II (*ib.*, No. 6). Chandragupta II extirpated the Śakas of Ujjayini and extended the Gupta empire up to the western end of Kāthiāwād.

⁴ Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman (*ib.*, No. 18, verse 23).

⁵ Junagarh rock inscription of Skandagupta (*ib.*, No. 14, verse 7).

⁶ See D. C. Sircar in *Ind. Cult.*, VI, pp. 74-75.

In the Pāla inscriptions, the whole earth (सप्तमथून्या उर्वी) ruled by Devapāla is described in the verse :

आ गङ्गागममहितात् सप्तमथून्याम्

आ सेतोः प्रथितदशास्यकेतुकीर्णे ।

उर्वीमावदणनिकेतनाच्च सिन्धो-

रा लक्ष्मीकुलभवनाच्च यो बुभोज ॥

(*Gauṇalekhamālā*, p. 38.)

Here the boundaries given are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern ocean; S. Rāma's bridge; W. the western ocean.¹

In the records of the Pālas, the *digvijaya* of three different kings (Vigrahapāla II or III in some records, but Rājyapāla II in others) is described in the verse :

देशे प्राप्तिं प्रचुरपयसि खच्छमापीय तोयं

खैरं भान्वा तदनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु ।

ह्यत्वा सान्द्रैर्मरुषु जड़तां श्रीकरैरभतुल्याः

प्रालेयाग्नेः कटकमभजन् यस्य सेनागजेन्द्राः ॥ (*ib.*, p. 95.)

Here the boundaries indicated are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern country (home of the Pāla kings); S. the Malaya mountain (in the Pāṇḍya country)²; W. Maru (i.e. the Rajputana desert; cf. Marwar).

In this connection we may note another verse of the Pāla inscriptions describing the *digvijaya* of Dharmapāla :

¹ It is interesting to note that another record describes Devapāla as conquering the 'earth' bounded by the fathers of Revā and Gaurī (i.e. the Himalayas and the Vindhya) and the eastern and western oceans which turn red at the time respectively of the rising and setting of the sun (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 72). Cf.

आ वेराजमकान्तममदक्षिण्यच्छासंक्षते-

रा गोतीपितुरीश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुष्पत् सितिको गिरिः ।

मानेच्छासमयोदयावपणसादावारिरामिद्वयात्

नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदा श्रीदेवपातो नृपः ॥

These boundaries of North India are evidently based on Manu's celebrated definition of the Āryāvarta. North Indian kings (e.g. Vigraharāja Chāhamāna; see Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1076) sometimes modestly claim to have been conquerors of the earth from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and south Indian kings (e.g. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) of the country bounded by the three seas.

² See Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 110-11.

केदारे विधिगोपयुक्तपयसां गङ्गासमेताम्बुधौ

गोकर्णादिषु चाप्यनुष्ठितवतां तीर्थेषु धर्मेभ्यः क्रियाः ।

भृत्याणां सुखमेव यस्य सकलानुद्भूत्य दुष्टानिमान्

लोकान् साधयतोऽनुब्रूजनिता सिद्धिः परत्राप्यभूत् ॥

(ib., p. 36.)

Here the boundaries indicated are—N. Kedāratīrtha (in the Himalayas); E. Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; S. and W. Gokarna¹ and other *tīrthas*.

Similar boundaries of the Kshetra of a Chakravartin or a Digvijayin are furnished by works of classical Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa's *Kādambari*,² for instance, says: यच्च जलनिधितरङ्गधीतमेच्छात् * * * आग्नेह्लादुदयनाम्नः, * * * आ सेतुबन्धात्, * * * आ मन्दराच्छात्, नरनारायणचरणमुद्राङ्कित वदरिकाग्रमरमणीयात् कुवेरपुरसुन्दरीभूषणरवमुच्चरितनिखरात् * * * आगन्धमादनात् * * * भुजबलविजिताः प्रणमुररणीपतयः. Here we get the following boundaries of the kingdom of Chandrapīḍa, described as a king of the Bhāratavarsha.³ N. the Gandhamādāna on which stands Vadarikāśrama; E. the mythical Udaya mountain in the eastern ocean; S. Rāma's bridge; W. the mythical Mandara mountain (evidently in the western ocean).

In his *Harshacharita*,⁴ in connection with Harsha's attempt to conquer the quarters, the same author gives a slightly different description of the boundaries: आ * * * उदयाच्छात्, आ निक्कूट-कटक-कुडाक-टङ्कलिखित-काकुत्स्थसङ्कासुष्मनयनिकरात् सुवेलात्, आ वावचीमदस्थलितववणवरनारीमूपुररवमुच्चरकुचेरस्रगिरेः, आ * * * गन्धमादनात्, सर्वेषां राज्ञां सज्जौक्रियन्तां कराः करदानाय ब्रह्मपञ्चाय वा * * *.

Here the boundaries given are: N. Gandhamādāna (in the Himalayas); E. the mythical Udaya mountain in the eastern

¹ According to some, Gokarna in the Bombay Presidency, which is even now a place of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India, represents the western limit of the land traversed during this *digvijaya* (*Gaudālekhamālā*, p. 42, note 4). *Raghuvamśa*, VIII, 33, however locates Gokarna, a *tīrtha* sacred to Śiva, on the coast of the southern or Indian ocean (रोधसि दक्षिणोदधेः). May this Gokarna be the same as Rāmeśvara? The *Vāyu P.* (58, 30) places Gokarna to the east of the *dvīpa* containing Laṅkāpurī and on the sea-shore.

² Ed. Haridās Siddhāntavāgīś, Calcutta, pp. 194-95.

³ *Id.*, pp. 683, 685.

⁴ *Nirnaysagar* Press ed., p. 217.

ocean; S. the Suvela range in Ceylon with the Trikūta mountain¹ on which are signs of the conquest of Laṅkā by Rāma; W. the mythical Asta mountain in the western ocean.

Similar boundaries are also found in two early records. The first of these is the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman. There we have the verse:

आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवलगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रा-

दा गङ्गाश्चिह्नसगोस्तुहिनश्चिखरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।

सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणद्धतमदैः पादयोरागमद्भि-

खड्गारत्नांशुराजिद्यतिकरश्वला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥²

The verse gives the following boundaries: N. the Himalayas; E. the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra river; S. the Mahendra mountain assigned by the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the Pāṇḍya³ country and identified by Pargiter with Mahendragiri in the Tinnevely District; W. the western ocean.

The other early record referring to similar boundaries is the Meharauli pillar inscription of king Chandra. A verse of this record reads:

यस्योदर्ययतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्

वङ्गेष्वहववर्त्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेण कौर्त्तिर्मुजे ।

तोर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि समरे चेन सिन्धोर्जिता वाङ्किका

यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्बौर्ध्यानिर्लेर्दक्षिणः ॥⁴

Here the boundaries of the earth conquered by Chandra are given as: N. Bāhlika or Bactria⁵; E. Vaṅga or parts of eastern,

¹ Trikūta is the name of a mountain in Ceylon on the top of which was situated Laṅkā the Capital of Rāvana. See *Sisūpālavadha*, II, 5, and Apte, *op. cit.* Apte identifies Trikūta and Suvela. For Laṅkā on Trikūta, see also *Vāyu P.*, 58, verses 26-28.

² *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 33, verse 5.

³ Cf. युक्तं कपाटं पाण्ड्याणां गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ।

ततः समुद्रमासाद्य सम्प्रभार्याय निश्चयम् ॥

अगस्त्येनान्तरे तत्र सागरे विनिवेशितः ॥

चित्रसानुर्नगः श्रीमान् महेन्द्रः पर्वतोत्तमः ॥

जातरूपमयः श्रीमानवगाढो महाशयवम् ॥ (किष्किन्ध्याकाण्ड, 41, 18-20.)

See Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 108-09.

⁴ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 32, verso 1.

⁵ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*J.A.H.R.S.*, X, p. 87) places this Vāhlika on the Vipāsā on the strength of *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 68, 18-19. The reading

southern and central Bengal; S. the southern ocean (i.e. the Indian Ocean); W. the seven mouths of the Indus (falling in the western ocean or Arabian sea). It should be noted that the style of this verse is exactly similar to that of the verses quoted above that describe the *divijaya* of Dharmapāla and Vīrahapāla II and III and Rājyapāla II. It is also to be noted that the description of Chandra's *divijaya* very closely resembles that of the conquests of Kālidāsa's Raghu. Raghu too conquered the Vāṅgas on the eastern boundary, and, on the northern, the Hūpas who were dwelling on the Vamkshu¹ or Oxus in Bactria. Raghu who went by the *sthalavartma* (land-route) from Aparānta (Northern Konkan) to the country of the Pārasikas (Persians) who were *pāśchātyas* (westerners), must necessarily have crossed the mouths of the Indus.

The verses and passages quoted prove beyond doubt that the description of the land claimed either to have been under the rule of, or to have been traversed in course of *divijaya* by, a king is conventional. Of course I do not mean to say that the claims are absolutely without any foundation; but known cases such as that of Devapāla would definitely prove that the amount of exaggeration always exceeded that of truth.

The Meharauli inscription thus represents Chandra as a *divijayin*, conqueror of 'the quarters' and of 'the earth'. In my opinion, Hoernle is perfectly right in assigning this record palaeographically to the fifth century A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XXI, pp. 43-44). We have therefore to look for a king (1) who lived about the beginning of the 5th century, (2) whose name or part of the name² was Chandra, and (3) who claimed to have conquered 'the quarters' or 'the whole earth'. Of course, there might have been more than one king who would satisfy the three conditions. We however know only of one king (1) who reigned in c. 375-414 A.D., (2) whose name was Chandragupta, but who is sometimes called Chandra and Narendra-Chandra on his coins,³ and (3) who is known to have set out for the

वाहीकान् in the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage is however certainly a mistake for वाहीकान्. For the well-known Vāhika country watered by the Indus and its five tributaries, see Cunningham, *A.G.I.*, 1924, pp. 247, 686-87; *Ind. Cult.*, VI, p. 1 ff.; *Mbh.*, VII, 44-45.

¹ This reading is adopted in Vallabha's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*. Mallinātha's reading सिन्धु is undoubtedly wrong.

² Cf. भीम for भीमसेन.

³ Allan says (*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. xxxvii), 'There is no analogy for the abbreviation *Chandra* for Chandragupta in inscriptions; its occurrence in the field of coins is hardly a parallel...' It may however be pointed out that Chandragupta II is called both Devagupta and Devarāja and *gupta* is not found in the latter form. Skandagupta is called Skanda in verse 6 of the Bihar pillar inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 12).

conquest of 'the whole earth' (कनकशचीजय). This king is Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and in the present state of our knowledge—until further evidence comes for the solution of the problem of Chandra's identity—Chandragupta's identification with Chandra may be tolerated. I am of opinion that Chandra's identification with any other known king cannot be supported in the present state of our knowledge by anything but conjectures which are bound to be less convincing.¹

Fleet² offered an alternative suggestion that the name of the king of the Meharauli inscription might actually have been Dhāva. He read धावेन instead of भावेन in the third *pāda* of the verse:

प्राप्तेन खभुजार्जितञ्च सुषिरश्चाकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ

चन्द्राङ्गेन समयचन्द्रसदृशौ वक्त्राभिर्यं विभक्ता ।

तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं

प्राप्सुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ॥

There can however be no question that the first letter (with its *serif*) is not च (which has no *serif*) but भ with an additional bottom-stroke from left to right which appears to be caused by the engraver's slip.³ The reading is भावेन. It may however be tempting to conjecture it to be a mistake for देवेन, as in that case the king's name would be Chandrāhva Deva, i.e. Deva surnamed Chandra, and Chandragupta, we know, had another name, Devagupta or Devarāja.⁴ However that may be, there is no doubt that the king's devotion to Bhagavān Viṣṇu strengthens his identification with Chandragupta II who is the

¹ Chandra's identification with Chandragupta I is improbable as the latter is not proved to have been a devotee of Viṣṇu, nor did the Delhi region (where the pillar stands) form part of his kingdom. In the genealogical portion of early Gupta records, devotion to Viṣṇu is ascribed only to Chandragupta II and his successors, just as the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is given only to Chandragupta I and his successors. The Allahabad pillar inscription referring to Samudragupta's conquests in Āryāvarta and the Purāṇas referring to Gupta rule in Prayāga on the Ganges. Sāketa and Magadha prove that the kingdom of Chandragupta I included the Allahabad District in the west. Chandra's identification with the Nāga king Chandrāmśa is conjectural. His identification with Maurya Chandragupta is fanciful. Such a record as this may be posthumous only by a few months, and certainly not by about seven centuries.

² *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 142, note 2.

³ Allan, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1262, 1704.

first *paramabhāgavata* ¹ amongst the Gupta kings (and possibly amongst all Indian kings) and was at the root of the revival of Bhāgavatism during the early medieval period.

¹ Allan says (*loc. cit.*) that *paramabhāgavata* 'is so stereotyped an epithet of his that the fact that it is not used here is rather an argument against identifying Chandra with Chandragupta II'. It is however too much to expect the stereo-typed epithet in a metrical record. It may be pointed out that it is not used in the Sanchi and the two Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Nos. 3, 5 and 6).

Cult of the Old Lady.

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI.

(Communicated by Prof. H. C. Chakladar.)

In the course of investigation into the folk cults of Bengal the existence of two independent cults of the Old Lady (*Burī Pūjā*) has come to our notice. These cults are interesting as revealing how the tribal religion has reacted to the increasing pressure of the Hindu religion. While sometimes the tribal religion has compromised by Hinduizing its deities evidence is not lacking of orthodox members of the Hindu pantheon losing their position and even caste, gradually, as their worship spreads among tribes living under more or less pronounced primitive conditions. As a rule, tribes exposed to Hindu influence show a tendency to Hinduize their cults, while tribes removed from Hindu influence sometimes borrow Hindu cults which completely lose their distinctive features in the process of assimilation. Reaction works thus in two ways, producing nearly opposite results. One of the two processes, both of which operate imperceptibly, reaches its culmination when tribal deities on promotion come to be affiliated to some or other of the old Hindu deities or their local forms. The origin of such deities may be detected through survival of some or other of the elements originally associated with their worship. Observation has shown that the operation of both the processes can be best studied among the lower castes of Hindus, composed in many areas predominantly of Hinduized tribes. In the present article it is proposed to examine the operation of one of the two processes, and show how the cult of a tribal clan deity called the Old Lady (the *Burī*) has, while retaining its old tribal characteristics, assimilated features of the Hindu worship and secured its acceptance by the Hindus who have *brahmanized* the clan deity and affiliated it to the great *Devī*. In the other cult of the Old Lady which we propose to examine separately on a future occasion and which is fairly widespread in Bengal, she is represented by the *sheora* tree (*Tropis aspera*) and is worshipped by women for the welfare of their children.

The cult of the Old Lady as a tribal clan deity prevails in parts of Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Chota Nagpur. The Old Lady is sometimes called simply *Burī* and sometimes *Mātā*, *Māi*, *Thākurānī* etc. are added to her name. Thus the Dhimals in North Bengal worship *Burī Thākurānī*,¹ the Rautiyas of

¹ Sir William Hunter : Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X, p. 378.

Chota Nagpur worship *Burhiā Mātā*,¹ the Badi Nats and Malar Nats (Upper India) worship *Burhi Mātā* and *Burhi Māi*.² The worship of one Old Lady with a very descriptive name is reported from Midnapore. She is called *Hāthi-dharā-Burī*, that is, the Old Lady who catches elephants with her hands. It is told that formerly the locality where her humble shrine is situated was covered with jungles in which wild elephants roamed at large. The goddess destroyed these elephants single-handed so that people might clear the jungles and settle down there. In the course of time this Old Lady rose higher and higher to dignity and has now come to be worshipped in the Brahmanical form.³ Allied to these cults of the Old Lady is the cult of *Burā-Burī* (the Old Man and the Old Lady) which prevails in different parts of Bengal, Bihar and Assam. According to Dalton, the pair are derived from *Rishi* and his consort *Charipak* worshipped by the Rabhas and they have come to be *brahmanized* as Śiva and Durgā.⁴ This view of the origin of the pair is, however, open to doubt. In Assam and Bengal they are generally worshipped as clan deities by several Hinduized tribes.⁵ Another cult which appears to be allied to the worship of *Burā-Burī* is the cult of *Korā-Kurī*, which prevails in North Bengal among the Rajvansi caste and appears to be confined to women.⁶

It appears from the notices of these cults in the works of Dalton, Risley and Crooke and from independent reports that the Old Lady is regarded as the creatrix or ancestress of mankind.

We shall now turn to the allied cult of the Old Lady as prevailing in Rungpur in North Bengal.

An interesting and elaborate account of the cult has been kindly supplied by an enlightened zamindar of the district in reply to a questionnaire. We shall give extracts from his report:—

‘Two forms of the worship of *Vṛddheśvarī* or *Burī* are prevalent, namely, the worship proper of the *Burī* and *Burī Jāt*. . . As regards the worship of the *Burī* no time is fixed for it. Ordinarily it is performed in the month of Baisakh or Jyāiṣṭha. There is no image. A vessel made of the sheath of the plantain tree containing China roses, vermilion etc. is worshipped as the goddess. The worship is not performed with any particular object. This pūjā prevails among the Rajvansis, Jeliyas, Beharas, Kaivarttas and other castes. There are many shrines of the *Burī* known as *Burī thān* in the estates of the zamindars

¹ Sir Herbert H. Risley: *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 203, 1891, Calcutta.

² W. Crooke: *Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. 1, p. 74, 1896, Calcutta.

³ Reported by Mr. K. C. Chakravartti, Midnapore.

⁴ Col. E. T. Dalton: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 88, 1872, Calcutta.

⁵ Risley: *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 381, 458; Vol. II, p. 65.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 498.

to which rent-free lands have been given and fixed annual contributions are also made towards the expenses of the worship. The priest officiating at the worship is known as *deodā* or *deāshi*. He is either a Rajvansi or a Kaivartta.

'The cult prevails also among the higher castes among whom the *Burī* is known as *Vṛddheśvarī*. A Brahman officiates as priest. In the Brahmanical form of worship the goddess is meditated on as follows: "Goddess fair-complexioned, adorned with all kinds of ornaments, dressed in yellow garments, two-eyed, two-armed, beautiful and smiling, who always grants boons to her votaries". She is invoked as the nurse of the universe (*Jagatām dhātṛī*) and consort of Rudra (*Rudrakāntā*). Goats and pigeons are sacrificed to her. . .'¹

From the above the following points may be noted in regard to the worship proper of the *Burī*: The absence of any image of the deity and any particular object of worship, the name *thān* given to the shrines of the deity and the name *deāshi* or *deodā* given to the priest officiating at the non-Brahmanical worship point to the real tribal character of the deity. After her acceptance by the higher castes the name *Burī* has been Sanskritized into *Vṛddhā* and the suffix *Īśvarī* has been added simply to denote her divinity and facilitate her affiliation to the Devī. The affiliation of a tribal or local deity by the addition of the suffix *Īśvarī* is common and is illustrated in such names as *Muṇḍeśvarī*, *Kuleśvarī*, *Pateśvarī*, *Kicakeśvarī* etc.

To turn now to the second form of worship, namely, the *Burīr Jāt*. 'As regards the *Burīr Jāt* it may be described as follows: Mango twigs and white and black *chāmars* (yak's tail) are tied to the tops of long, slender bamboo poles which are wrapped up with white, black and red strips of cloth. These decorated bamboos are known as *Burīr bans* or bamboo. These bamboos are offered to the goddess by the *deāshi* who acquaints her with the desire of each of the givers of this bamboo offering and prays for his welfare. Thereafter, the devotees carry these bamboos in their hands and move round the shrine dancing to the accompaniment of rhythmical beating of drums. Then they all assemble and with drums beating pass through the main thoroughfares of the village, rhythmically moving the bamboos carried by them and visit the houses of notable men of the village where dancing is performed with many gestures and in different styles. The celebration continues for three days. In the afternoon of the last day a special worship is offered to the goddess and there is a special exhibition of dancing with bamboos. The ceremony ends at evening. Goats and pigeons are sacrificed. On the same day a number of *bhaktas* pass iron rods (½th inch thick) through their tongues, palms, arms or the skin on both

¹ Reported by Rai Bahadur Mritunjaya Rai Chaudhuri, Zamindar, Sadyapuskarini, Rungpur.

sides of the stomach, bind lighted torches (two cubits long) to the ends of the iron rods and perform dances. On the last day of the celebration a *melā* is held near the shrine and a large number of people attend the *melā*. This festival is held in Baisakh or Jyais̥tha.¹

We see from the above that there are two important features in the festival known as the *Burīr Jāt*, namely, dancing with dressed up bamboo poles and dancing with lighted torches tied to ends of iron rods passed through different limbs. With regard to the first feature it may be observed that this part of the celebration has similarity to the bamboo festival of the Kacharis of Assam and the Ghāzi Miyāñ's festival celebrated by Moslems in different parts of India. Referring to the bamboo festival of the Kacharis Dalton writes: 'On this occasion, thirteen men carry as many lofty poles decorated with clothing, and having a yak's tail at the head. It is very strange that the low class Mussalmans of Chota Nagpur called Jholas have a festival which they celebrate in Chait, the most singular part of which is the exhibition of long bamboo poles decorated in precisely the same manner'.² In his Statistical Account of Bengal, Hunter quotes at length from a memorandum submitted by the Superintendent of Police, Bogra, to the District Magistrate, regarding the local Moslem practice of marrying girls to a bamboo which was called Ghāzi Miyāñ. In the month of Jyais̥tha at a fair held at Kelna Kushiya near Sherpur in Bogra 'the ceremony is performed by the neighbouring villagers, who collect at the appointed time carrying bamboos with strips of cloth, white, red, black, etc. wound spirally from the bottom to the top, the whole ending in a *chāmar* or a tuft of cow's hair. These bamboos are called Ghāzi Miyāñ, Hotila Sahib, Bibir bāns, Shāh Mādār etc.'³ Referring to the cult of the five saints which is very popular in Upper India, Crooke writes: 'The whole worship centres round Ghazi Miyan. . . Nowadays, at his festival, a long spear or pole is paraded about, crowned at the top with bushy hair representing the head of the martyr, which, it is said, kept rolling on the ground long after it was severed from the trunk'.⁴ The festival is held also in Calcutta by Moslems when several long bamboo poles wrapped in strips of cloth of different colour with black or white *chāmars* at the top are paraded in the streets. It attracts such large crowds that ordinary traffic has to be stopped for several hours. But in Calcutta and some other parts of Bengal the festival appears to be held in honour of Shāh Mādār and not Ghāzi Miyāñ.

¹ Reported by Rai Bahadur Mritunjaya Rai Chaudhuri, Zamindar, Sadyapuskarini, Rungpur.

² Dalton: *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

³ Hunter: *Op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 184.

⁴ W. Crooke: *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 228, 1894, Allahabad.

The tomb of Sayed Salar Masud, known as Ghāzi Miyāñ at Barhaich, is well known and draws numerous votaries from distant places at the time when the festival known as Ghāzi Miyāñ's marriage is celebrated. A bamboo pole, similarly dressed up, is brought by every village party of devotees coming from the neighbouring places and thus a large number of bamboo pole representations of Ghāzi Miyāñ collect at the place. These poles are paraded in the streets with music. A special feature of the festival is that a large number of *Hijārās* (eunuchs) join the processionists, carrying poles, singing songs and beating tom-toms.¹ It may be noted that the custom of marrying girls to Ghāzi Miyāñ's bamboo, as reported by Hunter, had for its object a desire for increase of offspring.

The other important feature in the *Burir Jāt* is dancing with lighted torches tied to iron rods passed through palms, arms, tongue, etc. This part of the ceremony has a striking similarity to many of the rites in the well-known *Caḍaka Pūjā* and in the *Gambhīrā* and *Gājana* festivals of Bengal involving self-torture by infliction of wounds on one's person. Some of the extreme forms of these rites associated with the *Caḍaka Pūjā* have been abolished by Government. The practice of piercing one's limbs with darts, rods, thorns, etc. is known as *Vāṇafodā*.

The rite of *Vāṇafodā* is associated with the worship of Śiva. Its Puranic basis is to be found in the legend of Vāṇa Daitya. Vāṇa, the king of Śonitapura, was a devout worshipper of Śiva. For having imprisoned Aniruddha, grandson of Kṛṣṇa, he was attacked and defeated by Kṛṣṇa. It is stated that severely wounded by Kṛṣṇa, Vāṇa ran away to Śiva to escape death from Kṛṣṇa's discus, and implored Śiva to take pity on him and save him, by dancing before him wounded as he was with blood dripping from all his limbs. The great god was highly pleased with Vāṇa and granted him several boons including immortality, his own sonhood, etc. and ordained that any man worshipping him by dancing in such a state as Vāṇa's, would acquire the same merits as Vāṇa. Referring to this legend which is told at length in *Dharma Saṃhitā*, Śiva Purāṇa, etc., Mr. Haridās Pālit writes that this is the motive with which the devotees in the Chaitrā festival perform orgiastic dances with their bodies pierced by darts and covered with blood. Fasting, dancing and singing of songs are meant to propitiate Śiva. With this faith boys and girls still dance at the shrine during the festival of *Ādyer Gambhīrā*.²

In the rite of *Vāṇafodā* in the *Gājana* and *Gambhīrā* festivals, several parts of the body such as the forehead, ribs, back etc. were pierced by small, thin iron darts. Strips of cloth soaked in ghee were wrapped round the ends of the darts projecting

¹ Reported by Maulvi S. H. Quareshi of Ballia, U.P.

² Haridās Pālit: *Ādyer Gambhīrā*, p. 180, 1319 B.S., Maldah.

out of the skin and kept burning while the votaries danced. The tongue was perforated by iron rods of the thickness of the thumb and 6 to 9 cubits long. The darts were worshipped before use.¹ Hook-swinging has disappeared and nowadays instead of iron rods thorns of marmelos tree are used. In other parts of the country too, the practice has been modified. Referring to the hook-swinging festival celebrated in connection with the worship of *Durgāmmā* in S. India, Bishop Whitehead writes: 'It is quite common for devotees to come to the shrine with silver pins fastened through their cheeks and with a lighted lamp on a brass dish on their head'.²

There are three different features in this practice to which attention may be drawn, namely,

- (1) Self-torture for religious purpose,
- (2) Dancing as a part of worship,
- (3) Kindling of fire as a part of worship.

The self-torture, as practised in the *Vāṇafoḍā* rites in the Chaitra, Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals and in the *Burīr Jāt* described above, does not involve mutilation. There is no suggestion in any of the accounts of these rites that the motive of these rites representing ritual self-torture is penance. It may be taken, therefore, that the motive is self-mortification for pleasing the deity, for imploring his pity and to induce him to grant the votary's desire. A noteworthy fact, mentioned by Mr. Haridās Pālit in his interesting account of the Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals, is that the primary purpose of a votary going through these rites is to draw out blood from his limbs and that blood-letting by any means, either by piercing the limbs with iron darts or with thorns, is called *Vāṇafoḍā* in the Gājana festival.³ It is not reported, however, whether the blood thus let out is considered to be an offering to the deity or not. This is an important point, because blood-offering would presuppose a motive quite different from the motive of mere propitiation by self-mortification. With the positive evidence of blood-letting and the absence of any idea of penance as noted above, it is possible to see in the practice of drawing out blood through ritual self-torture a substitute for human sacrifice. It is evident from the fact that no further use of the blood thus drawn out is reported and other details connected with these rites, referred to above, such as orgiastic dancing, possession, etc., that this vicarious human sacrifice is connected not with the idea of fertility but with the idea of establishing communion with the deity. The lighting of torches tied to parts of darts passing through limbs, interpreted as lamp-offering, would corroborate this theory of

¹ Haridās Pālit: *Ādya Gambhīrā*, pp. 304f.

² Bishop Whitehead: *The Village Gods of South India*, p. 76, 1921, Calcutta.

³ Haridās Pālit: *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

vicarious sacrifice if we rely on the testimony of the Purāṇas. Several of the Śākta Purāṇas prescribe that blood from one's arms, shoulders, cheeks, ears etc. may be offered to the Devī and a man making such an offering attains his desires. Offering of lamp is prescribed in the same connection. The blood of sacrificed animals or man and the blood from one's own body should be offered with a burning lamp placed to the right or front of the devotee. When the head of a sacrificed buffalo is offered the lamp may be put on the head.¹ The instance reported by Bishop Whitehead of votaries visiting *Durgāmmā* with pins fastened in their cheeks and lamps on their heads may be interpreted as an instance of vicarious sacrifice and lamp-offering.

Dancing as a mode of worship is well known and is of old origin. It is practised in the worship of the Devī and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, but it is particularly appropriate in the case of Śiva who is the presiding deity of dancing and music.² Fondness for dancing is an important trait in the composite conception of Rudra-Śiva, and his tāṇḍava or orgiastic dancing is famous. Votaries in the Chaitra, Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals, who call themselves *sannyāsis* or *bhaktas* indulge in orgiastic dancing until some one of them becomes possessed (*bhara*).³ Dancing in the rites mentioned above is, therefore, clearly a method of inducing ecstasy for establishing communion between the deity and the community of devotees represented by the possessed person. Now, the *Vāṇafoḍā* rites in the *Burīr Jāt* involving self-mortification or blood-offering, lamp-offering and dancing are but replicas of the same rites as practised in the Chaitra, Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals. The festivals are generally held on the last day of Chaitra, but Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals are held sometimes in Baiśākh or Jyaiṣṭha in some places.⁴ The *Burīr Jāt*, as reported, is held in Jyaiṣṭha. It would appear, therefore, that in respect of an important aspect the *Burīr Jāt* is an extension of the old Śaiva festivals, held generally on the last day of Chaitra known as Caḍaka, Gambhīrā or Gājana festival.

With regard to the other important feature of it, namely, dancing with dressed up bamboo poles, we have seen that the custom prevails among certain tribal peoples and among Moslems in different parts of the country. Among Moslems the custom of exhibition of such bamboo poles is associated, as we have seen, with the idea of marriage and fertility. The bamboo pole occupies an important place in certain parts of the marriage ceremony among Hindus in Bengal, Bihar and Assam. In North Bengal in the *Sātpāka* rite the bridegroom is made to

¹ Kālikā Purāṇa: Bangavasi Edition, Chapter 67.

² Mahābhārata Anuśāsana Parvvan, Ch. 17, Verse 50; Santi P., Ch 284. Bangavasi Edition.

³ Haridās Pālit: *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

stand against a bamboo pole on a wooden stool while the bride, seated on a wooden seat (*pīrā*), is carried by her male relatives and made to circumambulate the groom seven times in that state. In some parts of East Bengal bamboo poles instead of plantain trees are planted in four corners of the marriage quadrangle known as *chādnātalā*. The same practice obtains in some parts of Assam. In Bihar a bamboo post is planted when the *maṭkorā* rite is performed.¹ A painted bamboo post is set up in the nuptial booth in parts of South India and worshipped with offerings of cocoanut flowers. Bishop Whitehead thinks that the post may represent the spirit who presides over the procreation of children.² Writing of the Garos, Major Playfair notes that bamboo poles are erected by them as offerings to spirits or the dead.³ That bamboo poles offered to the dead are not memorial posts is proved by the setting up of *kimas* (carved memorial posts) near houses when people die and the existence of *Asong* stones to which sacrifices are made. What purpose these bamboo-offerings are meant to serve is not clearly stated but it seems likely that they are intended as temporary perches for the spirits of the dead. They may in some cases be intended to ward off evil. Bamboo posts are fixed in the ground in front of each house by the Mal Paharias to ward off evil spirits.⁴ No instance of the practice of exhibiting dressed up bamboos among the Garos is given by Playfair, and Dalton in his account of the Garos does not mention any such practice among them. We owe to Hunter an interesting account of a festival of the Rajvansis in North Bengal which throws some light on the significance of the practice as obtaining among Hinduized tribes. 'Every year', writes Hunter, 'on the 14th day of the moon in the month of Chaitra the Rajvansis worship *Madan Kāmdēo*, the god of love. Large, straight bamboos covered with red cloth and surmounted by *chāmars* (yak's tail) are erected in the courtyard and great rejoicing prevails. Songs of a loose description used to be sung on this occasion. The worship is continued for three days and on the fourth day the cloth is taken off the bamboos and thrown away'.⁵

There is no mention of the practice of exhibition of dressed up bamboos in the account, but it clearly brings out the connection of the festival with fertility rites. It would appear that the bamboo festival of the Kacharis mentioned by Dalton and the practice of exhibition of dressed up bamboo poles in the *Burir Jāt* are connected with the same rites. The so-called marriage festival of Ghāzi Miyāñ or Shāh Mādār celebrated by Moslems in a similar fashion is also connected with the same

¹ George A. Grierson : *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 363, 1885, Calcutta.

² Whitehead : *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

³ Major A. Playfair : *The Garos*, p. 90, 1909, London.

⁴ Dalton : *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁵ Hunter : *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 376.

rites. In the case of Bogra Moslems we have it on the testimony of Hunter that the festival had as its object a desire for increase of offspring. The instances of the association of bamboo poles with marriage ceremony in Bengal, Bihar and Assam would further establish this connection of bamboo poles with fertility rites.

The specific instances mentioned above would also indicate the place occupied by dressed up bamboo poles in the fertility rites. The erection of dressed up bamboo poles in the courtyard in honour of the god of love and singing of obscene songs clearly indicate that they were regarded as phallic symbols. This view is in some measure corroborated, as we have seen, by Bishop Whitehead.

We find thus that the *Burīr Jāt*, which forms a part of the cult of the Old Lady, has assimilated features on the one hand from the ancient Chaitra festivals of Śaiva character and on the other, from a tribal fertility cult. This composite product has been brought into intimate connection with the cult of a tribal deity who has, undoubtedly due to the important position of her votaries in that part of the country where her cult prevails, secured sufficient recognition from the members of the Brahmanical society so as to be worshipped in the Brahmanical form,—the tribal worship existing side by side—and affiliated, under the name *Vṛddhesvarī*, to the great Devī the mother of the universe.

Some Notes on Bongalism.

By W. J. CULSHAW.

Professor D. N. Majumdar, in his work on the Hos (*A Tribe in Transition*, published in 1937) has coined the term 'Bongalism' to describe the religion of the Hos. In Bodding's *Santali-English Dictionary* the word 'boṅga' is defined to mean 'a spirit, godling, demon'. Without question, this is correct so far as common usage among the Santals is concerned, but Professor Majumdar in his work has discussed at some length the meaning of the word, and he comes to a somewhat different conclusion, which if found to be justified, would be of great interest to students of primitive religion. He maintains that the meaning of 'boṅga' is 'a power, a force'.¹ This power is impersonal and supernatural, and the Hos have derived the idea of 'boṅgas', or spirits, from the original idea of a vague and mysterious power. In other words, he identifies it with the conception of 'mana' as it is found in Melanesia. As he not only draws on his observation among the Hos to arrive at this conclusion, but implies by reference to the Mundas and Santals that it is valid for them also, these notes based on experience among the Santals, chiefly in the Bankura District, are offered as a contribution to the discussion.

The evidence of the Santali language is suggestive in this connection. We find in Santali grammar that a distinction is drawn between the animate and the inanimate. 'This distinction is not between living and dead matter, or between spirit and matter, but between what, according to Santal ideas, has a soul and what has not.'² The Santals regard as animate all those beings which from their experience, and arguing from the analogy of human behaviour, appear to be independent agents; those entities, which either in fact or in myth, display what we may call 'personality'. 'Jivi', soul, is always constructed as inanimate, being apparently regarded as a 'stuff'; but when 'hoṛmo' (body), and 'jivi' are joined together, an animate being is the result. Certain words may according to meaning be constructed with either form; an instructive instance is the word 'buru'—when referring to spirits this is animate, but when meaning a mountain it is inanimate in construction. 'Boṅga', however, is always constructed with the animate form. If there were any evidence of 'boṅga' being regarded as impersonal,

¹ Cf. *A Tribe in Transition*, pp. 131 ff.

² Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, Part 2, p. 29.

and therefore (for a Santal) as inanimate, we would expect to find it reflected in the way in which the word is constructed in speech. When a Ho dies, we are told he is 'bongaia', which is interpreted to mean the union of a fraction of 'bonga' with the whole. The phrase 'bongaia jana', meaning 'to die', is contrasted with 'menaia', 'to exist'. In Santali, 'menaea', 'he exists', is opposed by 'banugic'a', 'he does not exist', or, 'he is not present'. The root of this verb, 'ba', is the ordinary Santali negation. The corresponding form in Ho is 'bañak'ea',¹ and one is tempted to wonder whether the similarity in form between this word and 'bonga', has misled Professor Majumdar.

However, it is also true of the Santals that they occasionally use the expression, 'goc'ko doko bongakana', 'the dead ones have become "bongas"', and this does represent the common belief. In reply to my question as to what a Santal means by this phrase, an educated Santal once informed me that it meant that the dead ones have no shape or form. He used the Bengali word *স্বা*, and he was probably rationalizing. This does not necessarily imply impersonal 'bonga', and indeed the use of the animate pronominal suffix '-ko' tells against it. A more simple explanation may be found in the fact that every dead Santal—with the exception of certain people who die in well-defined 'unnatural' circumstances—becomes a 'bonga' to someone. Thus, a man or a woman who dies and whose funeral rites have been duly performed takes his place among the 'ancestors', who are one of the most important classes of spirits, to whom offerings are regularly made. The importance of a particular 'bonga' of this class is dependent on the position he occupied in Santal society while alive. At the bottom of the scale we find the ordinary person who becomes a 'bonga' to his own descendants. The village 'mañjhi', on the other hand, takes his place in the 'mañjhithan'; in the Santal Parganas he is generally represented by a stone, in the Bankura District at the present day he is often represented by a clay elephant or horse. The due offering of sacrifices to the dead 'mañjhis' is a matter of vital concern to the whole village. But whether humble or exalted, the 'bonga' in every case preserves an individual entity.

It would be attractive to derive from this a theory of the origin of all 'bongas' from ancestor worship. The Santals themselves have a saying, 'Horge bonga, dakge hañdi pañra', meaning, 'Men are bongas, and water is beer and spirits', and they use it to express the belief that all the bongas were originally men. However, one fact connected with the cultus militates against any such simplification. When offerings are made to the ancestors, the 'hapramko', the animal is slain by a blow on the back of the head, without blood-shedding. In the case of

¹ Bodding, *op. cit.*, page 283.

offerings to other 'boṅgas', the animal is beheaded. These latter 'boṅgas' are therefore more likely to be connected with fertility cults, and any discussion of which is anterior in time is fruitless until we know more about the cultural relations of the ancestors of the Kol tribes of to-day in the course of their wanderings. The Santals, further, make no offerings at all to the Supreme God, called 'Siñ boṅga', 'Cando boṅga', or 'Ṭhakur', and vaguely identified with the sun. He is acknowledged as the Creator and the Sustainer of all; but the rest of the 'boṅgas' stand in a definite relationship with the Santals, and this explains why a non-Santal may do with impunity what no Santal would dare to do; the jurisdiction of the 'boṅgas' is limited to Santal society.

A few years ago, near the village of Bāṅkādhaha in Bankura District, a well-known Santal 'ojha' or medicine man, died. In the ordinary course of events, his powers of exorcism and healing would descend to his disciples, and they would carry out ceremonies to ensure that the powers he possessed would pass to them. As he was a well-known man, his disciples kept watch over the spot on which he had been cremated, in order to forestall others who might be tempted to steal his powers. My informant used the phrase, 'uniko dōkholea', 'They will (attempt to) possess him'. Here there is no notion of an impersonal power, but of bringing the spirit of the departed into control, and through him, the powers he possessed. The method consists of drawing an image of the dead man in the ground, and making offerings to it in his name, a fact which bears out the interpretation that the 'boṅga' is still conceived of as personal, and not as 'a part of a larger whole which is "boṅga" '.

Professor Majumdar draws an interesting distinction between malevolent and benevolent spirits, stating that those who are regarded as malevolent are borrowed from Hinduism. The Mundas, according to S. C. Roy,¹ recognize two classes of spirits, the 'Manita-boṅgas' and the 'Banita-boṅgas', the latter being 'evil spirits' who are not worshipped. Such a distinction does not appear to be found among the Santals. The deities of the Hindus are called 'boṅgas'² but they are not worshipped. The early missionaries were prone to regard all the 'boṅgas' as evil spirits, but the truth would rather seem to be that the 'boṅgas' are somewhat unreliable. Like human beings, they cannot always be relied upon, and it is important for the Santals to be in their good books. A Santal once said, 'The chief reason for

¹ S. C. Roy, *'The Mundas'*, page 469.

² I once heard an interesting use of the word 'boṅga', probably connected with this fact. I was standing by my bicycle, conversing with some Santals, when a child of about two, carried in his father's arms, pointed to the trade mark of a lion on the cycle, and said 'boṅga'. My surmise is that the child had seen pictures of Hindu deities in his village, and thought that all pictures were 'boṅgas'.

worshipping the "boṅgas" is that they may leave us in peace'. Actually, the less dealings the Santal has with his 'boṅgas', the better he is pleased; when things go wrong, one possibility is always that some 'boṅga' has been offended. The Santals do not, however, live in perpetual fear of the 'boṅgas'; that the word has a neutral connotation is perhaps indicated by the following phrase which occurs in a song composed by a Santal Christian convert, 'Jisu Masi sari boṅga dō'. (Jesus Christ is the true 'boṅga'.) Their fears of the supernatural are spasmodic, and are more closely linked with their dread of witchcraft than their belief in the 'boṅgas'. Yet there is little of what we understand by reverence in their attitude. They believe that the 'boṅgas' can be controlled by proper ceremonies, and that they will play their part, of non-interference rather than active benevolence, if the ceremonies are correctly performed. The language of the invocations, and also the manner in which they are recited, is often bullying in the extreme. It is interesting that Dessoali, who occupies an important place in the tribal cultus of the Hos, is an 'abge boṅga' (private family spirit, whose name should not be revealed) of a section of the Santals.

Professor Majumdar states that among the Hos the word 'boṅga' is 'commonly used to explain the source of all prohibitions'. One could have wished for examples, for the evidence among the Santals does not support this statement. Regarding marriage taboos, the exogamy of the septs is regarded by the Santals themselves as being due to the fact that each sept has a common ancestry. Other marriage taboos, e.g., the taboo against the marriage of a Kisku with a Maṇḍi, or the marriage of a Tuḍu with a Besra, have their traditional 'explanation' in myths which are quite unconnected with the belief in 'boṅgas'. An interesting prohibition connected with 'boṅga-worship' among the Santals of Bankura and Midnapore has its source not in the 'boṅgas' themselves, but in their recognition of a higher authority. It is that they will not celebrate the Baha festival (flower festival of spring) before the Dol Kunāmi (full-moon). The reason given is that 'Ṭhakure aṭhak'a'. (God will be served with the leavings of the offerings to the boṅgas.) The Santals do not themselves take any part in the religious ceremonies of Dol Jatra, but the saying seems to imply a recognition of Hinduism as a higher religion, one that is more closely in touch with the supreme being than they are themselves.

SUMMARY.

Among the Santals there is no evidence to show that they either now or in the past have held beliefs which would justify us in maintaining that the word 'boṅga' can mean an impersonal and all-pervading power. Pantheistic notions among present-day Santals are a late accretion due to Hindu influences, and are

in no way reflected in their customary practices and beliefs. It would seem that we must look elsewhere than in their 'Bongaism' for traces of a conception analagous to 'Mana'.

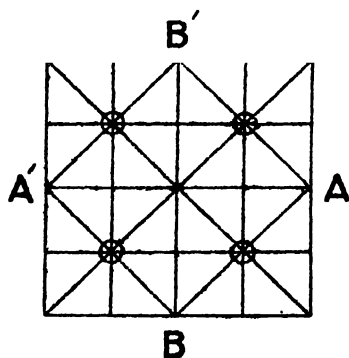
Note.—The spelling of Santali words is in accordance with Bodding's Dictionary.

Sedentary Games—proposed nomenclature of its points.

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

In describing the various sedentary games, the usual method adopted is to give the diagram and indicate on it, either by marks, or lettering, or by lengthy descriptions, the points occupied by the pieces of the opposing parties. The movements of the pieces are then described in a sentence or two, such as 'the usual rule of capture is followed by jumping over to a vacant point', 'successive captures are allowed', etc. etc. But we think the method suggested below will not unnecessarily encumber the diagram with marks or distinguishing letters; and when several games are described on the same diagram different pictures of the same will not be required; and further—and this is most important, the movements of the several pieces can be described far more accurately.



Let us now describe the method suggested. Let the diagram be described; and the points on it be numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 along the horizontal lines successively, beginning with the topmost left-hand corner and ending with the bottom righthand corner. All the points need not be numbered in the diagram as printed; it will be sufficient if we give only the numbers on the rim of the figure at significant points, e.g. on the extreme left-hand and righthand sides of the horizontal lines. When this method becomes familiar and well-accepted, it will not even be necessary to number the various points. The advantages of our suggested method will be apparent from a consideration of

the diagram of *Bagh-Bandi*, or *Bagh-Chal*. It has been described in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIX, (1933), p. 169.

The two tigers are placed either at points marked A, A' or at points marked B, B'. The goats are grouped at the points enclosed by circles. There are several variants of the game. In our proposed nomenclature it would be sufficient to say that the two tigers are placed either at points 3, 23 or at 11, 15. The twenty goats are grouped together, five each, at points 7, 9, 17 and 19. Usually the tiger captures one goat at a time by jumping over it to a vacant point opposite, such as from A' to B'; but in some variants of the game successive captures are allowed in one direction only, but not by jumping forward and backward over the same point. For example, the tiger may proceed from A' to B', then to A, and B, and back to A'; then it can proceed again to B', A, B, etc. But it is not permissible for the tiger to jump from A' to B'; and back from B' to A'. The tiger can also jump from A' to the topmost lefthand corner; and from it to B' and back to A'; but it is not permissible for it to proceed to B' first, and then from B' to the topmost lefthand corner. In other words, the tiger can move clock-wise, or towards the right-hand side, but not anti-clockwise. In our proposed nomenclature it would be sufficient to say that the tiger can proceed from 11 to 3, then to 15, and 23, and back to 11. It can proceed from 11 to 1, then to 3, and back to 11; but if it goes from 11 to 3 first, it cannot go from 3 to 1. The description of the game would be far more exact and concise; and variations in the game can be described easily.



**The Indian Theatre of Anglo-Dutch Competition
(1600 to 1652).**

By J. C. DE.

The tenacious Dutch attacked Goa in 1603, and three years later inflicted a crushing defeat on Nuno Pereira commanding five Portuguese ships. Portuguese ships were seized and Goa blockaded. In the meantime, they obtained trading concessions from the 'Zamorin, Emperor of Malabar', at Calicut. Their aim which seems to be more aggressive than that of the English prompted them to seek permission to build a fort. Their struggle with the Portuguese continued, and while Portugal sought the alliance of the Mughul, the Dutch aided the king of Arakan in attacking the Catholic Power. The year 1616 sees the presentation of the nineteen articles by Roe to Jahángír and the conclusion of an agreement by Captain Keeling with Calicut. The Captain had named Surat as the chief factory of the English in the Mughal Empire just a month ago. In August of the same year, Pieter van den Broecke, a native of Antwerp, wanted to establish a factory at Surat. But this was not the first Dutch attempt to trade with Western India. As early as 1602, De Wolff and Lafer in trying to do so lost their lives in the hands of the Portuguese. Then in 1606 David van Deynssen and two others tried their luck at Surat. But Portuguese persecution drove van Deynssen to commit suicide. The Dutch at Masulipatam sent Pieter Gillis van Ravesteyn and Hendrik Adriaensen to liquidate his effects, and also to find out any prospect of commerce with the locality. But van Ravesteyn felt much discouraged on his arrival, as the Mughul did not seem to be anxious to grant trade concessions and the Portuguese continued to be definitely hostile. In 1616 he pointed out in his report that it was not possible to overcome the obstacles in the way of having a factory. But on 23rd July of that year the Nassau under Pieter van den Broecke sailed into the mouth of the Tapti. The English showed hospitality but would not encourage the stay of the Dutch by any means though their ambassador feared European complications if actual force was used against the new comers. In addition, the Mughul Viceroy was not friendly to them, apparently because he received 800 rials from the English. The English agents perceived that they would have to face two difficulties if the Dutch were allowed to continue prowling into and about Surat. They might 'doe some spoyle on the coast in revenge of certaine debts oweing'.

They might even venture to 'robb Sultan Caronns shipp' which was on its way from 'Moha'. If they did so, 'it would bee very ill taken of the (Mughul)' because the English had been telling the Indian authorities in season and out of season that the Dutch were really more or less a vassal nation of England's. 'He (the Emperor) had often heard,' Roe was told by a grandee, 'that they were a nation, though not subject, yett some way dependant upon the King of England'. The Dutchman had already on his way to Surat plundered a rich Portuguese vessel laden probably with Ceylon products. Roe however admits that 'any enterprize on the coast' by the Dutch was 'not so urgent as I pretended'. But in his letter of 30th August, 1617, he suspected them of 'robb(ing) with English Couolors'. 'I know no reason', he says in a privateering complex, 'why we should not beate them off at sea'. Secondly, if the Dutch settled 'a factory . . . they would both', added the ambassador, 'outpresent, outbribe, and outbuy us in all things'. Therefore Roe tried every move to get the Dutch away from their objective. 'I would . . . lay such rubbs in the Hollanders way as should not easily be remooved.' The Dutchman after all failed. But in 1617, he was forced by the wind to the Daman coast, and his ship, the *Middelburg*, got wrecked. The *Duif* which was its consort also became stranded. Van den Broecke journeyed to Gandevi and established himself there with his company.

Kerridge and Rastell writing in November again suspected that the main objective of this Dutch voyage was to plunder ships on the high seas and thus 'strengthen(-) their begun trade'. In any case, when the Dutch Captain begged the English to take himself and his crew to Bantam, or to sell to them a captured Portuguese vessel, Roe encouraged his countrymen in 'no way to relieve them', and the party had to proceed to Masulipatam by land. But 'they (the Dutch)' left at Surat 'a President, three other merchants four or five . . . assistants' and others.

Pieter Gillis van Ravesteyn the new Surat factor undertook a mission to Court. He knew well how to grease the wheels of diplomacy, and brought 'a great present of China ware, sanders' (candana) 'parrots and cloaves'. Again the boasts of the English that the Dutch were a dependent nation of theirs made the Mughul ask the English (as their 'friends') to present them to Court. The English ambassador could not very well decline to comply with this request, and their commercial rivals had to be introduced by the English themselves. Ultimately, van Ravesteyn wrote to the Directors that some, though not all the concessions they had solicited, were granted to them. 'The Fleminge,' laments Roe on 14th February, 1618, 'is planted at Suratt,' (and) 'hath obteyned a firmaen upon as good termes almost as wee', in spite of all his efforts to 'crosse him'.

We may note incidentally that Roe complained to Ravesteyn about the Dutch quasi-privateerings in the Archipelago, and

threatened reprisals. The Dutch representative, however, professed to be undaunted at that prospect.

But the menace of the Dutch had to be checked. In his letter of 1618 Roe adds 'The Dutch.....wrong you in all parts and grow to insuffrable insolencies.....you must speedelye looke to this maggat; els, wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides'.

Their hostile relations with the English are again frequently testified to by the documents of the period which follows. Rastell and others wrote from Surat to Batavia early in 1622, 'We pray God that theare mischevous practizes transfer not hither'. About a couple of months later, Batavia informed the Company that the Dutch had refused to carry twenty bales of English merchandise which were lying at Palikat.

They even refused to allow letters to the English be sent with their own to Masulipatam towards the close of that year.

Then in February, 1623, came the Amboyna tragedy, and the English factors in India became deeply agitated. On 8th September, Mills and Duke referred in their letter from Masulipatam to 'the lamentable death of soe many our good friends in Amboyna, performed on them by the Dutches crultie'. Brockedon, the President, mentioned, 'the bloody execution of our innocent people' at Amboyna in his letter to Surat of 27th March, 1624.

In England 'sundry of the greatest' in the Royal Council 'shed tears', and the Company gave out that if the King continued his policy of not taking steps to bring the Dutch to book, they were going 'to fetch home what they have in the Indies'. 'The True Relation' was presented to James, and at last on the 16th July, 1624, he declared that he would extort satisfaction by seizing Dutch ships if necessary, and ordered the ambassador in Holland to threaten reprisals on Dutch subjects and 'an irreconcilable war'.

On the recommendation of the Committee appointed in September, 1624, which included the Lord President, the Lord Steward, the Earl Marshal the Lord Chamberlain and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Buckingham was asked by an order in council dated the 30th of that month to despatch men of war for capturing Dutch ships bound for and from the East. The Dutch, however, continued to trifle with the weak English king, and practically nothing was done. Charles came to the throne, and actually seized three Dutch vessels on one occasion; but a present of 30,000*l.* probably made him release them.

In England it was probably held at this time that unless an Englishman was proved to be a pirate, he could not be executed on any other charge, while in the East.

The English, however, helped the Persian to expel the Portuguese from Ormus in April, 1622, and Portugal determined on revenge seemed eager to strike hard at English interests in the

East. This fact made the English keen to conclude an alliance with the Dutch who were also ready to take advantage of any opportunity to further their commercial interests in India and the Gulf. The fleets of the two nations fought side by side on several occasions against the Portuguese during the period which followed. To take an example or two.

'Captain Weddell aboard the *Royal James*' wrote to the Company on 27th April, 1625, that when the Anglo-Dutch fleet came face to face with the Portuguese navy of eight led by the dauntless Nuno Alvarez Botelho, the Dutch agreed with the English in maintaining the contest to the end, and said that they 'would sticke as close unto us as the sherts on our backs, wee promisinge the like unto them'.

Becker, the Dutch Commander, led the way with his *Zuid Holland*. 'In the afternoon, he was, however, hit by a shot and instantly killed. He was 'so much lamented by Dutch and English, in respecto that hee had shewed himselfe soe valient and maintained that dayes fighte with as much resolucion as mighte bee'. The fight continued. 'Our ordinance went of licke musketes; the dromes beate and our trumpeters (were) sounding, and the flying shoot tearing each other sayles and rigging.' Without any manouevring worth noting, the ship to ship fight went on throughout the greater part of the 1st of February. After a joint consultation on the 2nd the allies attacked fiercely on the 3rd. On this day also according to the Marine Records Weddell was 'bravelly seconded by..... the Dutch'. Weddell who led the way in the *James* was beset by the enemy 'who behaved themselves verey stoutley'. But the English 'so plyed their ordinance upon them that thaye all refused to staye by us, but fled all afore us as smocke afore the wynd'.

On 13th February the allied flotilla left Gombroon, and the Portuguese weighed anchor and sailed ahead of them. 'It was four of the clocke in the afternoone before wee got up with them. Our Admirall, with the *Jonas* and three Hollanders gave them a brave farewell, which continued untill seven at nighte at which time the Portingales stode in for Suar and wee on our course for India. In all this fighte there was slayne outrighte 29.... of the English, and more of the Dutch by three or four.' The brave sailors had however made a miscalculation, and for that reason on March the 1st, 'this day beinge shrove Tuesday, wee had noe pancakes, by reason it was taken for the 29th February'.

The Portuguese were not however going to give up the contest easily. The brave Botelho lost two of his fleet. But with the remaining ones, he 'rood at Swalley and sent his challenge to the English and Dutch to fight with on or more shipp or ships of them as they pleased'. The Anglo-Dutch forces however did not dare accept the challenge. Prowling near the Indian coast, Botelho caught the three English ships coming from

England under Captain Blyth. Their other consort—the *Falcon*—under Francis Pinder had straggled away. After a fight the English succeeded in escaping the enemy. Shortly afterwards, however, Ruy Freire attacked one of these, the *Lion*, and burnt her.

Then on 24th November, 1625, the Dutch *Goede Fortuin*, *Nieuw Bantam*, *Beer*, *Goude Leeuw*, *Walcheren* and *Heusden* left for Persia in company with the *Royal James* and three others. They could not find Botelho anywhere, because at that moment his ships rode in 'a hole called Bombayee'. On the 8th October, 1626, again the Anglo-Dutch sailed in search of the elusive Portuguese, reached Bombay, and bombarded the settlement.

But all this joint action did not bring about co-ordination of interests. Over a scheme of fortifying Bombay, for example, the allies fell out. The English 'invite(d) the Dutch principalls in the behaulf of both companies unto a frendlie conjunction in the attempt'. But the Dutch 'in their reply...merely reject(ed) the project as incommodious and to our apprehension absolutely refuse(d) any conjoyning'. The persistent Dutch commercial competition in the East is referred to very forcibly by President Wylde two years later. The Dutch had 'five shippes from Jacatra, with large caviddall for' Surat and Persia. If the English company continued to 'neglect these northern factories but one or two yeare more as they have done those two past', then their rivals, 'with intente onlie to beat (the English) out of trade, so to leave the same wholie unto them' would 'overheare us'.

Another letter of Wydle of the 21st December, 1628, mentions that the 'insolency' of their rivals has compelled the English to take away their agents from Batavia. 'Wee in theise parts (western India) live uppon faire and freindly termes with them; yet doe wee not lett to thinke it is more for want of power to doe us wronge then will to effect itt'. The English are, he adds, also ready to take up the challenge, 'had wee warrant for our action'.

Again in 1626, Mills and two other factors of the Company had obtained some commercial concessions from an Indian prince 'written upon an ola', as a result of which the Dutch were excluded from the trade with Armagaon and Kottapatnam. Dutch documents tell us that because they had carried on commerce with the latter place for a number of years, the exclusion from Kottapatnam was decidedly irksome. Whilo the negotiations between the English and the Náyaka were going on, a Dutch emissary armed with presents and promises had arrived to foil the English attempt.

Then again the Dutch protected some Asiatic ships against seizure by the English. Thereupon Captain Hall and others informed them on the 14th March, 1624, that 'the estate and condition of 'the English President and Council 'are both betrayed and

intrauled by your instigations and underhand dealing with our enemies, these people'. Thus the Dutch, the English held, were violating the Treaty of Defence.

On the 6th February, 1626, President Hawley pointed out from Batavia that English trade at Masulipatam 'lieth there also on bleeding', and one of the causes which had led to the existence of such a state of affairs was 'the disagreements between us and the Dutch'. At the same time the documents also testifies to the strength of the European feeling in the East when it envisages the possibility of joint action by the Dutch and English against the oppressive 'Governours of Musulpatam'. The general effect of Dutch competition on the English Company's trading ventures was one of the main causes of the extreme lack of interest shown by subscribers in response to a call for contributions in June, 1628. A new subscription for a Third Joint Stock also failed.

The English also complained that the Dutch war with Bantam was handicapping their pepper trade.

During the period which immediately followed in spite of expectations of co-operation against the Portuguese (for example in Rastell's letter of 24th October, 1630, from Surat) the Dutch pushed on vigorously with their commercial ventures in the Archipelago, and English trade remained sadly impaired. Suspicion of their 'treacherous craft' lay uppermost in the minds of the English factors in Western India. In Japan they were free from European competition and their Chinese projects continued to be keenly pursued. In India and Persia their abundant spices and specie made them easily obtain the upper-hand over the English. The letter to the Company from Swally of 13th April, 1630, says, 'their proceed in...all...comodities in our apprehencions tendes to noe other end then to beate you from this trade alsoe'. It adds that 'the Dutches clothe of the same colours and prices excel(ling) yours in goodnes and well dressing above the one halfe'. On the 31st December, 1630, Rastell said in his letter from Surat that the Dutch and others bought 'indicoe' at an unusually high price. So 'there is left but a poore remaines of refuse stuff behinde, enough only for this countreys service'. Skibbow and Bangham then in Bantam Road informed the Company on the 22nd December, 1631, 'itt seemes all goes nott well betwext England and them (the Dutch) for they have order not to send their shippes through the Channell butt to goe aboute the Backside of Ireland and Scotland'.

In matters of Anglo-Dutch co-operation, the common bond does not seem to be so much mutual friendship as the existence of the equal danger. In the commercial field, the competition was sometimes carried to an absurd limit by offering European commodities at ridiculously cheap prices and buying Indian goods at ruinous rates, thus almost bringing

English trade to a standstill and endangering the Anglo-Mughul entente.

We also remember in this connection the effects on Anglo-Dutch relationships of the agreement concluded between the Portuguese and the Dutch regarding their position in Ceylon and elsewhere on 10th November, 1644.

Dutch ships came to Bengal first in 1615 and immediately afterwards fought the Portuguese off Arakan. A Dutch establishment probably existed at Chinsura in 1625. In any case in 1653, the Dutch hold on Chinsura became firm while Balasore was still in their hands. In 1655, the Directorate of Bengal came into existence. Many concessions were also granted to them by the Nawáb of Bengal.

When the Mughul 'leet (the indigo) oute to forme to one of his noblemen' so that the Dutch and the English had to buy that commodity only through him, agreements were made between the two nations. But owing to various causes no satisfactory results followed.

Again when the Anglo-Portuguese accord was made between Conde de Linhares and President Methwold in 1635, the Dutch intrigued with the Mughul to annul it. Sháhjahán was willing to do so, provided the Dutch protected his shipping against English privateerings which might follow. Pieterszoon, the Dutch official, warmly supported the idea. But Batavia was too timid to take John Bull by the horn. The scheme consequently did not bear fruit. The effort of the Mughul to play the Dutch off against the English in connection with some restrictions which he wanted to impose on the Europeans by about this time, also failed.

The negotiations of the English with Golconda for commercial concessions and the grant of 'the Golden Farmán' to them on 26th February, 1634, were again not at all liked by the Dutch.

Various causes impeded English trade with Golconda, and the Dutch certainly 'outpresented' them when the King and his queens visited their factories.

The English had however to promise 3,000 pagodas, when their ships came.

The Portuguese were now hard pressed by the Dutch, and the English tried on occasion to help them. For example, Cogan and Wylde, two English merchants who reached Surat in 1639, had concluded an agreement with the Portuguese to carry supplies to Malacca which was besieged by the Dutch. But no ships were available for the purpose. The Portuguese were even expected in 1640 'to offer their forts and forces to the King of Englands command provided he bee pleased to protect them against the Dutch and graunt them' freedom of worship. Malacca however fell to the Dutch in 1641.

Commercial competition was fiercely continued, and (to take an instance) the sale of cloves brought in by the Expedition suffered from Dutch competition. They also hindered the English project of having a factory at Pondicheri, and when Tromp succeeded in defeating the Spanish fleet in English waters (on 11th October, 1639), the Dutch in the East 'shot from Chambers and handguns' 'no lesse then a barrell of gunpowder', and piled up empty packing cases to make a bonfire which burnt for nearly two hours.

To the mortification of the English 'they were not nice to recount nor modest in magnifying theire (indeed) great victory against the Spaniard' to the local people, thus incidentally diminishing English prestige.

Not even the Royal flag of England protected a vessel against Dutch privateering. The *Bona Speransza* was carrying some Portuguese and their property through the Malacca straits. There they were met by two Dutch ships who wanted the English vessel to accompany them to Malacca. 'William Gourly' who 'was principall for the negotiateinge the intended designe' defied the Dutch commanders 'bidinge them looke up to there flagg'. The Dutch after negotiations probably opened fire, and the English 'in requitall fired a peece in her quarter'. The fight continued till about a hundred men were killed (according to Walter Clark's account of 17th December, 1643) on both sides. The Dutch ultimately carried 'them for Mallaca; imprisoned all the Portingalls'; forced English sailors to accept service with them; and all goods which were outside the 'hould' were 'seased on and shared by the souldiers as pillage'. They however 'appointed' 'the maimed' men to the hospital. The *Bona Speransza* did not belong to the Company.

But this vigorous Dutch action prevented their agents from carrying any Portuguese goods, for example, on the *Hind* when it was proposed to send her to Macao with Portuguese permission.

Even the trade with Basra which the English had so long carried on without interference was at last encroached on by the Dutch in 1645. Two of their ships reached that place on 19th July, and the English market was spoiled. In Persia the aggressive Dutch succeeded in extorting concessions while the English negotiations were impeded by the assassination of 'Edamont Dowlett (who) was killed in his owne hous' by Jánikhán and others. Arrangements were to be made with the new Itimádudaula.

By the same time, the Fort St. George factors were prevented from getting a profitable lading for the *Swan* because of the fact that the Dutch had bought up all the good calicoes.

All the fault of the disagreements cannot, however, fall on the shoulders on the Dutch. The English were guilty of many indiscretions, for example, the purchase of Dutch property taken from them by an influential Indian named 'Malaya'.

It was by virtue of an additional article in the Treaty of as late as 13th August, 1814, between Great Britain and the Netherlands, that Baranagara was at last ceded to the British 'upon a payment of such sum annually as may be considered by Commissioners. . . . to be just and reasonable'.

In Europe the political sky was overcast with many a cloud. Diplomatic iniquities of which the British held the Dutch guilty, the sympathy for the Royalist cause, the question of French contraband in Dutch ships, the strengthening of the Dutch navy by the States-General, the competition with regard to the North Sea and Spitzbergen fisheries and the question of saluting the flag in British waters, all precipitated the war. 'The Dutch ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles first,' says Carlyle, 'looked askance at this New Commonwealth,' and 'accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorelaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there, evasive answers were given to tough St. John.'

The Orangists in Holland were eager to give full title to Charles II; the 'Regicides' who entered the Hague with a glittering following of about 250 and twenty-five gorgeous coaches were called among other unpleasant things, by at least a number of the Dutch, 'Cromwell's Bastards'; an unsatisfactory response was made to 'the wish of the Parliament to conclude a closer union of the two States, which would be for both more advantageous than heretofore, since it would not be dependant upon. . . . a single individual'. 'A more strict and intimate Alliance and Union. . . . whereby there may bee a more intrinsecall and mutual interest of each other' was not 'entred into', and navigation trade and fishery disputes could not be amicably settled. The Navigation Act of the 9th October, 1651, laid down that merchandise of non-European countries would not be allowed to enter any part of the British possessions if they not were carried there in English or Colonial ships. As regards European commodities, the concession was made that in the alternative they could be carried into British ports by ships of the country of origin. Dutch commerce specially with the West Indies suffered a very severe setback. In addition, the proviso that only English ships could carry salt-fish into and out of the country immediately affected the interests of Dutch fishermen. The Dutch who blocked the Scheldt to the detriment of Antwerp could not possibly object to the principle involved in the Act.

But the manner in which their ships were treated on the high-seas in execution of that measure justifiably provoked their resentment.

Again, it must be remembered that the whole outlook of the English Government at this time was more commercial than it had been before, because of its intimate connection with the chief traders of the Nation.

No list of causes of the Anglo-Dutch war would, however, be complete without a prominent place being assigned in it to the quasiprivatoerings in Eastern Waters and cut-throat trade competition of the two nations in Hindusthāna, the Archipelago and elsewhere in the East. 'The bloodie Amboyna businesse' and occupation of Pulu Run were mere games in the deciding set. Again the trade drive was not directed against the English in the East alone. It was part of a fierce one which spread across the Baltic, Russia and other places. During the war itself merchantmen had to be protected and carried into safety by the Dutch Admiral, and herring fisheries were destroyed by Blake. Among his instructions we find two which enjoin him to capture Dutch East Indiamen coming back by the North Scottish coast, and damage the Baltic trade of the Dutch.

Contemporary records of the Company naturally contain a number of references to the *raisons d'être* of this war, one of a series which deeply affect the East and West throughout the centuries that follow.

In explaining these we have to refer to many factors in Anglo-Dutch relationships of the preceding decades.

Fort St. George informed the Company on 18th January-1651, that Dutch (and Asiatic) competition 'on that coast be, tweene Ganges and the Streights of Mallacca' was keen. On 10th December, next year, the President points out that English policy, at that time, was not to provoke the Dutch but at the same time to be on guard against any dealings with them, however friendly these might appear to be at first sight. The probability of an armed conflict was recognized, and it was expected that 'our people would show themselves', if such an event came to pass, 'Englishmen here in India as well as our freinds at home'.

The petition which the Company submitted to Parliament in November, 1650, describes graphically the grievances they felt against the Dutch. The Dutch had violated the Treaty of 1619; ejected the English from 'their ancient and rightful inheritance' at Pulu Run, and also from Molucca, Lantore, Banda, and Amboyna; murdered Englishmen; destroyed spice trees; plundered and damaged English property at Batavia; prevented the English from retaliating on the Mughul; and committed 'piracies' on Turkish vessels under English colours. Among other specific charges special mention was made of the seizure of pepper from the *Endymion*. The Dutch in their turn pointed out that various claims they had on the English were not satisfied; three Dutch ships laden with Eastern merchandise were detained at Portsmouth and that the pepper trade at Bantam had suffered because of the English. The Dutch losses were assessed at about two million pounds: and it was pointed out that the ingratitude of the English became

palpable, when it was remembered that the Dutch, 'as becomes good trusty freinds' helped them with ships, food, etc., to evacuate Lagundy and return to Batavia, and thus escape an almost certain death in that unhealthy place. The English replied (after war had just broken out) that most of the claims rested on flimsy foundations, and that though the Dutch were certainly of service to them on the occasion of their return from Lagundy, it had to be remembered that it was because of the Dutch indignities showered on them in different parts of the Archipelago that the English had been compelled to migrate to that awful island. The English also claimed that their countrymen 'discovered' the Moluccas earlier than the Dutch, and that they established commercial relationships with India, Írán, Arabia, and elsewhere first. They could not thus be held guilty of any 'undercreeping'. The 'exorcable murthers' at Amboyna, etc., were again referred to. Further, the British complained that the Dutch did not dip their flags in salute to their navy in its own waters.

There was another immediate cause of the war. English ships had been given Letters of Marque against the French. The English privateers detained Dutch ships to search for French goods on board, as a consequence. The Dutch protested but these protests were unheeded. The news that the Dutch were adding quite a number of vessels to their fleet in defence of the right to sail unmolested was not certainly conducive to the continuance of peaceful relations.

Among the various papers relative to the English Company's losses which were collected for delivery to Swinglehurst (the Company's secretary) after the outbreak of the war, we find quite a good few which refer to the tragedy of Amboyna. This injury was rankling in the Englishman's mind all the time, and never ceased to cry for reparation. These papers also contained Edward Misselden's assessment of the gains which might be obtained from the rich Eastern trade which the Dutch were not to be allowed to monopolise on any account.

Blackman, the English President, summarized the Dutch war aims in the East when he wrote to Gombroon on 7th May, 1653, that the enemy desired not only the capture of all English ships but also 'the utter rooting us out of India, Persia, etc., that they may have the sole trade to themselves and commaund all in these parts as they doe in other places'.

At last a full-dress and tail-coat war broke out between the two Protestant democracies for maritime mastery, colonial supremacy and commercial facilities. Dean, Blake and Monck fought furiously with de With, Tromp and de Ruyter in Western Waters, and aimed not only at the destruction of each other's fighting fleets but also at that of all trade-activities.

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TERPSTRA: De Opkomst der wosterkwartiren van de Oost-Indische
Compagnie.



An Inquiry into the Origin of the City of Dacca.

By N. K. BHATTASALI.

It is well-known that Job Charnock was responsible for the foundation of Calcutta. But who founded Dacca? An inquiry into the origin of this second capital of Bengal reveals the strange fact that this city had no ceremonial foundation, but grew up of itself. No one came here with the intention of founding a city and none set about busily to do so. This sounds somewhat mystifying. It is necessary to take stock of the political condition of Bengal during this period, in order to clear up the mystery. The present paper is an attempt in that direction.

On the 11th July, 1576, Dāūd, the last independent Sultān of Bengal was captured and beheaded by the Mughals after his defeat in the battle of Rājmahal. Bengal nominally passed into the hands of the Mughals and became incorporated into the empire of the greatest of the Mughal Emperors, Akbar. But in reality from that date began a grim struggle between the leaderless chiefs of a kingless country and the mighty resources of the greatest emperor that Muslim India ever produced. These chiefs were generally known under the appellation of 'Bhūiñās' and the period is usually called the period of the *Bāra* or the Twelve Bhūiñās. There is no doubt that the number 'twelve' has no particular significance and is used to denote an indefinite number, as the number of the chiefs engaged in this struggle was certainly more than twelve. This rather remarkable struggle of the Hindu and the Muslim chiefs of Bengal has not received due recognition at the hands of the historians. Dr. V. A. Smith in his excellent work on Akbar practically ignores it. I crave the indulgence of the readers to quote from what I wrote elsewhere about this non-recognition by historians of this heroic struggle of the Bengal chiefs. 'I cannot but say that the thirty-eight years' (1575-1612 A.D.) struggle of the Bengal Chiefs for independence has not received the recognition it deserves. Rāṇā Pratāp of Mewār spent his life in fighting Akbar and ended his days sword in hand and independent. We have almost deified Rāṇā Pratāp and there is no name more honoured from one end of the country to the other than Rāṇā Pratāp's. But what then have the Bengal Chiefs done to deserve this oblivion? They did the same; they fought the greatest generals of Akbar, the very generals who had fought Rāṇā Pratāp. Rāṇā Pratāp was strong in cavalry, the Bengalees were strong in war-boats. The imperial generals were defeated again and again and driven out of Bengal. It was not before

1613 in the reign of Jahāngīr that Bengal was completely subjugated. And all these the Bengal Chiefs accomplished with the children of the soil and not with hirelings from Nepāl or Rājputnā.¹

I would only briefly outline the leading events of this grim struggle, in the form of a chronology :

11th July, 1576. Dāūd, the last independent Sultān of Bengal, beheaded after his defeat at Rājmaḥal. Khān Jahān, Governor of Bengal.

End of 1578. The Afghāns under 'Īsā Khān Masnad-i-'Ālī rise against the Mughals. Khān Jahān advances up to the border of present Mymensingh and Tippera and is severely defeated.

December, 1578. Death of Khān Jahān.

April, 1580. Muẓaffar Khān, the next Governor, loses his life in his struggle with the rebels. Mughal sway disappears from Bengal. Half-hearted attempts of the next Governor Khān-i-'Ā'zam to recover Bengal.

April, 1583. Severe engagement near Tāndā between the rebels and the Mughals. Khān-i-'Ā'zam leaves Bengal without accomplishing anything. Shāhbāz Khān and Wazīr Khān succeed him one after another, but fare no better.

May, 1594. Māna Simha appointed Subādār of Bengal.

Nov., 1595. Māna Simha leaves Tāndā in Māldā district and removes his capital to Rājmaḥal, apprehensive of surprise attacks by the Bengal Chiefs.

1595-96. Māna Simha engages 'Īsā Khān Masnad-i-'Ālī and Kedār Rāy of Vikrampur, with indifferent success.

March, 1597. Death of Himmat Simha, son of Māna Simha.

Sept., 1597. Durjan Simha, son of Māna Simha, killed in a naval action with 'Īsā Khān off Vikrampur. Māna Simha leaves Bengal in the hands of the rebels, and retires from the country. Bengal left practically without any Governor.

Sept., 1599. Death of 'Īsā Khān.

Oct., 1599. Death of Jagat Simha, son of Māna Simha.

Beginning of 1601.² Māna Simha, now old and decrepit, again sent to Bengal and fights the Chiefs this time with somewhat better success.

1604. Kedār Rāy of Vikrampur killed in battle. Māna Simha departs from Bengal to join Court intrigue.

1605. Death of Akbar and succession of Jahāngīr.

1606. Māna Simha, again sent to Bengal, serves for about 10 months and is recalled.

1606. Quṭbu-d-dīn sent to Bengal as Governor but is killed by Sher Afghān at Burdwan. Bengal affairs again fall into confusion.

April, 1607. Islām Khān appointed Governor of Bengal.

¹ *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, 1928, pp. 29-30.

² *Akbar-nāma*, III, Eng. Trans. by Beveridge, p. 1174.

Readers will now be able to judge for themselves how far Bengal was under the Mughals during the entire reign of Akbar, from the brief chronology compiled above. Tāndā, on the other side of the Ganges and not far from Gaur, became the capital of Bengal during the reign of Sulaimān Karārānī, father of Dāūd. Mun'im Khān, the first Mughal Governor, removed the capital to the forsaken Gaur in 1575 and thereby invited the great plague at Gaur, which uprooted whatever Mughal rule there was in Bengal. Thereupon the capital was retransferred to Tāndā but the astute Māna Simha removed it even further west to Rājmahal on the frontier of Bihar. Thus when in April, 1607, Islām Khān assumed the Governorship of Bengal, the capital of the province was situated outside its proper limits. It fell to the lot of Islām Khān to give the province a capital within itself.

The events of Islām Khān's Subadarship are now known in great detail from Mirzā Nathan's Bahārīsthān-i-Ghaybī, of which a unique copy exists in the Bibliothique Nationale of Paris. The credit of discovering this work belongs to Sir Jadunāth Sarkār. It was translated into English by Dr. Borah, Head of the Dept. of Persian, Dacca University, and published by the Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Assam Government, a work with which the writer of this paper had the privilege of being rather closely associated. From this work and from a subsidiary source, we can watch Islām Khān's progress in his struggles with the rebel chiefs from day to day.

The chief centres of trouble were the following:—

(1) Shahzādpur and Chāṭmohar in Pābnā district. One of the leaders of the struggle, viz. Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, had his capital at Chāṭmohar. (2) The *parganas* of Sinduri, Khalsi and Chāndpratāp on either bank of the Dhalesvarī in the Dacca district, then under Hindu Zamindārs, of whom several are mentioned. (3) The *parganas* of Sultānpratāp, Selimpratāp, Qāsimpur and Bhāwal within present Dacca district, under the Ghāzis. (4) The rest of the Dacca district and the entire districts of Mymensingh and Tippera under the sons of 'Isā Khān, 'Uthmān and a number of other Chiefs. Naturally therefore, Islām Khān was drawn to these quarters to fight these Chiefs struggling for their independence.

Details of Islām Khān's progress towards the east would be tedious and the inquisitive reader is referred to the work by Mirzā Nathan just mentioned. Nathan was a lieutenant in this long campaign and saw everything with his own eyes. Before leaving for the east, Islām Khān had to be sure of his south. One of the most wealthy Chiefs of the time was Prātāpāditya of Jessore who had a revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees, a standing army 20,000 strong and about 700 war vessels.

Islām Khān came to Rājmahal towards the end of 1607. Prātāpāditya sent his son Sangrāmāditya and his minister

Shaikh Badī with sumptuous presents to Rājmaḥal to welcome the new Governor. Thus somewhat reassured on this score, Islām Khān started towards the east. At Vajrapur, near Nātore, Pratāpāditya of Jessore and Satrājīt of Bhusnā saw Islām Khān in April, 1608 and promised help. Much fiction has gathered round the name of Pratāpāditya and the demand for a national hero in the days of the Svadeśī movement of 1905 very mistakenly took him up as one, though he was nothing of the kind. His father Śrīhari Vikramāditya obtained Jessore practically as a bribe for his treachery against Dāūd, the last Afghān Sultān. He was therefore a Mughal partisan all along, and his son Pratāpāditya was no exception. The submissive behaviour of Pratāpāditya was quite in contrast to the hot reception that Islām Khān received at the hands of the Hindu and the Muslim Chiefs, as soon as he set foot on their soil. Incessant skirmishes raged like fire round Chāṭmohar and Shahzādpur in Pābnā district, but war began in real earnest when Islām Khān attempted to enter the Ichhāmātī from the Karatoyā side.

It is well to remember here that the Ganges in those days never met the Meghnā, but went straight to the Bay of Bengal through the Ārial Khān channel. The Brahmaputra also was in its old channel by Mymensingh and Bhairab Bazar. The river Ichhāmātī was then the only short cut to the Dacca region from the Ganges. As soon as Islām Khān attempted to enter the Ichhāmātī, the Hindu and the Muslim Chiefs unitedly offered him a very stubborn resistance. The place was known at that time as the *Mohanā* (confluence) of Kātāsgarh. The rivers Yamunā, Karatoyā and Ātreī, all discharged their waters into the Ganges near Kātāsgarh, and the Ichhāmātī also started from the Ganges at this place and ran almost due east. At Kātāsgarh, at the offtake of the Ichhāmātī, a fierce encounter took place. The leader of the struggle was, of course, Mūsā Khān, son of 'Īsā Khān, but he was ably supported by Mirzā Mūmin, son of Ma'sum Khān Kābulī; Bahādur Ghāzī, Sonā Ghāzī and Anwār Ghāzī of Bhawal; Mādhav Rāy, Zamindār of Khalsī and Binod Rāy, Zamindār of Chāndpratāp. The battle began in the morning with a cannonade by Mūsā Khān. Islām Khān was at his morning meals. The first shot broke all his utensils and crockery. He escaped through good luck, but about thirty of his attendants perished. The second shot smashed the standard bearer and the standard of Islām Khān. The battle continued up to midday and the Chiefs repeatedly charged the Imperialists. A son of Madhav Rāy and a brother of Binod Rāy fell in battle, but these bold Chiefs continued to rush with their boats towards the bank in a spirit of vengeance. They effected a landing and a severe hand to hand fight went on. But on land, the infantry of the Chiefs was no match for the cavalry of the Mughals and the former gave way after the third assault.

Thus fighting every inch of the ground on either side of the *Ichāmāti* and tinging this quiet old river with the blood of the Hindus and the Muslims, the Chiefs sullenly fell back step by step. *Yātrāpur*, *Kalākupā*, *Pātharghātā*, all well-known places even now, became centres of hot engagements. Ultimately the *Dhaleśvari* was reached, and *Islām Khān* entered Dacca by about the 18th July, 1608. The Chiefs fell back and made the river *Lakṣyā* their base for further struggle, but with that we are not concerned here.

What attracted *Islām Khān* to this place? To answer this question we have to take note of the topography of this region. The river on which Dacca stands is always called *Dulāi* by *Mīrzā Nathan* and never *Buḍigaṅgā*, its present name. *Nathan* says that the *Dulāi* bifurcated into two branches, one going to *Demrā* and the other to *Khizrpūr*. *Khizrpūr*, as is well known, is the northern part of the modern town of *Nārāyaṅgañj*, and there is an old fort at this place. *Demrā* is a famous mart on the *Lakṣyā*, about eight miles above *Nārāyaṅgañj*. Numerous proofs can be adduced to show that the present channel south of *Fatullā*, by which the *Buḍigaṅgā* joins the *Dhaleśvari*, did not then exist. The *Buḍigaṅgā*, or the *Dulāi* river, as *Mīrzā Nathan* calls it, had only two openings to the *Lakṣyā*, namely the *Demrā* channel and the *Khizrpūr* channel. Dacca was very conveniently situated on the southernmost extremity of the stable red laterite soil, commanding these short cuts to the *Lakṣyā* and the *Meghnā*, and thus occupied a very strategic position. A Mughal outpost existed here from the early days of Mughal connection with Bengal and the strategic importance of the place was recognized even during the pre-Mughal rule. *Nathan* says that on either side of the place from which the channel to *Demrā* started, there was a fort called the fort of *Beg Murād Khān*. These forts must have been in existence before *Islām Khān* came on the site with his army of occupation. The temple of *Buḍā Śib* of hoary antiquity was here and the existence of a Muslim population is testified to by the presence of two pre-Mughal mosques, one at *Nārāyaṇḍiā*, and the other at *Chuḍihātṭa*, close to *Chakbāzār*. Gold coins of the later-Gupta type and pre-Muhammadan stone images of Hindu and Buddhist deities have also been discovered from the locality. The fall of *Kedār Rāy* and his capital *Śrīpur* in 1604 made numerous weavers and other craftsmen remove from *Śrīpur* to this place, and there was a considerable Hindu settlement here when *Islām Khān* came with about a lakh of people and took up his quarters here. Once on this site, *Islām Khān* had to stay for a long period, fighting the Chiefs. The stay of the Governor with all the civil and military paraphernalia of the Provincial Court, quickly converted the place into a city, and thus arose Dacca, alias *Jahāngīrnagar*, the capital of Bengal up to the year 1704. Coins of *Jahāngīr* began to appear from the

new Jahāngīrnagar mint from 1617 and thus was the christening of the old city of Dacca under the new name of Jahāngīrnagar complete.

We get a welcome picture of Dacca of those early days from the pages of Nathan. The Lalbag fort of Dacca is a comparatively recent structure. It was begun by Prince Muhammad 'Azīm during his governorship in 1678, and left incomplete. The old fort of Dacca used to stand where the present jail stands. This structure has completely disappeared. The only vestige left is a tank with masonry banks and the name of the road that ran direct east from its eastern gate. This road was known, until recently, as the Purab Darwājā Road, meaning, the Eastern-gate Road. The name of a Municipal Commissioner has now replaced this historic name.

We have already said that there were two forts of Beg Murād Khān on either side of the starting point of the Dulāi canal. One was placed under the charge of Nathan and the other, of his father Ihtimām Khān. Nathan once had occasion to rebel against the Governor, but ultimately thought it better to turn a Qalandar. Islām Khān who was the grandson of Sālim Chisti, the famous saint of Fathpur Sikri, asked him to come to the fort to receive the blessings of a Chisti, in the new life that he had chosen for himself. The forts of Beg Murād Khān must have stood at the Buḍigaṅgā mouth of the Dulāi canal, one on the Farāsganj side and the other on the Faridābād side. Nathan started from his fort in a palanquin with his legs chained. When he reached the great *Pākūr* tree which in those days (this was in 1611) marked the end of the old town and the beginning of the new, he found the road up to the fort guarded on either side by mounted soldiers. This information is important as showing that there was an old Dacca to which a new Dacca had been added by the advent of Islām Khān and his hosts. The site on which the Medical School stands at present is known as Pākurtalī, and is probably the site of this historic *Pākūr* tree.

It will be observed that all the Hindu quarters are to the east of this point, namely Tāntibāzār, Saṅkhārībāzār, Paṭuātulī, Kumārtulī, Goālnagar, Sutrāpur, Bāniyānagar, Lakṣmibāzār, Jāluānagar, etc. The localities to the west of this point are all associated with the new government. It is just like what again happened to Dacca when it again became the capital of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905 and the British town of Ramna was added to the old town; or what has happened to Delhi by the addition of New Delhi.

The Chāndnīghāt, south of the present water-works, is several times mentioned by Nathan. It was the place for the review of war-boats. A Zamindār of Bāniyāchaṅg, confined in the fort of Dacca, poisoned his guards, took a boat at Chāndnīghāt and fled to his native place. Dacca subsequently developed into a very big city and had a chequered history. It was once actually

plundered by the Maghs in 1625, but it outlived this set-back. Captain Bowry, who came to Dacca about 1670, gives the circuit of the Dacca city as 40 English miles. The city gradually spread inland, so much so, that the English when they started a factory here about 1660 had to go about four miles inland to secure a plot. Even then there was great trouble over this plot. Details will be found in my article on the English Factory at Dacca, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, 1927, p. 25.

Sanskrit Works of Maharaja Visvanath Singh of Rewah.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

We learn from Volume IV of Captain Luard's *Rewah State Gazetteer* (Lucknow, 1907) that Visvanath Singh who succeeded his father Jai Singh in 1833 and ruled up to 1854, was 'like his father a lover of literature and learning to which he gave his support' (p. 17). It is further stated there that 'Maharaja Visvanath Singh, himself a good scholar, was a great patron of Sanskrit learning and invited Brahmans to settle in different parts of the State and form seminaries for teaching Sanskrit' (p. 69). There is no reference here to any books composed by the Maharaja. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht, however, mentions manuscripts, found mostly in Oudh,¹ of as many as half a dozen works²—all on the cult of Rāma—by Maharaja Visvanath, who in all probability is identical with the above-mentioned ruler of Rewah. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, who apparently could not identify the whereabouts of the writer, refers (I. 585) to him as an officer of Sitārāmchandra Bāhādur presumably as Visvanath refers to himself as *Sitārāmacandrakṛpāpātrādhikārī* which seems to indicate that the Maharaja was an object of favour of Sitā and Rāma, his tutelary deity.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses five manuscripts of four of these works.³

One of these MSS. (e.g. *Rāmamantrārthanirṇaya*) is in Bengali characters, shewing that one at least of his works had travelled beyond the limits of his own territories. Three of these MSS. are dated. The MSS. of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, the *Mantrārthanirṇaya* and the *Samgitaraghunandana* are stated to have been copied respectively in 1843 (1900 V.S.), 1850 (1907 V.S.) and 1880 (1937 V.S.). It will be seen that two of these MSS. were copied during the lifetime of Viśvanātha. The fact that one MS. was copied after his death and one was copied in Bengali

¹ It mentions only three MSS. outside Oudh:—Two MSS. of the *Rāmācandrāhnikā* described by R. L. Mitra (*Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I. 73) and P. Peterson (*Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS., State Library, Ulwar*, No. 962) and the only MS. of *Sarvasiddhānta* (R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, VII. 2329).

² *Rāmagītājīkā*, *Rāmācandrāhnikā* (with commentary), *Rāmamantrārthanirṇaya*, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, *Sarvasiddhānta* and *Samgitaraghunandana*.

³ Two MSS. of the *Rāmācandrāhnikā* described in the *Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS., As. Soc. Beng.* (VII. 5255, 5256). One MS. of the *Samgitaraghunandana* described in the same Catalogue (VII. 5259). One MS. each of the *Mantrārthanirṇaya* and of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*.

characters shows that the works concerned had gained some popularity.

Of the works of Viśvanātha two, *Rāmacandrāhnikā* and *Samgītaraghunandana*, are poems dealing with the story of Rāma. The remaining four are more or less of a philosophical character seeking to demonstrate the divinity and supremacy of Rāma. The *Rāmagītāṭīkā* evidently elaborates the views of the *Rāmagītā* as regards the superiority of Rāma. The *Mantrārthanirṇaya*, besides pointing out the supremacy of the worship and the mantra of Rāma, gives an esoteric meaning of the latter.¹ The *Sarvasiddhānta*, the only known MS. of which has been partially described by R. L. Mitra,² identifies Rāma with the Supreme Being whose worship alone can bring in salvation. The most important of the works composed by Viśvanātha appears to be his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, called the *Rādhāvallabhīyamataparakāśabhāṣya*, which seeks to elucidate the philosophical background of the views of the Rādhāvallabhīya sect of the Vaiṣṇavas. The work begins by giving a legendary account of the origin of the Rādhāvallabhī school³ of Vaiṣṇavism and discusses the possibility of the simultaneous worship of the two deities, Rāma and Rādhā, who are incidentally shown to be identical. This school of thought is claimed to be older than Harivaṁśa who is usually supposed to be the founder

1 The work begins :—

मन्वा श्रीरामचन्द्रं सकलगुणनिधिं कामदं यस्य नाम
गौरीगौरीशपादौ गणपतिचरणौ वायुह्रलोत्थयातुने ।
श्रीमज्ज्ञानस्वरूपं सरसमतिगुवं श्रीप्रियादासनीशं
आख्यातुं राममन्त्रं निजमनिसदृशं वन्दते विष्णुनाथः ।

The work ends :—

यते सर्वे श्वताराः सर्वेश्वरा रघुमन्दनमेवोपासते इत्यपि प्रसिद्धम् ।
सर्वमन्त्रमहाराज सर्वेषां समुपासित ।
विष्णुनाथस्य सर्वस्य मन्त्रराज नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

2 *Op. cit.*, VII. 2329.

3 .. ब्रह्मा नारायणं प्रणिपत्य भगवन् मे प्रेमभक्तिः कथं स्यादिति विज्ञापयामास । ततो नारायणो राधावल्लभमन्त्रं ब्रह्मायमुपदिष्ट वैकुण्ठमाजगाम । ब्रह्मापि प्राप्तमनुः सत्यलोकमागत्य तन्मन्त्रप्रभावाभिर्भूतप्रेमा श्रीरामानन्दनिमग्नहृदयस्तस्यौ ।.. [ब्रह्मा] तन्मन्त्रं तस्यै [नारदाय] समुपदिदेश ।

पृथिवीं च उपामन्य वेदव्यासमुपादिशत् ।

स सुतं श्रीशुकश्चैव कथ्यं च चिरायुषमिति ॥

कथ्यपादयं सम्प्रदायः आश्रीद्धरिगुरु प्रियादासाचार्यपादमागतः ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 2B-3B, RASB MS.).

of the school. The work is stated to have been composed for the exposition of the true nature of Rāmacandra, identified with the Supreme Being, who can be known and spiritually realized only through devotion, or rather through the worship of Rādhā who constitutes a typical personification of this devotion. The work has not been mentioned either by Wilson, Grouse or Sir George Grierson,¹ all of whom have given accounts of the school with its stray and scanty literature that is generally known. Only one manuscript of it has been referred to by Aufrecht.² It will be of interest to scholars to whom the school is known to represent a most degenerated form of Vaiṣṇavism. It draws attention to the philosophical outlook of the sect and the mystic significance of the rites and practices observed by the followers.

The special importance of the work lies in the fact that it deals with the doctrines of the Rādhāvallabhīs written in the Sanskrit language when we know that this school of thought is comparatively of modern origin. It is also important considering the paucity of doctrinal literature concerning this sect. In view of these, the present work, though modern, is of great value. It is stated to have been composed in 1840 A.D.³

Some details about his personal history may be gathered from several of these works of Viśvanātha. As all the works deal with Rāma and his cult it is almost evident that he was a follower of the cult of Rāma. It seems, later in life he became a follower of the Rādhāvallabhī school when he commented on the *Brahmasūtra* according to the views of this school. In fact, in the beginning of the commentary he justifies his initiation into both the cults.⁴ In this work he refers to himself as the eldest son of Jayasimha. The introductory portion of the *Sarvasiddhānta* mentions his minister Bhodulāla and his other-wise unknown work *Bhāṣārāmāyaṇa*. This *Sarvasiddhānta* as well as the *Samgītaraghuṇandana* appear to have been composed when Viśvanātha was only a prince (*Kumāra*) and had not as yet formally assumed charges of his territories. Thus the colophons of both these work refer to him as *Mahārājakumāra*

¹ Hastings—*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, pp. 559-60, where Grierson gives references to Wilson and Grouse.

² *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 385.

3 चन्द्रे सप्तमवाष्टेन्द्रावबिरोधिन्यवर्जिते ।

वैशाखशुक्लपक्षस्यां भाष्यसारभाषं कृतम् ॥

माघशुक्लपक्षस्यां पूर्वार्ता समजादिदम् ॥

—Last Fol. of the RASB MS.

⁴ ननु त्वयोभयमन्त्रपदार्थं कृतमन्यैः पूर्वैस्तु नोभयपदार्थं कृतमिति चेदुच्यते । पूर्वं मृदौत्तराराममन्त्रा अपि ब्रह्मनारदादयो विना प्रेम वाङ्मनोमोचरातीतः श्रीरामो न स्मरतीति प्रेमप्राप्त्यर्थं राधावत्तममन्त्रं कथ्यते ।—Fol. 5B, RASB MS.

while the colophon to the latter work calls him also *Bābūsāheb*. The former work seems to be in the form of a dialogue between Viśvanātha and one Bhikṣukācārya. In almost all his works Viśvanātha refers to his guru Priyādāsa in highly eulogistic terms. It is stated that it was the guru who residing in his heart composed the works.¹ Viśvanātha mentions by name a number of works by Priyādāsa (e.g. *Susidhāntottama*, *Śrutisūtratātparyāmṛta*, etc.) among which the views of the *Śrutisūtratātparyāmṛta* were followed in preparing the commentary of the *Brahmasūtra*.² The line of teachers (*guruparamparā*) of Viśvanātha is given at the end of the *Sarvasiddhānta*.

1 पतितोद्धृतिमहिमानः सद्यद्दयप्रियादासगुरुचरणाः ।

विश्वनाथद्वयस्मृतसिद्धान्तं तन्वते स्वयमेव ॥—*Sarvasiddhānta*.

स एवेदानीं श्रीवान्धवाधोऽश्वरामद्वाराजाधिराजसिद्धित्रीकयसिंहदेवज्योत्स्नस-
विश्वनाथसिंहदेवनाम्नो मम हृदयकमलस्थितः उभयमन्तोपदेशकस्वात्मर्यदृष्ट्या वाङ्मनो-
गोचरातीतश्रीरामचन्द्रनिरूपणे व्यासस्य तात्पर्यमवगत्य तत्सूत्राणां व्याख्यामारभते ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 7B, RASB MS.).

गुरुचरणसुवरः श्रीप्रियादास इह विश्वनाथान्तरंगीतकारौ ।

—*Samgītaraghunandana*.

This last statement led MM. H. P. Shastri to suppose that Priyādāsa was the author of the *Samgītaraghunandana*, though the colophons clearly refer to Viśvanātha as the author.

2 स च सुसिद्धान्तोत्तमसुमार्गश्रुतिस्मृततात्पर्यान्वतादीन् ग्रन्थान् विधाय सकल-
मताविरोधं प्रदर्श्य श्रीरामाक्ष्यप्रेमाकुलहृदयश्चिरमिह लोके विचरितुमनिच्छन्
मातृपदिश्य निजश्रुतिस्मृततात्पर्यान्वतग्रन्थमतानुसारेण श्रीभगवद्देव्याससूत्रविवर-
णाख्यां कर्तुमनुशास्य च वाङ्मनोगोचरातीतरासम्पन्नं गलाक्षङ्कतवान् ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 7B, RASB MS.).

The *Śrutisūtratātparyāmṛta* and a number of other works by Priyādāsa have been mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 364). An account of some of his works has been given by H. D. Sharma (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI. 318-30).

A Note on the Buildings of Humāyūn.

By B. PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B.

The Mughul emperors were great builders and left remarkable monuments of their reigns in almost all parts of the country. A critical general account of these monuments was recently published¹ by Mr. Percy Brown, based not only on a study of the available literature, but from an intimate personal knowledge of most of the monuments. In reference to Humāyūn, however, this study, in common with all others, is deficient. He remarks² :

‘Had circumstances permitted, Bābur’s son and successor, Humāyūn, would have left more than one monument as a record of his intermittent rule. But the political situation was unfavourable.’³

He then includes a short summary, with extracts⁴ from Khwāndamīr’s *Humāyūn-nāma*, of the foundation and building of *Dīnpanāh*, a new city on the ruins of Indraprastha of Mahābhārata fame; and finally concludes:

‘The material records which have survived of both Bābur’s and Humāyūn’s contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible. Humāyūn’s forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in that Persian influence noticeable in many of the Mughl buildings which followed.’⁵

Incidentally he refers to two mosques which ‘remain of those built during Humāyūn’s reign, one in a ruinous condition at Āgra, and the other at Fathābād, Hissār, which indicate the methods of building in vogue at this period’. Havell, on the other hand, who is very definite in his remarks, wrote⁶ ‘Humayun

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, IV, Percy Brown, *Monuments of the Mughul Period*, pp. 523–576, (1937).

² Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 524.

³ The three buildings built by Humāyūn, two at Āgra and one at Gwālīar and the new city of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhi, appear to have been planned and executed during 1533–34, when he held a series of state festivities both at Āgra and Delhi (see S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 58–67, 1938). About this time the political horizon was clouded by the news of Sulṭān Bahadur’s activities in Gujarāt, but generally conditions were more favourable, and apparently Humāyūn made most of the quiet interlude.

⁴ Extracts from Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*. V. pp. 124–126, (1873).

⁵ Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 525.

⁶ Havell, E. B.—*A Handbook to Āgra and the Taj. etc.*, p. 16, (1912).

left no memorial of himself at Agra', and growing more satirical added 'but he is to be remembered for two circumstances: the first that he was the father of great Akbar, who succeeded him; and the second, that the plan of his tomb at Delhi, built by Akbar, was the model on which the plan of the Taj was based'. Satire is a double-edged weapon and must be employed with great skill and care; in this case the entire force of the satire is lost and it even strikes back at the author like a boomerang, as except for his reference to Akbar's parentage the rest of his statements are entirely incorrect. Humāyūn, as I show later, did erect two important buildings at Agra, while his tomb at Delhi was neither planned nor built by Akbar, but by the widowed empress Hājī Bēgam,¹ earlier known as Bēga Bēgam and who was taken prisoner by Shēr Khān Sūr after the battle of Chausa² on June 26, 1539. The architect was Mirak Mirzā Ghiyāth, of Persian extraction well trained in Timurid tradition, and Akbar certainly was not responsible for the execution of this mausoleum.

In the so far available contemporary histories of Humāyūn's reign, such as Jauhar's *Tadhkirat-ul-wāqī'āt* and Bāyazīd Bayāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, unfortunately there is no reference to any of the buildings erected by Humāyūn. Similarly the general histories of India, such as Abul Faḍl's *Akbarnāma*, Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī*, 'Abd-ul-Qādir Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, M. Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta's *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Sujān Rāy Bhandārī's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh*, etc., are generally silent about this subject. Of the works in English, Erskine's *A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humayun*, vol. II (1854) and Banerji's monographic work *Humāyūn Bādshāh* (1938), which deal almost exclusively with the reign of this king, no mention is to be found of any of Humāyūn's monuments, except for the foundation and building of a new city of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhi in the latter work based on translations of some extracts from Khwāndamīr's *Humāyūn-nāma* as given in Elliot and Dowson's History. Unfortunately in these extracts the editor had, with the exception of *Dīnpanāh*, not included any of the passages dealing with the buildings erected by Humāyūn, and as Khwāndamīr's rare work *Humāyūn-nāma* or *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*³ was until recently⁴ when it was published by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, to use Mrs. Beveridge's words, 'a literary *parda-nishīn*', it was generally assumed that Humāyūn owing to

¹ Vide Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 532.

² Vide Banerji, S. K.—*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 232, 233, (1938).

³ Only a single manuscript of this work was known till recently, but a second manuscript found by the late Mr. H. Beveridge about 1902 is stated by Mrs. Beveridge to be in the British Museum Library; while another manuscript is catalogued by Baron Rosen in the Library of the Institute of Asiatic Languages at St. Petersburg.

⁴ M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, Persian Text, *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, (1940).

the turbulent times or other reasons did not erect any buildings. A reference to *Aḥwāl-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh* or *Humāyūn-nāma*¹ by Gulbadan Bēgam composed about 1587 A.D. in deference to the royal command of Akbar, and which also till 1902 was unknown to scholars, however, shows that one of Humāyūn's buildings at Āgra, which is described in fair detail by Khwāndamīr, is referred to in her account of the feasts, while the starting of a building or buildings at Gwāliār is also mentioned.

In addition to the foundation and building of the new town of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhī detailed in Mr. Percy Brown's work referred to already, Khwāndamīr describes in some detail the following buildings of Humāyūn: (i) a wonderful building عمارتِ ظلم

at Āgra on the banks of the Jumna; (ii) a palace in the Fort of Āgra on the site of the treasury of the old Hindū rulers; and (iii) a building in the Fort of Gwāliār. A full account of these will be given in an annotated English translation of Khwāndamīr's *Humāyūn-nāma* which, it is hoped, will be printed before long.

It is unfortunate that none of the three buildings have been identified so far,² but it is hoped that with the information now available, if it is at all possible at this date, attempts will be made to trace the buildings which were, with the exception of the unidentified buildings of Bābur at Āgra, Dhūlpūr, Gwāliār, etc., apparently the first monuments of the great Mughuls.

¹ *The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nāma)*, text and translation by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, translation pp. 117, 118, (1902).

² None of Humāyūn's buildings at Āgra are mentioned in M. Ashraf Husain's *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort* (Delhi, 1937) or Havell's work cited already. Similarly in the various standard works on Gwāliār Fort no building is assigned to Humāyūn.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE WAQFIYAH OF 'AHMED PĀSHĀ. By MUHAMMED AHMED SIMSAR. Pp. i-x+1-203. (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940.)

This valuable publication is not, as the name might indicate, only an edition of a manuscript of a Waqf-deed of the 16th century, but a carefully prepared edition of a bi-lingual manuscript in Arabic and Ottoman or 'Osmānī Turkish as it was spoken and written in Asiatic and European Turkey from the beginning of the 14th to the middle of the 19th century. For making the manuscript readily available to scholars, the author has published a beautiful edition of the text with a transliteration and translation, while to explain the large number of technical, theological and legal terms he has added a very extensive series of footnotes with detailed references to the original sources. The author discusses the history of the development of Ottoman Turkish language and adds a detailed appendix on the system of transliteration which he has followed in the work. Two extensive chapters are devoted to the Institution of the Waqf, the Origin of Waqfs in Islam, Waqf, *Zakāt*, and *Sadaqah*, Laws regulating to Waqfs, the Classification and Nature of Waqfs, the Requisites of a Valid Waqf, the preparation and registration of a Waqf-deed or Waqfiyah, and finally the administration of Waqfs. The importance of Waqfs in Turkey and their administration in the early Ottoman Waqfs are also discussed in detail. Two further chapters are devoted to the Life of 'Ahmed Pāshā and an analysis of his Waqf-deed or Waqfiyah. In an appendix is given a brief summary of the Ḥanafī Laws concerning the administration of Waqfs.

The work of edition and translation is so carefully carried out that Mr. Simsar's work would serve as a model for the issue of texts and translations of Oriental works, while the printing and get-up reflect great credit on the University of Pennsylvania Press.

B. PRASHAD.

SHĀH ABDUL LATĪF OF BHIT: HIS POETRY, LIFE AND TIMES. *A Study of Literary, Social and Economic Conditions in Eighteenth Century Sind.* BY H. T. SORLEY. Pp. 432+x. Oxford University Press, London, 1940. 18 Shillings.

Dr. Sorley's work provides a very careful study of a collection of mystical poems known as the *Risālo* of Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit. The poems are the work of a poet of Sūfī leanings and display a remarkable depth of philosophical and religious bent of mind. They were composed in the first half of the eighteenth century, and, according to Dr. Sorley, 'are held in such universal and popular esteem as is accorded only to poetry which has interpreted the most intimate thoughts and the sincerest feelings of a people'. The author's object in undertaking this work, as he explains in the preface, was twofold, firstly to introduce the work of Shāh Abdul Latif to English readers, and secondly 'to explain, by reference to the historical and social environments of the age in which the poems were composed, something of the message and meaning they convey'.

The work is divided into three books: (1) History, (2) Literature and Criticism, and (3) The *Risālo* of Shāh Abdul Latif.

The Historical Section of the work consists of six chapters followed by seven appendices. After discussing the character of the period 1690-1760, which the author rightly designates as 'The Twilight of the Moghuls', with reference to the conditions in Sind, he includes a broad outline of the characteristic features of its history and comments on the inadequacy of the available historical sources. This is followed by an account of how, after the Moghul domination, the Kalhōro Clan assumed independent sovereignty and continued in power during the eighteenth century. The detailed account of Sind's contact with the European world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and of the trading centres of the East India Company in Sind during the same period based on a careful scrutiny of original documents in the Bombay Government Records is of great interest, and should prove of value for future historians. Records of contemporary writers including those of some notable European travellers in Sind during the seventeenth century have also been studied in this connection. The trading conditions in Sind, the industries and commerce of Sind with special reference to cotton, saltpetre, indigo, leather and leather-work, and the trading methods of the East India Company are carefully analysed, and Dr. Sorley concludes 'it is utterly fallacious to assert that the profits made by the East India Company in its commercial dealings with India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to the disadvantage of India'. The three chapters, dealing with the standards of life and comfort of the common people, the Government and the governed, and

the privileged classes, contain a very good summary of the social and economic structure of Sind during the period. The sixth chapter of this book provides a fitting finale to the historical account. Dr. Sorley states 'Sind was a Muslim State which struggled to semi-independence in the mid-eighteenth century. It sought to found its basis on the theocracy of Islām, amongst a population composed for the most part of converted Jats', and further 'in the Islām practised by these people, very punctilious in the performance of external duties, there subsisted a vast body of superstitious beliefs dating from before the days of Islām'. It was in this *milieu* that Shāh Abdul Latīf, whom Sorley considers as 'the greatest man whom Sind has produced in the realm of imaginative art', was born and grew up. 'His life is an epitome of the age in which he lived and of the rural circumstances of the people amongst whom he dwelt the spontaneity of his message lies deep in the hearts of all classes of Sind's population, Muslim and Hindu, lettered and unlettered.' The appendices contain, in addition to a very concise historical, literary and critical bibliography, detailed information in reference to the merchant vessels of the East India Company, irrigation and agriculture in the Chāndookah Purgunnah, synopsis of the important historical events, and notes on the spelling and transliteration of Oriental words, and on the original Sind documents in the Bombay Record Office.

The second book of the work is, according to the author, meant to clarify 'the meaning of much that may seem obscure in the translation' of the *Risālo*. With this end in view the author discusses the principles of poetry and poetical criticisms and concludes that 'all sound literary criticisms must differentiate between thought and the manner of its expression This warning is particularly true of mystical and metaphysical poetry where symbolism and hidden meanings are characteristic features and language takes on a quality of transcendence'. In discussing the birth of a classic the author remarks: 'The emergence of genius is an event which in the present state of human knowledge approaches the inexplicable. Heredity and environment are certainly an inadequate explanation. There is usually little in the immediate circumstances of his birth and his upbringing to account for the manner in which an exceptional man towers above his fellows. In Shāh Abdul Latīf's case the enquirer finds small help towards knowing how this outstanding poet came to the fulfilment of his genius.' The old adage *poeta nascitur, non fit* seems to be fully borne out by Shāh Abdul Latīf's life and his work. The poverty of Sindhi literature before his time was due to the late emergence of Sindhi as a vehicle for literary expression. Shāh Abdul Latīf is no mere imitator of Jalāluddīn Rūmī, of Jamī, or Hāfiz or Al-Bistāmī, but his poems represent in his own inimitable language the ideas current during his time. He is not conspicuous for any great

originality of thought, but expresses extremely well 'a species of religious philosophy current amongst the better educated men of his time'. His poems are due to a lyrical impulse and were apparently composed to be recited, intoned or sung to a musical accompaniment; this close connection with music they still retain. While his poetry is typically Muslim in sentiment and expression, the musical form in which the poems are set 'are part of the Hindu heritage of India'. All the poems of the *Risālo* are set to *Rāgs* and *Rāginīs* in accordance with the strict Hindu theory of music, and this is probably an additional reason why the Islamic poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf exercises so strong a spell over the non-Muslim inhabitants of the land. In the second chapter the author discusses the nature of the subject-matter of the *Risālo* and compares, in passing, the mysticism of Shāh Abdul Latīf with the poetry of Blake, Shelley, Browning, Donne, Watt and Crashaw. The work of Shāh Abdul Latīf, according to Dr. Sorley, is a web of many strands in which Arabic, Persian and Baluchi influences are definitely indicated, but he believes that the influence of Urdu poetry on the *Risālo* is definitely negligible, though Hindu poetry may have influenced his work to a certain extent. In a further chapter the influence of the mysticism of Islām on the poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf is examined in fair detail, and the author is of the opinion that the *Risālo* is 'an expression of the later Sūfism in India, especially as influenced by the Muhammadan domination of Upper India from the fifteenth century onwards'.

The third book, which is devoted to a verse translation of the *Risālo*, is divided into three parts:

- (1) Mercy and Grace (twenty-one poems),
- (2) The Daily Round (six poems), and
- (3) Love poems of Sasuī and Punhūn, Suhinī and Mēhār and others (five in number), which are based on folk stories current throughout Sind and other parts of the country.

In the translation of these purely lyrical verses the author has endeavoured 'to keep the actual words of the translation as close to the text as circumstances will allow'. Except where the exigencies of meters made it inevitable, he has followed the original faithfully. With a view to making the poems more intelligible he has also included short summaries of the stories as introductions in the translations of the poems.

Dr. Sorley's work is a very important contribution not only to our knowledge of the Sindhi poetry but also of the history of Sind during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the critical analysis of the poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf will stand out as a monument of painstaking scholarship and his translation of Shāh Abdul Latīf's *Risālo* will make it possible for those unacquainted with Sindhi to realize the greatness of the poet's

genius. The work is beautifully produced and is remarkably free from misprints. The glossary of the uncommon words found in the poems, the comprehensive index to Books I and II, and the indices of the opening lines of the verses add materially to the usefulness of the work.

B. PRASHAD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To

THE EDITOR,

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

In the issue of the Journal of the R.A.S.B. (Letters, Vol. V, 1939, No. 1) just published, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has reviewed 'Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A (select verses) with a supplement on Prakrit Poetesses', compiled and edited by me. There are a number of points in this review which are likely to misrepresent the work and create wrong impressions on the minds of the readers. I shall be obliged, therefore, if you will be pleased to permit me to explain and answer some of these points.

The work is avowedly an anthology of select Sanskrit and Prakrit verses as Mr. Chakravarti himself recognizes. It is difficult therefore to understand in what sense the title of the volume is 'confusing'. If he objects to the use of the term 'Sanskrit' before poetesses, it may be pointed out that such expressions as 'Latin Poets' or 'Hebrew Writers' are commonly used. He says that 'Rāmakṛṣṇa's Guruparamaparā-carita, which contains interesting traditional accounts about some of the poetesses, might have yielded useful materials, but this has not been used'. The work was certainly consulted, but the reason why it was not used was that the entire work is mythological, and not at all historical, and the accounts given there about the personal history of the Sanskrit Poetesses are all not only mythological, but also fantastic through and through. For instance, Vijakā is mentioned as having mastered the Vedāntas when only six years old. She is said to be born in different colours in different ages such as white in Satya and black in Kali-yuga (pp. 88b-89a). Śilā Bhaṭṭārikā is mentioned as saying to her parents that she was Bhagavatī incarnate, etc. (p. 97a). Similar fantastic stories are given about Rājanyā (Śaśikalā) who, to escape her father's wrath, is said to have flown to the realm of Śiva with her lover in a chariot sent by the god himself (p. 219b); about Nāgammā, who, it is said, used to assume the form of a serpent during the night (p. 251a) and so on. Mr. Chakravarti certainly cannot mean that accounts such as these should have been utilized in a serious work on anthology. He is of opinion that 'accounts of modern poetesses are rather scrappy and the list palpably incomplete'. If he had taken the trouble to read the Preface (p. vii) and the Introduction (p. lix) a little more carefully, he would have found that it has been made clear that it was not the object of the work to include modern poetesses at all. A brief account of a few of them was,

however, added in the Introduction to show that even under modern conditions poetical works of merit are being written in Sanskrit by women such as Kamalā Bāi Bāpaṭ, who in her work, devoted to ritualistic matters, has included some beautiful stotras in Sanskrit of her own composition for which she certainly deserves mention in this volume.

Regarding the question of headings, they were taken from the original sources and are certainly adequately expressive. The heading of verse 139 is distinctly given as निम्न in the MS. concerned, while the verso is found in a somewhat corrupt form. It was, therefore, taken as referring to निम्न and was translated accordingly. Whether inflections should have been used in the language of the headlines or whether hyphens should or should not have been used in distinguishing compound words in the verses, is a matter of individual opinion as there is no precise canon to follow. I should like to state, however, that in making use of these devices, I have followed the practice adopted in the Catalogue of Sanskrit (and Prakrit) books compiled and edited by Dr. Pran Nath and myself, the first volume of which was published by the India Office in 1938. It will, no doubt, be news to Mr. Chakravarti that these devices, including the use of hyphens, which he has ridiculed so much were approved by Sanskritists of no less eminence than Prof. F. W. Thomas and Dr. H. N. Randle.

Mr. Chakravarti complains that there is no alphabetical index of the sources with an indication of the verses taken from each. He has apparently overlooked the general index (Appendix X) in which there is an indication of the verses taken from the anthologies and other works references to which are also given in the critical notes to the text. Regarding the omission of critical accounts of the MSS., it would have been clearly out of place in a work of anthology which does not pretend to give a critical review of the manuscripts from each of which only a few verses were selected. As regards the inclusion of Dictionaries and Catalogues of printed books in the Bibliography, some Sanskrit and Prakrit koṣas like the Amara-koṣa, Deśi-nāma-mālā, and Catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit books have been included because page-references to particular editions of these have been given in the critical foot-notes.

As regards translation, it was not the object to give literal but rather free renderings of the verses with the intention of keeping more to the poetical spirit than to the literal sense. It was also felt that some of the verses were of an erotic nature, e.g. V. 137c (mentioned in the review) and were unsuited for a literal translation. But Mr. Chakravarti's contention that the translations in many cases were wrong and failed to reveal the true meaning of the verses cannot be admitted. As for instance, what is the difference between the expression 'plead with' as

used in the work and his 'entreat' in the rendering of the word 'अनुनेयः' (V. 4d) and also between the word 'enjoyable' and his 'fit to be dallied with' in the rendering of the word 'रम्या' (V. 38c)? In this latter verse, the word 'रम्या' does not carry any idea of 'fitness to enjoy' as the reviewer thinks. It is of course known that 'अश्वनीन-रमणी' (V. 34d) means a woman whose lover has gone abroad, but it would be ridiculous to translate it as 'the wife of a traveller' when the perfectly good English word 'love-lorn' conveys the same sense according to the best of English dictionaries. The suggested rendering of 'नखिली' (V. 73a) which has been translated as 'water-lily' (कुसुम) by 'lotus' would not bring out the idea of the proverbial attachment of water-lily to the moon implied in the conversation of two lovers, for lotus would bring in a hostile idea and the lexicons justify the rendering of the word as water-lily. It is not possible to accept Mr. Chakravarti's translation of 'वाचादिताः' (V. 101a) as 'Have you not received?', as this interpretation does not fit in with the remaining part of the verse. There is no conceivable connection between the King's receiving other kings (1. 1) and his being taken as the sole lord of the world (1. 2). The alternative interpretations suggested in some cases (43cd, 74b, 74d, 75d) are, after all, matters of individual opinion.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. CHAUDHURI.

3, Federation Street,
Calcutta,
June 12th, 1940.

THE REVIEWER'S REPLY

The somewhat 'confusing character' of the title is principally due to the absence of any description of the scheme of what appears to be a 'series' of works of which Vol. II, Part A is chosen to be published first.

It is reassuring to learn that the *Guruparampardcaritra* has been consulted, but it is a pity that it has not been deemed worth mentioning anywhere in the book although an extensive Bibliography is given.

It is not unknown to the reviewer that the work contains verses of ancient and medieval poets alone. But this is no reason why the interesting account of modern poetesses, which has been incorporated in the introduction, should be incomplete and imperfect. It is from the editor's rejoinder that one

is enabled to know that Kamalā Bāi Bāpaṭ has a right to be included in the list of modern poetesses, for she composed 'some beautiful stotras in Sanskrit'. Very little information has been given on the life and works of poetesses like Śrīdevī Bālarājñī and Sunāmaṇi Devī. The latter is disposed of with one solitary sentence, viz. 'She has composed a work called Kāmākṣāmṛta, a religious treatise'. It requires a strong imagination to realize from this meagre description the poetic character of the work mentioned. It is not again clear how a selection was made of the poetesses described under this head, a dozen in number mostly belonging to South and West India. It is also difficult to account for the omission of poetesses like Paṇḍitā Kshama Rao of Bombay who has a number of very interesting works to her credit, e.g., *Śaṁkara-jīvanākhyāna*, *Satyāgrahagītā*, etc.

The statement, that the headings (like भू, नेत्र, चक्षुः etc.) are 'certainly adequately expressive', is a most disappointing one. As a matter of fact, some of the headings (like नायके नायिकी-वचनम्, विरहिणी प्रति चक्षुः, विरहिणी प्रलापः, नायकं प्रति नायिकीः) are happy and expressive. And mere consistency—if nothing else—would demand the others to be of similar form and nature. Is it sufficient justification that the wrong heading of verse 139 is supported by manuscript—and that only a single one? Is there any indication in the verse to connect it with the heading? It is a pity, however, that the translation of the verse has been made somehow or other to suit the heading, which may not unlikely have been wrongly given by an ignorant or careless scribe, who is not unusually responsible for peculiar mistakes.

The reviewer may assure Dr. Chaudhuri that it is not 'a news' to him that the use of hyphens in distinguishing compounds is sometimes approved and resorted to by Sanskritists in the case of texts printed in the Roman script. But 'it will no doubt be news to' Dr. Chaudhuri that 'even Sanskritists of no less eminence than Prof. Thomas' have *not* used hyphens in the works published by them in Devanagari characters. As a matter of fact, the reviewer is not aware of any scholarly Sanskrit publication in Devanagari script using this modern sign. The attention of the editor may in this connection be drawn to works like the *Kaṇḍavacanāsamuccaya* edited by Prof. F. W. Thomas in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, *Sarvāṇukramaṇi* edited by the late Prof. Macdonnell in the Anecdota Oxoniensia Series, *Buddhacarita* edited by Dr. E. H. Johnston in the Panjab University Oriental Publication Series, the *Mahābhārata* edited by Dr. Sukthankar with the co-operation of a band of renowned scholars and in course of publication by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, to mention only a few.

It is painful to find that the author is averse to even harmless suggestions like those for adding some new appendices. There

is no reason to suspect that the reviewer has 'overlooked the general index' in which the names of the source-books are scattered and cannot reasonably be found in one place. The suggestion for the introduction of a separate appendix containing an alphabetical index of the principal source-books of the verses was made for facility of reference. The value of a work depends greatly on the character of the materials on which it is based. And hence the need of giving a critical estimate of the materials used. This can never be 'out of place' in any work if it claims to be scholarly.

The inclusion of Catalogues of printed books (of which one entitled *An Alphabetical Index to the Sanskrit Printed Books and Manuscripts, compiled by the Office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* could not be identified) and modern dictionaries (like the *Śabdasaṅgraha* of Girish Chandra Vidyaratna) on the plea of referring to them in the foot-notes can hardly be justified, for reference to them in the foot-notes is also scarcely commendable. As a matter of fact, the purpose of a Bibliography appended to a work is not to give the names of all the books consulted, but only the peculiar, the more important, and less known ones that have been specially utilized for the work. But this basic principle has not been observed by Dr. Chaudhuri in compiling his Bibliography.

It is learnt from the rejoinder that the object kept in view in preparing the translation has been to make it a free one with the intention of 'keeping more to the poetic spirit than to the literal sense'. But as has been already indicated in the review this intention has scarcely been fulfilled. The attempt to give a free rendering of erotic verses, of which there are a good many in the work and some of which (Nos. 81, 133) have been translated literally, has in most cases failed to bring out their subtle and charming implications and given them a most unpoetic appearance. The verses supposed to be unsuited for a literal translation on account of their erotic nature should have rather been left untranslated than presented in a mutilated form. It is strange that the learned editor does not appreciate the defects, even though attention was drawn in the review only to the most palpable and elementary ones. He has raised objection against five of the fifteen instances of defects and inaccuracies cited in the review. An attempt is made below to meet these objections:

4d. 'Entreat' seems to be more literal and direct than 'plead with'.

34d. Dr. Chaudhuri pleads that the correct sense of the term *अध्वनौ नरमयो* is well-known, but it is curious that there is no indication of this either in the translation of the present verse or in that of verse 109b where the translation is definitely wrong. One fails to understand how 'it would be ridiculous

to translate it as the "wife of a traveller" with an indication of the idiomatic English expression within brackets as the translator himself has done in the case of विनिद्रा (v. 73d)—sleepless (i.e. full-blown).

38c. The learned editor seems to have missed the main point of the verse as well as of the suggestion of the reviewer. The implied sense of personification—the relation between the *śatpada* and the *gandhapālī* as that of a hero and a heroine—appears to have been ignored in the translation. And this accounts for all the difference between the translation and the suggestion. As for the correctness of the sense of रत्ना as suggested in the review the translator may be referred to *Pāṇini* III. 3. 169.

73a. This is a well-known verse which gives no sense if बलिनी is translated as 'water-lily' as there is not the least likelihood of the lily and the moon not seeing each other, for according to poetic convention, the lily blooms only on seeing the moon.

The verse is quoted in a number of rhetorical works and scholars, both Indian and European, have taken it to mean 'a lotus' (cf. Ballantyne, *Mirror of Composition*, p. 395; *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridasa Siddhantavagisa, p. 695).

101a. This is one of the lines the idea of which the translator has totally failed to grasp. It refers to the many kings of the solar and lunar dynasties that already ruled over the earth and points out the superiority over them of the king under description. The translator has committed a hopeless mistake by supposing that it refers to the subjugation of other kings of the universe by the present king. आसादिताः has the sense of receiving and not subjugating.

Dr. Chaudhuri thinks that the interpretations suggested in four cases 'are after all matters of opinion'. But the individual opinion that prefers inaccuracies to accuracies must be a peculiar one. For in the cases of 43cd and 75d the translations are definitely wrong and there cannot be any scope for an alternative suggestion. In 74b the published translation would make one of the two words (गोपात्री and नजबधू) redundant while in 74d the rendering of भव by 'mundane miseries' is not supported by lexicons, ancient and modern.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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**Some Aspects of the Cultural Life of the Khasas
of the cis-Himalayan Region.**

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(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

INTRODUCTION.

Over a great area of the Himalayan region, both trans-Himalayan and cis-Himalayan, it is customary for a man to share his wife or wives with his brothers. This is known as fraternal polyandry as distinguished from the matriarchal polyandry that used to be commonly practised in Malabar where the husbands of a woman were not necessarily related to one another. In fraternal polyandry, the wife comes to live with the group of husbands; in the matriarchal form, she remains in her own house, the husbands come to live by turn as visitors. Property under the fraternal type of polyandry passes from father to son, in the matriarchal type, the woman owns it and passes it on to successors in the uterine line. Polyandry appears to have been a widely practised form of marital relationship, and though some authorities tried to nail down polyandry to the name plates of non-Aryan, Tibetan or Dravidian tribes or castes, there is no doubt that Indo-Aryans and their progenitors did preserve this institution, within limits, and today, the various Indo-Aryan tribes living in the region of Turkestan, Hindukush and the cis-Himalayan area are definitely polyandrous. Whether polyandry is a racial trait or not, today it is a system of marriage affecting the lives of at least 30 millions of people.

The Himalayan region contains three important ethnic groups, which have mixed in varying proportions to produce the many types and groups that one meets in these parts. These comprise, as it were, three bands of ethnic formations. The highest altitudes are inhabited by the Mongoloid races whose nomadic incursions into the south, south-east and south-west have contributed to 'yellow' infusion among the descendants of the Indo-Aryan immigrants in these parts. The advance of the Indo-Aryans into the Punjab was marked by successive waves of immigration. They were first established in the sub-Himalayan districts of the Punjab. The plain of the five rivers must then have been dense jungle interspersed with large marshy areas. On reaching the plain, the immigrants could have turned in two directions, either east along the north of the

plain, or southwards along the Baluchistan border. They probably followed both these ways. As a knowledge of agriculture was not unknown to these immigrants, some of them naturally chose the foot-hills to which they had been accustomed while in Turkestan. The penetration of the various Indo-Aryan hordes into the hills and inaccessible tracts may also be due to the fact that the earlier immigrants came in conflict with the incoming hordes who drove them from their original settlements, and the former had to take shelter in distant hills and were given the most opprobrious epithets. The aboriginal population which is Austric or pre-Dravidian is represented by the Dom, a generic name which also includes many artisan castes most of which are hybrids being offshoots of mixed marriages between the Indo-Aryan invaders and the aboriginal races. The Indo-Aryan immigrants who still dwell in their original settlements may have maintained their racial purity, but those of them that have wandered away from their home and have penetrated into secure asylums in the hills and forests have not, though as a result of their settlement among inferior races they established their cultural dominance over the latter. Consequently, the highland regions of the Himalayas form even today a residual island which still preserves social customs that once had probably a more extensive distribution.

The 'Khasas' or the 'Khasiyas' who constitute the high caste people of the cis-Himalayan region are either Rajput or Brahmin, though intermarriage between them has not been barred by the rules of caste endogamy. The artisan castes are recruited from the Doms whom the Khasas brought with them or subjugated. The Rajputs and Brahmins have freely mixed with immigrant people but have preserved themselves from contamination by the infiltration of Dom blood by strict prohibition of marriage with the artisan castes. The latter are decidedly of inferior social status and looked down upon by the Khasas as such. There has been some infusion of Mongoloid blood among the Khasas but it has not occurred to any appreciable extent in Jaunsar-Bawar. It is found in Gharwal and adjoining States and is probably due to Tibetan influence.

The Khasas are usually tall, handsome, fair (rosy or sallow white) complexioned, possess long heads, vertical forehead, fine or leptorhine noses, hazel eyes with a sprinkling of blue, curly hair and other features wellcut and proportioned. The women are also comparatively tall, slender and graceful, of a very attractive appearance and extremely jovial disposition. There is little difference in physical features between Khas-Brahmins and Khas-Rajputs, and intermarriage must have taken place and does take place even today. The mean stature of 100 Khas-Brahmins is 163.3 cms. and that for 100 Khas-Rajputs is 162.4. The mean cephalic indices are 71.33 and 71.60 respectively. The nasal index (mean) for 100 Khas-Brahmins is 66.29,

that for the Khas-Rajputs is 67·25. As the results of anthropometric measurements of the Khasas will be published separately, further details will not be given here. The Khasas are conscious of their superior lineage, for they affiliate themselves to the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata fame and are indeed proud of their polyandrous custom, as they say it was the usual practice among their progenitors, the Pāṇḍavas.

There is ample evidence of the physical similarity of the Khasas with the Kasmiras and there is remarkable similarity of the Khasa family law with the Punjab customary law, notably with customary law in the Kangra hills. The reference to Khasas along with the Kulutas (residents of Kulu), Tanganas and the Kasmiras in the Brihat Samhita, and of the occupation of Madhyadesha by the Khasas and the Śakas in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Hari Vamsa and in the Mahābhārata go to prove the antiquity of the Khasas. The Khasas most probably occupied various parts of northern India in prehistoric times, and there is some truth in the statement that they occupied large areas from Kashmir to Nepal. The fact that the Khasas are described in the Mahābhārata (Droṇa Parva) as having arrived from diverse realms corroborates the above hypothesis. Manu refers to the Yavanas several times in his code of laws along with the Śakas, Kambojas and other rude tribes on the borders of India. In one place (X. 43 and 44) he writes as follows: 'The following races of Kshatriyas by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brahmins, have sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes: viz., Paundrakas, Odras, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas, and Śakas; Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and Khasas'. These are all described as Dasyus or wild people who were descendants of the four original castes, mixing promiscuously with one another and neglecting their religious observances (Book X. vv. 12 to 24). In the Mahābhārata it is said that these tribes of Kshatriyas have become Vrishalas from seeing no Brahmanas (Muir's Sanskrit texts, 2nd Edition, I, p. 482).

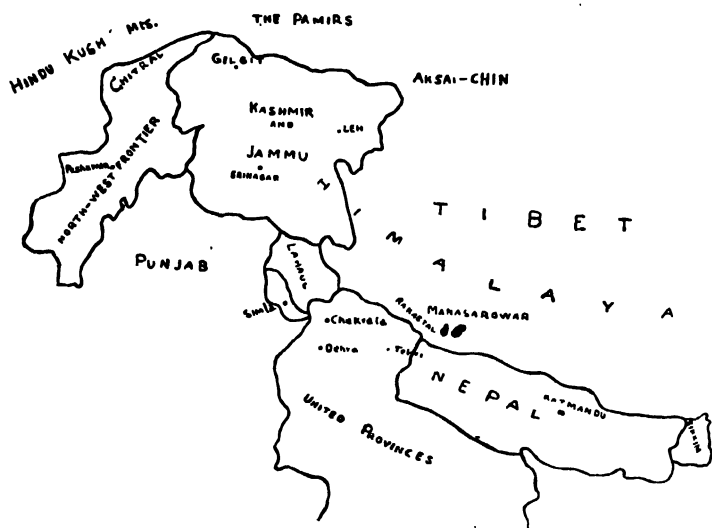
The Khasi clans of Assam are not related to the Khasas of these parts, for the physical features of the two groups differ considerably and unless we suppose a large scale mixture of the Khasas with the Mongoloid tribes of Assam, the Mongoloid features found among the Khasis and absent among the Khasas are difficult to explain. The Khasas probably represent the eastern outpost of Indo-Aryan penetration in the cis-Himalayan region. A. C. Turner writing about the Khasas (Census Reports, Vol. I, pt. III, p. 24) quotes relevant evidence to prove that the occupation of the Khasas took place long before the Christian era.

I propose to describe below the culture pattern of the Khasas or Khasiyas of the cis-Himalayan region. For purposes of intensive investigation, I have confined my study to Jaunsar-

Bawar in the Dehra Dun District, though my observations apply equally to other parts of this culture area.

The Physical and Economic Geography of Jaunsar-Bawar.

The district of Dehra Dun which occupies the northernmost part of the Meerut Division in the United Provinces, lies between $77^{\circ} 35'$ and $78^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude and $29^{\circ} 57'$ and $31^{\circ} 2'$ north latitude and has an area of 1,193 square miles. Geographically the district is divided into two regions—the Dun proper, which is an open valley enclosed by the Siwalik hills, and the outer scrap of the Himalayas, and the hill Pergannah of Jaunsar-Bawar which is the hill appanage of the Dun. The latter is a roughly oval tract of hilly country with its major



axis lying north and south. The boundaries of these two tracts, viz., the Dun proper and Jaunsar-Bawar, are sufficiently clear and well marked. The Dun valley is enclosed within the Himalayan range, the Siwalik hills and the rivers Ganges and Jumna. The river Tons sweeps round Jaunsar-Bawar from the north and finally with a 'course trending the main south joins the Jumna near Kalsi'. To the north and east of Jaunsar-Bawar lie the States of Tehri, Jubal and Sirmoor, and to the south lies the Dun valley. For administrative purposes, Jaunsar-Bawar is included in the Chakrata sub-division of the Dehra Dun district. The whole of this tract is rugged and full of precipitous mountains with little level ground. There are many tall peaks varying in height from 5,000 to 12,000 ft. and some of these give off ridges, which 'suddenly descend to dark chasm'. The rocks are mostly of lime-stone which account for the irregular and

massive formations. There are many ravines, some bare, some wooded, while the valleys are covered with fine grass enabling herds of buffaloes to live and multiply and supply milk for the *ghee* industry.

Jaunsar-Bawar contains large tracts of forest area and numberless hills densely covered with tall trees and thick vegetation. Few villages are found in these hills as land for agriculture is not available, the declivity of the slopes being too steep for cultivation. The chief species of trees are the *Deodar* (*Cedrus deodara*), the *Chir* (*Pinus longifolia*) and the *Kail* (*Pinus excelsa*). The last is a variety of *Chir*. *Deodar* and *Chir* are both of great commercial importance, and are used in the construction of houses and manufacture of railway sleepers. *Chir*, though not so durable or important as the *Deodar*, is still of great commercial value. Besides supplying timber, turpentine and rosin are extracted from its resin. There are also other species like the *Ban* (*Quercus incana*), *Moru* (*Quercus dilatata*), *Akhrot* (*Juglans regia*), *Darbi* (*Cedrela serrata*) and *Thuner* (*Taxus baccata*). All agricultural implements, the wooden parts of them, are made from *Moru* which also supplies walking sticks. *Akhrot* gives fruit (walnuts) rich in fat while the wood is specially used for making butts for guns and the bark of the *Thuner* serves as a substitute for tea. A number of species of fruit trees are found in the hills, such as *Amla* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *Hinsar* (*Rubus* species), *Kingar* (*Berberis* species) and *Mol* (*Pyrus pashia*).

There are a number of rivers and rivulets in Jaunsar-Bawar though few of them are perennial streams. In the summer months they dry up and water is only available in deep water holes and gorges sheltered from the heat of the sun, but during the rains, they are roaring torrents, full and swift. The economic value of these rivers lies in the cheap carriage they provide to timber felled in the forests. The difficulty of transport is great in the hills and is minimized in the case of sleepers by the small '*gads*' (rivulets) which are used for transporting them. As there is hardly any market for timber in the hills, it is carried down to the plains and the rivers and streams help in facilitating such transport. Where there are no *gads* the sleepers made on tops of hills are carried down by the dry-sliding method or by human labour; the latter is indeed a painful process particularly where the descent is precipitous. After the sleepers are brought near the *gads*, there is a further difficulty to overcome, for there is seldom enough water in the *gad* to carry the sleepers down with the current. An artificial channel is made by damming water at a distance and the sides of the streams are carefully planted with sleepers in such a way that water may not escape through the gaps in the arrangement. These are stopped by covering the escapes with leaves and grass. When an artificial channel about two furlongs or so is thus made, the sleepers are

put in the water and are pushed towards the *dam*. In this way all sleepers are made to accumulate at the end of the artificial channel which is broken from the mouth and then they float down. A new channel is again made, the process continues till the sleepers reach big rivers like the Jumna or the Ganges which contain water sufficient for transporting them further down. Although the Forest Department spends huge sums of money every year, the indigenous inhabitants seldom take advantage of employment in these forests. The bulk of labour skilled as well as unskilled comes from outside, the skilled from the Punjab and the unskilled from the neighbouring States and Garhwal.

Jaunsar-Bawar forests are rich in natural fauna: *Kasturi* (Musk deer), *Bar Singha* (stag), *Bhālu* (bear), *Sāhi* (Porcupine), *Bāgh* (Panther), *Ead* (Flying Squirrel) and many other species of animals are found. The Khasas eat flesh of *Kastura*, *Ther*, *Barad*, *Bar Singha*, *Ghold*, *Kakhar* and the skins are used for various purposes. There are plenty of birds, *Unal*, *Titar*, *Chakor*, *Phakbons Battak*, *Murgi* whose flesh the people eat, but they do not eat crows or pigeons. The forests are grouped into different classes, some reserved, some protected, others free or village forests. In the free forests hunting is allowed and the men take advantage of it. Hunting is usually a co-operative undertaking in Jaunsar-Bawar, for a number of men join together and take part in regular expeditions. The simplest way is to fence a plot of forest and men and women throw stones inside the fencing so that the animals may come out frightened attempting to escape. Stones are hurled from all directions and after some time the animals get exhausted and succumb to the injuries sustained during the onslaught. The other method is known as *Jibalu* and is ordinarily meant for the capture of panthers. These are greatly feared by the people. A cage-like device is made with stones and wooden planks and a goat is tied inside so that through the small opening which is automatically sealed should the panther enter the cage for the goat, the animal is captured alive. Most interesting accounts of methods of killing bears, are given by Khasas which figure also prominently in the folklores of the hill people. Curious beliefs about the nature and habits of the bear are found in Jaunsar-Bawar. A bear when it attacks men in the forests usually scratches the face of its victim and this, according to the Jaunsari, is due to its proverbial jealousy of the beauty of the human face. Though it is a dangerous animal, the hill people are by no means afraid of it.

Stories are current about the many indigenous methods of capturing bears. The bear, as a rule, attacks men from behind jumping on the back. One interesting method may thus be described though it appears highly improbable; two persons go out into the forest with two long baskets called *Ghildis* and sticks. The bear jumps on one but the latter so adjusts his *Ghildi* that the bear drops into it. The other man then belabours the animal

with his stick. To avenge this the bear jumps on the other man who also places his *Ghildi* in such a position that it is immediately trapped. The first man now strikes on the bear's head with his stick and between the two they kill the animal. This method of hunting bears, if it is practicable (which indeed is doubtful), shows that the hill people are careful observers and they know how to take advantage of the nature and habits of the animals with whom they share the forests.

Jaunsar-Bawar is a cold country. Though in the valleys of the Jumna, the Tons, and their feeders there is considerable heat from March to October, the winter is usually pleasant. On the higher altitudes, the thermometer sometimes records over 20 degrees of frost. The winter months are spent in feasts, and festivities by the people as no agriculture is possible on the hills. This is the time when the hill people kill their goats and feed their neighbours and for a month or more feasts continue and mutton and beer are all that they live for.

The Jaunsaris are very fond of building substantial houses. These are made of timber in beautiful surroundings with the small terraced fields below, and are picturesque in silhouette against the hillsides. The villages are usually situated in valleys or on the slopes of hills, but never on the top. Winter is very severe on the hilltops and continual snowfalls and severe cold blasts make living on the higher altitudes difficult and dangerous to the extreme. The need for warmth in such a climate makes the people extremely fond of the sun, and they build their houses in such a way that they get the maximum period of sunlight. Besides sunlight, water is precious in the hills, and the villages are built by the side of hill springs or on the banks of rivulets, so that water may be brought to the village by channelling it from higher levels.

A group of villages co-operate in distributing water to the villagers and definite schemes for apportioning water by the villages are carefully drawn and executed. These make it obligatory for a village to keep the channel within its boundary in good condition, to insist on the use of water by the village and also to co-operate with neighbouring villages in contributing labour for constructing or reconditioning the springs, reservoirs and channels on which supply of water to the entire group of villages depends. The small terraces available for cultivation are intensively treated as farming demands skilful manuring and irrigation in these regions. Water for irrigation is brought to the terraces sometimes from rivers and rivulets through small *kuls* or channels skilfully cut on the rocks. The usual method is to make a dam across a *gad* or river at a suitable place and from there the water is brought through a canal, one to three feet wide and one to two feet deep to a point at the highest level of the field. If a continuous channel cannot be made on account

of surface conditions, a *patnalū* connects the ends of a *khalū* or gap which is otherwise unbridgable.

Patnalū is made from the trunks of trees, by hollowing them lengthwise so that they may serve as channels for water. The construction and maintenance of *kuls* are often the concern of a group of villages so that they are either made by collective labour or by someone known to be expert in making them. In the latter case, the villagers have to contribute their respective shares towards the stipulated amount to be paid to the artisan or contractor concerned. The contribution of individual families is proportionate to their share in the village land, and is decided by the *Sayana* or headman of the village, or of a group of villages which are served by the *kul*. The maintenance of a *kul* during the months of July and August, when there is heavy rainfall in these parts, is a difficult job and the entire village or a group of villages has to take the work in hand. Though usually there is no quarrel among the villagers on these matters, for the authority of these headmen is still regarded as sacred by them, dissensions regarding the distribution of water are frequent. The headman with the assistance of the elders of the village has then to intervene and settle the disputes.

Another use made of *kul* in these parts is the running of *ghats* or grinding mills worked by waterpower. A *ghat* may be owned by an individual family or a group of families. If it is owned by a particular family its use by others is ungrudgingly allowed and custom demands that a small portion of the ground stuff be given to owner of the *ghat*, as his rightful share. There is nobody to receive it and it is usually kept in a basket or a leather bag, provided by the owner. The Khasas possess an extraordinary sense of right and wrong, of honesty and justice, and they seldom abuse this privilege.

The *ghat* is enclosed within a small rectangular thatched house or one made of timber and slates. The mechanical device is simple enough. As the mill is worked by waterpower, water must be brought down from higher level with sufficient force so that it may set the mill working. Water is brought from *gads* and is carried through a wooden channel known as *pandal* which is dug out of trunk of trees. The *ghat* is made of two round flat stones, one placed over the other, the lower one is the *tali*, the upper one is known as the *pat*, the *tali* is fixed on the floor with an iron nail running vertically through the centre of the *tali* over which the *pat* is placed. This pair of circular stones is connected with a wooden block called the *verum* with projecting flat sticks called *panwals*. It is so arranged that no sooner the running water rushes against the *panwal* the *verum* starts moving and there is a device by which it makes the *pat* move on its own axis—the iron nail. A wooden container wide at the mouth and narrow at the lower end is connected by means of a tubelike arrangement with the *pat*, so that with the rotation

of the latter grain put in the container pours through the narrow end of the tube into the mill which grinds the corn and releases the flour.

We have already said that the Jaunsaris build substantial houses. These are usually built of timber, mud, and slates. For timber they use *Deodar* and it is only the poor people who use inferior stuff. Iron is not very commonly used in these parts. The houses are rectangular in shape and consist of two or more storeys. Each storey has a single room and the height is just enough to allow a man to stand erect. As the average family possesses one house, if it is two-storeyed which it usually is, the ground floor is used to house the cattle so that all the members of the family have to share the only other room in the house. Several brothers with their common wife or wives sleep in this room, so that the total output of animal heat may serve the purpose of comfortable bed. Here also they cook their food, keep their belongings, and lounge during the day. Some families possess a *Kuthar* or small storehouse separately built in the yard, but as the levels of the two houses are not the same they are connected by an improvised staircase. There is not much scope for ventilation in the house except through the big door made of a single solid plank or two or more planks joined together so as to form one piece which can be fastened from inside as well as from outside by means of iron rings, and hinges. Besides the big door at the entrance, there may be one or two small windows in every room, which are like small holes and usually kept shut from inside the room. On the first floor there is a *Khadru* (wall almirah) three feet by one to two feet, which is used for keeping odd things and the small belongings of the family. The oven is inside the room. A big flat stone (*pathal*) is placed on the floor, and another at right angles to it, leaning against one of the walls, the stone is thickly plastered with mud, so that there is no chance of fire heating the stone so that it can set the wooden floor ablaze. The fire in the oven is kept smouldering day and night and is replenished with leaves and twigs as required from time to time so that the inmates of the house can get fire for tobacco and curl round it to keep the severe cold at bay. There are two to three mouths in the oven so that two or more pots may simultaneously be placed over it. A small hole in the roof covered by an adjustable piece of slate provides an escape for the smoke and also allows light to enter when necessary. There is a balcony around the upper storey known as *Chhajja*, made by projecting the wooden beams of the house on all sides and planking them over. There is a wooden railing round the balcony for the protection of the children. In the yard of the house, a small area is paved with flat stones which is used for drying grain and massaging and sunbathing which are popular recreations in these parts. As the people do not take frequent baths due to scarcity of water in the summer, and

intensity of cold in the winter, daily massage and application of oil on the body are regarded as essential for personal hygiene, and it is the wife's duty to oil and massage her husband or husbands. So used are the Khasas to this form of comfort that they regard this service from the wife as a husband's privilege.

The Khasas decorate their houses with carvings on the wooden walls and beams. These are very nicely executed and show unusual skill. The ends of beams which project out of the roof are artistically carved to resemble the faces of men and animals such as panthers, monkeys. Where two or more ends of beams meet the carving shows superb technique in depicting the faces of animals. On the walls of the houses, particularly the front wall of the main house, and the balcony of the *kuthar*, the carvings of flowers, animals, etc., are carefully made. Scenes depicting hunting and other activities of the people are also drawn on the sides of houses.

The front wall of the house is painted brown or light red, and the artistic mural decorations are given their proper colour, so that the houses in Jaunsar-Bawar appear to be attractively designed and substantially built. Old houses which have stood on hillsides for a century or more were all built of *Deodar*, but as the *Deodar* forests have been closed down by the administration, it is with great difficulty the rich among them can secure *Deodar* for building purposes. The poor people now use *Chir*.

The construction of houses is not usually the work of the family concerned. There are certain families known as Oad who are skilled in this work and these are usually employed by well-to-do families. The Oad is paid in kind; during the period he is engaged in the work, his family is fed by the employer and after the work is done, he receives some further reward in coin or kind or both. Every family which needs the services of an Oad has to pay some annual contribution (*dadwar*) to him after the harvests reach the threshing floor. When the house is ready for occupation the owner has to sacrifice a goat in the yard and the blood of the sacrificed animal is ceremoniously sprinkled round the house to propitiate the evil spirits so that the occupants may have nothing to fear from their wrath.

The Jaunsaris use clothes of indigenous make. In the winter they wear a *choli* or woollen *achkan* which reaches down to the knees and a *suntan* or *pyjama* to cover the legs. In the warm weather the *pyjama* is replaced by a piece of rag round the loins and the *choli* over it completes their dress. This is why the people of Jaunsar-Bawar are occasionally described as naked Aryans, because the legs and thighs are completely bare during the summer. For a belt they use a long piece of cloth which is wound round the waist many times. The usual head-dress is provided by a turned cap with the edges rolled up while their shoes are made of leather soles and woollen tops. Recent contacts with Chakrata have effected certain significant

changes in their dress, in pattern as well as in material, and men are found to wear coats and vests which they buy secondhand from dealers in Chakrata. The sizes and cut of the *choli* made locally have also undergone some modification.

The women have not changed their dress much, though there are Jaunsar belles who don jumpers and silk sarees made into skirts which they buy at fairs or in town. The women use a type of *choli* known as *ghundia* which is longer and its lower half is decorated with plaits and flaps. The upper part of *ghundia* resembles a jumper with or without sleeves. It has now become fashionable to don cotton clothes instead of woollen in summer. Women prefer to put on cotton and silk if they can afford to. As they do not spin cotton, most of the cotton clothes are imported from outside, but well-to-do families have planted cotton trees and the spinning of cotton is becoming popular in Jaunsar.

Dress and ornaments have so great a fascination for the women that frequent quarrels with husbands occur if the latter do not provide them with fancy articles of dress or ornaments. While in Gharwal and adjacent Simla States polyandry is being gradually replaced by marriage between single pairs, in Jaunsar-Bawar even a group of husbands often find it difficult to maintain a wife whose demands for clothes and finery are on the increase. Frequent quarrels arise when the wives complain against their husbands for incompetency to provide them with heavy ornaments, and divorce or *chhut* often arises from these complaints.

The usual ornaments worn by Jaunsar-Bawar belles are many and varied and the shape and size of these are different from those one finds on the persons of women in the plains. The majority of the ornaments worn in Jaunsar are meant for the ear, nose, and neck. Various kinds of necklaces are worn of which *Chharu*, *Jantar* and *Khagwali* are the most popular. The *Khagwali* is a thick flat necklet of one piece with the ends thinned out and tightly set round the neck. The *Chharu* is a bead necklace while the *Jantar* worn round the neck is made of flat pieces of silver, square or oblong and of various sizes. The most coveted ornaments are those for the ear called *Murkhula*, and the combined weight of these has the effect of dilating the lobes and elongating the ears. A number of these is usually worn by a woman and the whole ear is perforated to provide a base for these earrings. Often one finds a woman displaying earrings which she cannot hang from the ear, in a string put round the head. All the ornaments thus described are made of silver while the *Natholi* or the nose-ring is usually made of gold. This is a large ring thick at one end being inset with small silver or Munga beads. The thicker or heavier side is kept on top and is tied with a cord to the hair in such a way that it passes over the left cheek bone under the left eye. Besides these ornaments the

women also put on bangles usually known as *Dhagula* which are heavy and worn on the wrists. Men do not wear any ornaments but small earrings are often found on the persons of young men. Tattooing is popular today in Jaunsar-Bawar and women usually tattoo their arms, hand and feet. These are locally done by pricking the parts with a needle and injecting into the scratches a kind of vegetable dye.

General Economic Life

The main occupation in Jaunsar-Bawar is agriculture which the hill people have carried to perfection. The tiny terraces are carefully prepared and are richly manured with cattle excreta which their pastoral occupation freely provides, and water is skilfully brought to the terraces from distant springs, rivers or reservoirs. The land in Jaunsar-Bawar is of different quality and even the same village has lands of varying fertility. The nature of the hills is responsible for this variation in quality, for some hills are made of rock, others of soft earth, and the nature of the soil determines the fertility of the fields. Again land is divided into irrigated and unirrigated, the latter depending entirely on the rains and the moisture that can be preserved on the soil by preventing water from precipitation running out of the field. This is done by putting boundary walls of stones or by putting tree logs to prevent wastage of rain water.

A number of subsidiary occupations are followed in Jaunsar-Bawar, the chief being wool and ringal industries and the manufacture of articles of domestic and agricultural use. The cold climate of the hills makes it impossible for people to undertake any outdoor work during certain months of the year and in these months they necessarily follow occupations which can be pursued without much moving about.

Of the subsidiary occupations of the people, none is more important or more popular than spinning wool for domestic consumption. Every family has to spin wool for its own use and wool is spun by all the members, even by the small children. A small basket is carried about containing a small spindle and carded wool. Whenever their hands are free, they start spinning with their deft fingers. The wool is collected from the sheep and goats which every family in the hills keeps for its use. They graze on the uplands during the summer and in the winter they are brought back to the village. Twice in the year, once in the month of August and once in February the sheep are sheared. The average annual yield per sheep is about four pounds of wool. This raw wool is washed in hot water and kept under water for a couple of days. It is then beaten on stones to get rid of dirt and grease and finally washed. The wool is now dried in the sun and when completely dry, it has to go through a process of cleaning and carding with a bow-like implement called *chitkani*.

Though spinning is done by men and women in Jaunsar-Bawar, weaving is not a general occupation. It is done by low caste people, professional weavers. They are usually paid in kind or in coin, whichever the people can afford. Another subsidiary occupation is provided by the ringal industry which supplies the hill people with baskets and other containers for storing the agricultural produce of the family. These are locally made by the people from ringals (*Arundinaria* species), a light species of bamboo grown in some parts of the hills. Villages which do not possess ringal in the neighbourhood procure them from those where it is grown and a regular system of barter prevails between two or more villages. Ringal is usually bought by payment in grain. The people who sell ringal get it free from the forests and charge their labour to the buyers.

From the list of occupations we have described above, it will appear that the people have not much scope to supplement their income from agriculture. The hill economy is of self-sufficing type and the standard of living in the hills is not high. The few subsidiary occupations the hill people follow do not engage them throughout the year and much of the time is spent on feasts and festivities or in travels undertaken partly of necessity and partly in connection with the important festivals and pilgrimages. The little surplus they have of agricultural produce, they either sell to the shopkeepers in return for some of their pressing necessities, such as *gur*, salt, clothes and implements of agriculture. When the shopkeepers refuse to pay the price demanded the hill men have to walk long distances with their grain put in leather bags to be exchanged for necessities or for cash. Thus the cash they get by the sale of grain is not much, for it is limited by the quantity of grain they can conveniently dispose of. When they return home with the money they keep it for future emergencies or for paying *malgoozari*. Thus money does not circulate much in Jaunsar-Bawar. The presence of shopkeepers at different centres in Jaunsar-Bawar who are mostly immigrants from Dehra Dun, Saharanpur and far off places has made it possible for the villagers to exchange their products without undertaking long journeys but the price they get in return is not remunerative. The shopkeepers who receive the produce from the villagers do not always send it to town. There is a local demand for such commodities as labourers, *thikadars* or contractors and travellers require them and find it convenient to buy them from the shopkeepers.

The Jaunsaris are voracious eaters. They take food 3 to 4 times daily, and on festive occasions they are incredible gluttons. When they are full themselves, they are magnanimous to others as well and every householder entertains his neighbours and feed them on sheep which they keep in a room and fatten on oak leaves. Wine and meat are the most popular items of their diet and all castes including the Brahmin take meat; fish is not

always available but where it is, they are no less fond of it. They take pride in giving feasts and try to excel one another in providing rich and delicious menus. Ordinarily their breakfast consists of a heavy meal of *dalpuri* or fried *puris* stuffed with *dal*. The mid-day meal consists of cakes prepared from the flour of *Marsha* or *Cholai*; the third meal is of wheat bread taken before dusk and is usually light. Some families may take the third meal before going to bed. Rice, *dal* and *shikar* form the menu of this meal. The poorer families do not get so much to eat and they take inferior food. The coarser millets, leaves of Amaranth and wild vegetables form the simple food, while rice and *urad* are considered luxuries they can ill afford. Pigs and fowl are freely eaten by the lower castes, but even the higher castes have overcome their scruples against eating poultry which they often rear themselves.

The Khasas are extremely fond of drink; they brew their own liquor and drink it to excess. On the occasion of marriage and festivals, they booze day and night. Two kinds of indigenous drinks are locally made. One is called *daru* or *sur* which is a distilled liquor, another *pakin* or undistilled. A special kind of bread is required to prepare *daru* or *sur*. Four to five species of roots (pissar, berry, athu, pepper, etc.) are powdered in an *okhli* and the powder is mixed with flour. The mixture is kneaded with water and made into wet bread. The rolls of bread are arranged in layers with *bhanga* leaves placed above and below each piece and are kept in a dry place for a couple of weeks or more. Later on, these rolls are put in the sun for further drying after which they are stored in the house for future use. This bread is known as *kim*.

The ordinary bread prepared from coarser millets which is the common food of the poorer classes is broken into pieces and put in a big spherical earthen vat with water, enough to cover them. The contents of this vat are daily stirred by the women till they completely dissolve in the water. The *kim* bread prepared by the process described above, is put in this solution and the liquid is kept aside for a week or so, being stirred every day as usual. When the liquid turns sour, which it does after a week or ten days, it is distilled through an indigenous apparatus. The distilled liquor is called *daru* and is used on ceremonial occasions, feasts and on festival days.

The other kind of drink is prepared out of the flour of *jhangora* (a kind of inferior millet) which is mixed with water and allowed to stand over for three months or more. After this period *kim* bread is added to the mixture and the contents stand for another fortnight or so. It is then strained and kept for the daily needs of the family. The precipitate is made into cakes and eaten by the people.

Elaborate methods of preparing food are found in Jaunsar-Bawar. Not only do the people take a large quantity of food,

they know also how to cater to the palate. There are more than a dozen varieties of bread made and each festival has its own kind. From the list of festivals in Jaunsar-Bawar it appears that many of these are associated with particular processes of preparing food and the distribution of the same to friends and relations forms the main function of many festivals. Besides the ordinary kinds of breads described above, they prepare a kind of bread known as *sira*. This is made in the month of *Pous* on the *Sira* or *Siriya* festival day. *Urad* and *masur* are soaked in water, the husks drop off and the soaked pulses are powdered and made into a paste with water. This paste forms the stuffing of bread and when the rolls are baked they become extremely delicious. Another delicious dish is prepared by roasting lumps of kneaded flour. These are wrapped in covers made of leaves put in the oven and when all the leaves have nearly been burnt in the process, the roasted mass inside the cover is ready for eating. Various kinds of *halwa* are also made. Barley meal or flour of millets and wheat is mixed with water and cooked with milk, *ghee* and *gur* or sugar. This preparation can be kept for a number of days as the whole thing becomes hard enough to stand the climate. *Puris* are usually prepared during festivals and they are sent as *samun* or presents to relations and friends. *Puris* are made in the way known all over India, but a special kind is also prepared by keeping the kneaded mass of flour under water for 24 hours or more. This variety has a peculiar flavour due to fermentation.

Though the ordinary diet of the Jaunsari is simple and does not display any great originality in preparation, the various dishes they make during festivals and ceremonies are rich in flavour and in *ghee*, and they take unusual care to see that their guests, friends and relations get the best entertainment possible. Every family keeps one or more sheep shut up in the goat pen from public gaze and fattened on oak leaves. For months, the sheep remains inside the room so that even the nearest neighbour may not know what is in store for him during the annual feast to which he is likely to be invited. Superstitious beliefs are also current among the hill people about the influence of the evil spirits, the evil eye and the evil mouth and this practice is said to guarantee the safety and growth of the animals confined in the pen.

We have described at some length the economic activities of the people, the methods by which they eke out their subsistence, the hardships attending their occupations, the rigours of the climate and the attempts of the people to get used to them. We have also indicated the means of exchange and distribution, the co-operative efforts willingly undertaken by the people for the common good of the village or a group of villages, the skilful devices with which they face nature and her niggardliness. We have also described incidentally their attitude to

life, to their friends and relations, to the environment in which they have grown up. The descriptive account given above may give an impression that life in the cis-Himalayas is not so full of hardships, but as we shall presently see the account we have given does not imply that the average Khassa family is well off economically.

As money does not circulate much in the hills, as the volume of exchange done by money is insignificant compared even to that obtainable in the rural parts in the plains, the standard of comforts enjoyed by them is not very high. The average family is inured to a hand-to-mouth existence and the expense on food and feasting is the only accountable use they make of their yield from the fields and of any supplementary income they may secure. The construction of shelters for the family and the decoration of their persons exhaust all the reserves they possess. As their resources are meagre, life is pretty hard for them in these cold regions. The gods they own are not always sympathetically disposed towards them, for reward is not proportional to effort. By tradition, their gods are known to be restless, like the palanquin in which they are ceremonially carried every year, turning this way and that, swaying to and fro. One year the Jaunsaris get a bumper yield from the fields, in another year they have nothing at all. Nature in these cold heights often conspires with the gods of their own make and shows her tooth and claw in the niggardliness of her favours. Yet the small terraces are carefully worked, water is brought from higher levels by ingenious devices and perfect husbandry of manure, water and rotation of crops is effected.

People have to keep cattle and sheep. The grazing of cattle and sheep on the slopes of the hills and on the higher altitudes keeps the men busy during the major part of the day; carrying dung and other manures from the grazing areas to the terraced fields is exacting labour; the shearing of wool, spinning and weaving have to be done by themselves, the marketing of produce and barter and exchange require co-operative effort while ceremonial undertakings and festivals require joint effort and voluntary subscriptions to the common pool. Thus life in Jaunsar-Bawar is full of hardships and had it not been for their joint family institution, the fate of the Jaunsaris would have been very much different as they themselves would tell you.

Social Structure

The social structure in Jaunsar-Bawar is characterized by a dual organization of economic classes, viz.: the Zemindars and the artisans. The latter, however, should not be confused with similar groups in the plains, for they are recruited mostly from the aboriginal substratum and mostly belong to a group known by the generic name of Dom. Whereas in the plains the artisan classes own land and when they do not, they have the

right of use, in Jaunsar-Bawar the local code forbids a Dom from holding land either as tenant or as Zemindar. On the lowest rung of the economic ladder, is the domestic Kolta who is the hereditary hewer of wood and drawer of water. He does not own any land, lives attached to his master, the Zemindar, and is given food and drink by his master. He lives in a house provided by his master and his expenses, if any, are borne by the latter. Anything other than food, and clothing, if provided by the family retaining him, is converted into a cash advance which he has to pay back should he wish to change his master or seek some other employment. The expenses of his marriage, of a death in his family, of any ornaments he wants to make for his wife and all that he spends at festival time or for propitiating the evil spirits and gods who meddle with his life and happiness, are borne by his master and the debts he owes on these accounts mount up till his future and that of his progeny are mortgaged indefinitely without any prospect of redemption. When he works in the village, he is given some bread in the morning and when he returns from the field in the afternoon, he gets either cooked rice or a measure of *chulai* or *marsha* out of which he prepares cakes. When he goes with the cattle for grazing on the hill slopes he has to remain for days there and his supply consists of the coarser millets such as *jhangora* or leaves of the Amaranth, which are boiled with lentils or a little rice. His house is within a reasonable distance from that of his master so that he may be available whenever required. If he is married, his wife has certain duties allotted to her and often has to drudge to earn her food.

Higher in rank are the *Lohars*, *Chamars*, *Odhs* or carpenters, who are requisitioned to serve the higher castes and whose remuneration depends on customary laws and not on the nature of the job or the demand for it. Next come the *Bajgirs* (musicians), barbers and a few others whose right to hold land on their own account is not openly challenged by the Zemindars but who commonly live on the customary dole offered by the villagers and traditionally prescribed for them. The blacksmiths, for example, get sixteen seers of grain for each plough, shoemakers, sixteen seers for each man and eight seers for each woman and barbers five seers per head, paid twice in a year, at harvest time. In return for such gifts, these artisan classes serve the village by providing music on ceremonial occasions and doing other kinds of service as may be needed of them. Then come the Rawats who are of Rajput or Khasa origin. They hold land and also work as labourers in the forests and even go to Chakrata or Kalsi in search of employment. The Rawats in Jaunsar-Bawar are said to have immigrated in recent years and they are believed to be descendants of the Gharwali colonists.

The Rajputs form the most important numerous social group in these parts. They do not speak western Hindi which

is spoken by the people of the Dun district. Their language is called Jaunsari which is a dialect of the Central *Pahari*. The Brahmins are not of superior cultural stock nor have they maintained their endogamy. The *Gangaris* are the most numerous among the Brahmins. They are a regional group including as it does all the Brahmins who dwell by the Ganges river. They practise polyandry like the Rajputs and other castes of Jaunsar-Bawar and are called Zemindars. Where there are temples, as for example, in *Lakha*, they divide the duty of the priest's function of officiating in the temple among themselves and each family living in the neighbourhood gets a share of this duty by turn. Very few caste restrictions are observed as far as interdining or commensality is concerned, but where there is a village well, the Brahmin does not allow others to draw water or fill their pitchers or *gharas* from the well. The Brahmin comes at particular hours, and all those who want water get their vessels filled by the Brahmin. This duty of the Brahmins is also distributed among the families and in return for this service, the families who get it, offer some remuneration, in kind at harvest time. Another section of Brahmins in the hills are known as the *Sarolas* who occasionally emigrate from Jaunsar-Bawar and work as cooks in various parts. These observe certain rules regarding interdining and ceremonial purification and abjure meat and wine but they form a comparatively small group.

The territorial unit in Jaunsar-Bawar is the village. Each village has a headman or *Sayana* who is not the elected chief. Originally he was nominated by the *Sadar Sayana* but his office today has become hereditary and he is subordinate to the *Sadar Sayana*. Remnants of a feudal system are still discernible in the tenures of Jaunsar-Bawar. The *Sadar Sayana* who was in earlier days known as *Thokdar* is the overlord and is responsible for the management of the *Khat* or *Patti* and he represents his *Khat* in all its relations with the local administration. The *Khasas* are believed to be immigrants in Jaunsar-Bawar. They appear to have come in nomadic hordes each under a *Thokdar*. The families which constituted the nomadic group settled down in different villages but acknowledged the authority of the *Thokdar*. The villages, which remained under a *Thokdar*, were bound by certain obligations to the latter. His importance as leader of an immigrant horde was recognized by the villages and he received many services and dues from his party men in the shape of gifts and customary dues payable to him on important occasions and festivals. Each family had to give twelve days' free labour in a year to the *Thokdar*. When a child was born in a family, the *Thokdar* received a gift, when a girl was married, he received something; when a new house was built, he was offered a present by the family concerned. When a sheep was killed by a family, one leg was sent to him. In return

for these considerations or tributes, the *Thokdar* looked after the interest of the villagers in his *Khat* and organized defence against raiders, settled disputes as arbitrator and undertook to defend the rights and privileges of the families owning allegiance to him. To-day the *Sadar Sayana* or *Thokdar* does not wield much influence and the village *Sayana* has asserted himself and has secured greater rights and privileges than were enjoyed by his predecessors.

The village community consists of a group of proprietary cultivators, these are known as Zemindars. They are also called *Mauroosi* cultivators as opposed to *Gair Mauroosi* or under cultivators. The latter cannot alienate the land and are to all intents and purposes tenants. When they give up the land, it reverts to the proprietary body and when the Zemindars give up their own land, the co-owners exercise the right of pre-emption. The Zemindars are Khasas who cultivate their own holdings themselves with the help of a number of agricultural serfs called *Koltas* whom they maintain and who can demand to be maintained by them.

The political importance of the *Thokdar* was immense in earlier days and the control he exercised on the people of his *Khat* was a matter of great concern to the administration. In the native States where the system was more developed, political expediency necessitated the divesting of some of the rights and privileges of the *Thokdar*. Tactless handling of the situation led to trouble in some States but with the gradual tightening of central authority, the *Thokdar* lost much of his pristine status, and today he is not a force even in his own *Khat*. Bereft of his political authority, he is still an important link between the village headman and the administration and has been used to the advantage of the latter. With the weakening of the hold of the *Thokdar* or *Sadar Sayana* the *Khat Panchayet* consisting of the *Sayanas* of all the villages in the *Khat*, over which he presides, has lost its jurisdiction and influence and disputes between two villages are not usually referred to the *Khat Panchayet*, but are settled by the *Panchayets* of the two villages concerned.

The village *Panchayet* is a body of three to five persons presided over by the *Sayana* who is the *Sir Panch*. The elders who constitute the *Panchayet* are drawn from elderly men, selected for their tact and experience. Knowledge of men and matters, sojourn in foreign lands and experience as functionaries of the Government in some capacity or other, are some of the necessary qualifications for membership of the *Panchayet*. This organization is more or less permanent without any recognized constitution or procedure. Its proceedings are informal and it meets whenever there is an occasion to do so. The *Panchayet* acts as an arbitrator in disputes and its machinery is successfully utilized to organize periodical festivals, fix dates

of ceremonies, collect subscriptions for such purposes, look to the supply of water for the village and for irrigation, to supervise the morals of the villagers and to assist the village headman in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities. In one case, which was decided in our presence, a girl was betrothed to a young man by her father and the latter received a *Tando* or earnest money of Re.1. A few weeks later, there was an altercation between the bride's father and an uncle of the bridegroom-to-be, and the former called off the match and married his daughter to a third party. The *Panchayet* of the *Khat* was informed and the father of the girl was fined sixty rupees and was asked to give a feast to the aggrieved party, and the *Panchayet*. If a *Kolta*, *Chamar* or a member of an artisan caste is found to elope with the wife of a Rajput or a Brahmin, exemplary punishment is meted out to the man and anybody who harbours the couple or aids them is severely punished. A heavy fine or *har* is imposed by the *Panchayet* varying from Rs.125 to 300 or more, and this amount when realized from the offender is divided equally between the aggrieved husband and the members of the village. If the offender does not pay up, the couple must leave the country. If, however, the man who elopes with another man's wife can prove his previous intimacy with the girl, the amount of the fine is reduced considerably. When a person belonging to the higher castes seduces a woman of similar social status, he has to pay a fine of sixty rupees only. A low caste man who commits such a crime can be kept by a *Khatdar* on payment of a wergild. Crimes such as the theft of sheep, goats, etc., are usually dealt with by the *Panchayet* and if the culprit is traced, he is asked to make good the theft and pay a fine. In a case of theft in the village of Jadi, the thief who stole a goat was asked to pay back five goats of which two were given to the owner and the remaining three to the *Panchayet* and the village, who celebrated the occasion with a good feast. Whenever any partition of property is made by the *Panchayet*, the *Sayana* receives as his share, one sheep, one goat, one metal utensil, one weapon and five rupees. The *Panchayet* receives five rupees and the villagers two rupees but in the case of poor families, the fees are considerably reduced and sometimes no payment is made to anybody.

The Khasas are a patrilineal people with patrilineal inheritance and patronymic designation. Each village stands as a social unit and is usually exogamous. The joint family system prevails. A group of brothers live together with one, two, or more wives under the same roof, the brothers sharing the wives in common, without exclusive rights of cohabitation with any one wife. The eldest of a group of brothers wields a dominating influence in the domestic affairs of the family, he is the social as well as the ceremonial head of the family. It is to him the other brothers have to turn for advice and guidance.

He determines the duties of the brothers, provides the necessities of the family, and the rest of the brothers have to obey him, and to hand over to him their individual earnings. If a brother wants to marry any particular girl of his choice, the eldest brother goes through the ceremony of marriage with the girl and he may assign the bride to the particular brother concerned. If there is a dispute between two brothers and it may occur on account of rivalry and jealousy between them, the eldest brother arbitrates and his decision is final. If he asks the common wife not to bestow her favours on any of the brothers, the aggrieved brother has no appeal to any higher body in the village. Society upholds the dignity of the eldest brother. The alternative is chaos which the society dare not encourage. The children of the joint family of a group of brothers are maintained by the family and paternity is decided by a useful convention. The eldest born child is fathered upon the eldest brother, and the next child on the second and so on. In case of a dispute between brothers, which may arise when one of the fathers wants to live apart and start a new establishment, the joint wife may be asked to name the fathers of her children—alternately the husbands of the joint wife may draw lots to determine paternity of children born to the family. If four brothers have one wife between them and four or five children are born, and one of the younger brothers marries again, the children usually remain with the woman and the latter is not allowed to go to the younger brother. She must live with the other brothers but the children are entitled to equal shares from all the brothers including the youngest. If the other brothers wish to separate, the eldest brother has to bear the expenses of their marriage as well.

Customary laws in Jaunsar-Bawar make the eldest brother receive the lion's share of the property when partition takes place. According to the laws of inheritance in force, property is divided in the following manner:—After deducting one thing of each kind and one field for *pitans* or *jethong*, viz., on account of seniority, and half of that field, viz., *kanchoo*, for the youngest, the rest is divided equally among them. The family house in Jaunsar-Bawar apparently belongs to the eldest brother, the crops are his, the cattle and sheep are owned by him and the wife and children and their maintenance and control are his. He is the governor of the family and his brothers accept his rule and authority without a grumble. Cases have been found when a younger brother has rebelled against this social and economic monopoly, has forced the elder brother to a partition of the family property, or to the granting of exclusive right of cohabitation with a particular wife, but to the extent he gains individual rights, he loses social prestige and very often his wife deserts him afterwards. It may sound strange to a capitalistic society, but it is a fact that if a man happens to be the only son of his

parents, he stands little chance of securing or keeping a wife, for a wife would not care to live with one man as she would have to do much work for the family. He must, therefore, find out his cousins or collaterals before he decides to marry and settle down.

The custom which allows such a privileged position to the eldest brother has no little influence on the familial relations in these parts, and it is no wonder that the eldest brother wields such great authority in the domestic economy of Jaunsar-Bawar. Complaints against the behaviour of the eldest brother are infrequent and if they arise, they are not viewed with equanimity by the village elders. The individuality of the members in a joint family is thus circumscribed by the traditional loyalty to the head of the family, demanded of them. Besides this attitude of loyalty to the eldest brother, there are other considerations which make partition of property extremely uneconomic as we have already referred to.

Cultural Life

The culture of the Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar has been deeply impressed by their contacts with the Doms or the aboriginal element in the population. The Doms belong mostly to the Austric race and their cultural life greatly resembles that of the various tribes of Pre-Dravidian or Australoid origin. While the Khasas claim to be Hindus and recently they have been fast adopting Hindu surnames and trying to establish connection with the Rajputs and Brahmins of the plains (their contacts with the outsiders have taught them the importance of their claims), their social life as well as their beliefs and practices connected with their religion do not identify them with the Hindus of the plains. They remarry widows, practise levirate, sororate and polyandry, recognize divorce as legal, while intermarriage between the various Khasa groups is not tabooed and children born of such marriages do not suffer any social stigma. While they worship Hindu gods and goddesses, they have a partiality for ancestor spirits, queer and fantastic demons and gods and for the worship of stones, weapons, dyed rags and symbols. On the other hand, their customary rites in the temples, the manner and mode of offering sacrifices the daily religious performances in the temples, the dim lighting, the burning of incense, the mysterious incantations and sing song monologues, all indicate Hindu origin, tradition in ritual and temple worship.

The sun, the moon and the constellations are their gods. The sun is male and the moon female. The moon's pride on account of her greater beauty and her insulting behaviour towards the sun on that score, provoked the latter's wrath and his curse had the effect of disfiguring the moon's face resulting in spots which are said to be marks of leprosy to which the people are often victims. The Hindu belief that the earth rests

on the head of a snake, *Sheshnag*, finds its counterpart in Jaunsar-Bawar and earthquakes are believed to be caused by the periodical movements of the giant snake. The Mundas believe that eclipses of the sun or moon occur when their creditors surround the sun or moon for the debts of the Mundas and this represents the typical belief about eclipse among all the Austro-speaking tribes in India. Among the Khasas, the sun and moon are said to have borrowed money from a Dom, but the interest swelled to such an amount that it could not be paid and the debt was repudiated. The Dom on that account worries them often by throwing a skin on their face. Though the average Khasa is always in debts, the stigma attaching to persons of higher castes who borrow from the Dom is great in Jaunsar-Bawar, and the elders belonging to the higher castes do not tolerate such practices in the village. The customary raising of *menhirs* and other stone memorials among the Khasas appears to be a relic of a megalithic cult which is an important phase of Austro culture. The Khasiyas appear to have in all probability, borrowed this custom from the aboriginal element in these parts. It is customary to construct a terraced platform near a public thoroughfare on which they place a single upright stone to commemorate the dead.

The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the doctrine of metempsychosis is an important feature of their religious life; they believe that the soul has to pass through as many as 84 lakhs of forms including animals and insects and the activities of man on earth are carefully recorded by *Yama* whose messengers have to present the souls before him. As *Dharmraj*, *Yama* determines the form which a particular soul should pass into, in accordance with its activities on earth.

Their religion is a curious blend of Hindu and tribal beliefs and practices and a functional analysis of these is sure to provide interesting materials. Nowhere perhaps are magic and religion so closely interlaced and interwoven as in Jaunsar-Bawar. Magic plays an important rôle in the life of the hill people by giving them confidence in danger and crisis, and by providing the incentive to organized undertakings. Not only in the main occupations of the people like agriculture and lumbering, in ordinary day to day life, magic is potent and effective. The importance of the evil eye and the evil tongue is recognized by the hill people and oaths and ordeals have a significance hardly paralleled in savage society. It is possible to effect injury to person or to cattle or both by magical practices, to cause death in a family by mere swearing as they believe, and to cause houses to be burnt by magic. The courts of justice recognize the importance of oaths and ordeals and when the necessary evidence in a civil case is not forthcoming the parties are allowed to decide the issue by means of oaths and ordeals. In some cases, the defendant in a money suit will keep the sum of money

before the image of the goddess *Kali* or in any temple dedicated to *Mahasu* their great god and the plaintiff is asked to take the money. Should the defendant want to prove that the money he owes has been paid by him, he drinks the water in which the feet of the *Devata* are dipped and this is taken as evidence to the effect that the money has been paid by the defendant. In other cases, the plaintiff will light a lamp in a temple and the defendant has to put it out proving thereby that he has paid the amount due from him. If a villager bears a grudge against his neighbour and he wants to harm him or his effects, he takes a clod from his field and lays it on the altar of *Mahasu*, and prays for an immediate judgment. Should this neighbour meet with any accident or domestic trouble, he would leave his field as otherwise the god invoked by his enemy may cause greater calamity to befall on him. The consequence of dishonesty and false statement on oath is terrible as the person is sure to be affected with insanity or leprosy, or some great calamity may occur in his family, or he may die an unnatural death within a short period from the commission of the offence.

People who are notorious for their wickedness are supposed to possess some power either inherent in them or derivatively acquired. For example, they are known to abuse people and swear against them on the slightest or no pretext and the belief is that such persons can do harm as their *Ghat* or swearing is usually very effective. There are certain gods whom wicked and antisocial people usually invoke to effect their nefarious designs on others. One such evil spirit is *Narsin* who is extremely mischievous and is readily invoked to harm or destroy cattle and crops and to afflict people with diseases. The *Baki* or diviner has to get in touch with this spirit and propitiate it whenever it is suspected of evil. Though it is a criminal offence in Jaunsar-Bawar to call any person a 'witch', it is common knowledge in these parts that witches exist, and whenever any person meets with any misfortune or contracts any serious illness, the members of his family may suspect any woman, young or old, to be responsible for it and she is dubbed a witch. Henceforward, she becomes an object of close attention in the villages and her family is branded as antisocial and consequently segregated from the other families in the village.

The incidence of infant mortality is pretty high in Jaunsar-Bawar, and it is traced to the influence of certain evil spirits. These are always after children and women in the family way and their attention is followed by disease and death to their victims. There are people specially versed in spirit-lore who utter magic words and blow ashes over the child or woman believed to be affected by spirits and this is considered potent enough to cure the affliction. When a pregnant woman falls ill, it is believed to be due to the mischief caused by certain evil spirits and the woman has to undergo a course of treatment

prescribed by the *Baki* or *Ghadiala* (witch-doctor). With her hair dishevelled and forehead painted lavishly with vermilion she is made to sit near the witch-doctor. The latter takes a bell-metal plate in his hand and starts beating it to tune, uttering simultaneously a number of incantations in a peculiar singsong tune. After half an hour or so, the woman feels heavy, starts shivering indicating thereby that the spirit has entered her person. The woman shows signs of greater animation and moves her limbs to and fro, attempting to rise on her toes and eventually starts dancing to tune of the bell-metal music. Soon she forgets herself, her husbands and relations, and is metamorphosed as it were into the spirit which has taken possession of her. The *Ghadiala* addresses the spirit in the woman and the latter answers on behalf of the spirit. The source of the attack, the name of the spirit, the necessary offerings and sacrifices that would please it and any particular direction as to the manner and mode of disposal of the offerings are mentioned by the possessed woman and it is believed that as soon as these are offered as directed, the woman gets rid of the spirit possessing her. The spirit, however, leaves the victim in a spectacular manner. The woman shrieks, or strikes herself with some stick, or makes violent attempts at escape and is often forcibly brought to rest by the people present. This and similar practices show the extent of the influence of tribal beliefs and practices on the cultural life of the Khasas.

When epidemics invade a village, the resources of the village are freely requisitioned by the headman concerned and custom prescribes an *Astabali* or sacrifice of eight lives to appease the godling of disease. Five different approaches of the village are selected for the purpose and at each approach an improvised gate of bamboos is made. At the centre of each gate is fixed the wooden effigy of a monkey and a vertical slab of stone or menhir is firmly fixed in the earth. The menhir is crowned with a large round stone and two pieces of wood with flattened ends are tied on either side of the upright slab, the whole resembling a human figure from a distance. Five different sacrifices are offered at the five approaches to the village. At one, a goat is killed and buried near the menhir, at the second place a sheep is similarly sacrificed and buried. A hen, and a pig are sacrificed at the third and fourth approaches respectively, while at the fifth, they cut a pumpkin into two halves and bury it likewise. After the sacrifices at the selected places, the villagers all assemble in the yard of the temple where a sheep and a vegetable (*Gindoro*) are offered as sacrifice. The *Gindoro* is cut into pieces and the sheep is killed and given to the Doms. A goat is sacrificed in the name of the village and the meat is distributed among the villagers. The elaborate rites of *Astabali* are performed only when a major calamity is feared and the efficacy of this prescription is seldom questioned by the villagers. The village priest

is in charge of this sacrifice and he cites hymns and prayers as well as magical incantations to invoke the aid of the gods.

They do not appear to be much concerned with rewards and punishments in the world to come but they observe a code of conduct which, if followed, is believed to pave the way to a prosperous life in this world and uninterrupted bliss in the next. These refer to their food, sleep and sacrifice. They must not drink pure milk and they should abstain if possible from butter as it may better be burnt in the temple of the gods. It is on ceremonial occasions and festivals that they may eat butter after it is dedicated to the gods as offering. They should offer the best sheep or goat to their gods as sacrifice and they should not sleep on beds with four legs, usual practice in Jaunsar-Bawar is to sleep on the wooden floor.

The principal occupations are safeguarded against interference by the forces of evil which people their imagination by a system of protective and productive magic. It is true that the efficacy of these magical rites is being minimized by the people but this has not caused any serious challenge to the traditional code of conduct so far as it relates to the observance of rites of protective magic. Magic embraces practically all spheres of activity. When they build a new house, they have to protect it from destruction by fire, or from calamities that may fall on the inmates, and the usual practice is to sacrifice a goat or sheep to the evil spirits and the blood is sprinkled round the house. When the bridegroom comes back home with the bride, before the couple is allowed to enter the house, some relative, usually the maternal uncle, throws down from the roof of the house a live sheep in front of the couple below. The relatives and friends of the couple tear pieces of flesh and bone from the animal and there is a scramble among them for the heart and liver of the sheep—which when eaten raw, ensures good luck to the eater. The bride and the bridegroom are then allowed to get inside the house.

When the harvest are brought home or the first sowing takes place, the evil spirits are propitiated by individual families while a common sacrifice is made by the village to undo the evils of magic. Human sacrifice is non-existent, but the efficacy of it in theory is not denied by the Khasas. The custom of rope dancing which formed an important annual festival in these parts has become obsolete as it has been forbidden by the administration on account of the risk to life involved in the process, but in times of agricultural calamities occasioned by the vagaries of rainfall or by insect pests and diseases to crops and cattle, they remember the olden days when the annual *Bedwart* (rope dancing) provided the necessary safeguards against such supernatural visitations. Even today in Rawain, a neighbouring State, *Bedwart* is allowed to be practised under

police surveillance as the people have made repeated representations to the State authorities not to interfere with the age-old magico-religious practice. The failure of rains and harvest they trace to the non-observance of their magico-religious practices and the State had to yield to their persistent demands. The *Bedwart*, as was practised in earlier days, was a cruel custom as it subjected the *Beda* or dancer to physical violence. Originally, a lengthy piece of rope stoutly made was tied to two peaks of unequal height and the rope was greased for days and weeks to allow the *Beda* to slide smoothly from the higher to the lower end of the rope. The *Beda* after a ceremonial bath, was seated at the highest end of the rope and was given a push and the greasy rope did the rest. The *Beda* glided down the rope at a terrific speed, somehow clinging to it, and the vast crowd gathered to watch the ceremony broke into loud cheers as the *Beda* approached the end of the lower peak. If the *Beda* accidentally missed his hold of the rope, it was fatal for him, for he would certainly dash against the ravines hundreds of feet below and be shattered into fragments. If he succeeds, as he usually does because it is undertaken after long preparation and practice, he loses his hold of the rope immediately before he reaches the other end, and drops down into the arms of a receptive crowd who carry him on their heads and move with him through the crowd. The piece of cloth or rag he puts on is torn to shreds by the crowd and each man keeps a thread or two from this cloth as protection against natural calamities and as a sign of good luck and prosperity. In the scuffle that ensues to secure this luck, the *Beda* loses not only his cloth but even tufts of hair from his head and may receive even serious injuries. Other magico-religious rites include naked dances before sowing, during the growth of the crops and after harvests. Playing with red hot iron rods, swallowing burning charcoal and such other ordeals are some of the other precautions designed to safeguard their material prosperity and domestic bliss.

The Family

The typical Khasa family consisting of a group of brothers as husbands with one, two or more wives and children represents a social and not a biological group. The father is not the physiological father but functional in the sense that children address him by his functional name as for example, father-who-looks-after-the-house, father-who-tends-the-sheep, father-who-grazes-cattle and so on. The close tie between the child and mother that we get in a stable monogamian family cannot develop in a polyandrous society of the type we get in Jaunsar-Bawar. The frequency of the practice of *Chhut* or divorce makes the wife a loose unit in the family and she changes her affiliation pretty freely. The care and maintenance of the children therefore devolves on the group of fathers, particularly

on the head of the family and it is the duty of the latter to see that the children get the proper attention and necessary instruction in the formative years. The mother has to perform her duties and comply with the obligations of motherhood so long she remains a member of the family and conforms to the rules of residence customary with patrilocal groups. But as she migrates periodically to her parent's village at harvest time and during the festivals, the children do not get her company throughout the year. The normal socio-psychological association between mother and child cannot develop on account of frequent interruptions by these voluntary migrations. The novel situations arising out of customary participation of the people in fairs and festivals, the variety of interests they stimulate and the scope they provide for satisfying the genuine curiosities of children lose much of their significance in shaping the mother-child relationship. The importance of these casual migrations of young married women to their parents' village will be realized when it is known that in the villages we investigated most of the married women between the ages of 15 to 35 were absent and women of the same age group belonging to the village but married in other villages replaced them as domestic help and farm hands during the harvesting season. Women above 35 and those whose psycho-sexual life has lost its intensity of exuberance and women who are sick or diseased do not move from the village and they with the girls of the family manage the household and care for the children. This seasonal interchange of women between villages has a number of advantages for a polyandrous community. Firstly, it allows a release of tension in sexual life for with the return of the girls of the village to their parents' house and the absence of the wife or wives from the village, opportunities for extra-marital relationship increase and intrigues within the village are possible without a disturbance of normal wedded life. Secondly, the periodical return of the girls of the family reduces the instability of the family relationship in the event of wives leaving the family permanently, and ensures continuity of economic existence of the family. Thirdly, the seasonal residence of the wife in the husband's house and periodical migration to her parents, the knowledge of the two standards of morality enjoyed by women in Jaunsar-Bawar, and the possibility of easy *Chhut* while reducing the sanctity of marital obligations also temper marital jealousy.

In a polyandrous society, in order that social life may run smoothly, marital jealousy must be absent, and this is so in fact, we are told by competent authorities. It is true that when several brothers share one wife the brothers must not quarrel over her, and custom and tradition determine the attitude of the brothers to one another and to the wife. The importance of the eldest brother or *Jeth* among the Khasas generally and in Jaunsar-Bawar particularly has greatly minimized marital

jealousy as it is not usually possible for the other brothers to possess the wife sexually so long the eldest brother resides in the house. In practice, however, the eldest brother does not exercise this sexual monopoly and his frequent absence from the house provides the necessary transference of sexual rights to the next of the brothers. Besides, the disparity in the age of the brothers makes it possible for the elder brothers to secure to themselves the right of cohabitation till the younger brothers come of age and in ninety cases out of a hundred, a second wife is taken in the interest of the younger brothers. But jealousy between brothers for the affection of a common wife is not rare and manifests itself in the demand by the husband concerned for better attention to his needs and comforts. In such cases, the wife, if she is clever, manages her obligations to the satisfaction of the husbands concerned. If she does not, quarrels do take place and the eldest brother may order a dissolution of the marriage. While quarrels between brothers are obviated by customary rules of conduct as described above, those between co-wives are of frequent occurrence. Unless the second wife happens to be the sister of the first as is very often the case or someone in whose selection the first wife had a voice, no second wife can be taken while the first remains in the house. She must be divorced before another wife can be brought in. Thus the wife's sister is normally preferred to others as a second wife in Jaunsar-Bawar. When they get a second wife, precautions are taken to see that quarrels between co-wives may not occur too often and magical rites have been introduced to remove the shadow of misunderstanding. When a second wife other than the sister of the first one is taken, an interesting ceremony is gone through. The second wife is made to sit in one corner of the room, the first wife sitting opposite to her while an elderly woman with a lighted *dip* in her hand stands by each of them. Another woman stands in the centre of the room and joins their hands and each gives the other a silver coin. The *dip* is held in such a way that the shadow of the one does not fall on the person of the other.

Marital Life

Marriage in Jaunsar-Bawar takes place early in life. Between the ages of 2 to 10 years most of the girls are married, though this does not mean that cohabitation follows earlier than in the plains. From the cases we have noticed of girls proceeding to their husband's village for residence for the first time, it does not appear that the girls have to do so before they are seventeen or eighteen and this is a fair arrangement as puberty sets in later in a cold climate. Occasionally, however, a girl of 8 or 10 may come to live with her mother-in-law for a couple of months or so and assist her in her domestic obligations, but such residence has not been abused by the husband or group of husbands.

Besides in the case of a first marriage, the bridegroom also is of tender age and the possibility of an earlier consummation of marriage is remote.

When a son is to be married, the father approaches the girls' parents and asks for the girl. If the father or guardian of the girl satisfies himself as to the suitability of the marriage, he may demand the nominal bride price which is usually one rupee. The Pahari Brahmin then decides the date of marriage. On the appointed day 2 to 8 persons from the bridegroom's village come to the bride's house and are cordially received by the bride's people. The party is entertained to a sumptuous feast and the villagers got up a dance in which the party from the bridegroom's village take part. Next morning a hundred to two hundred persons proceed with the bride to the bridegroom's house singing and dancing all the way till they reach the outskirts of the village, their destination. All the villagers, men, women and children, assemble there to receive the guests and lead them to the bridegroom's house where they take care of their guests. A heavy menu at dinner with a large quantity of liquor served before and after the meal, a gala dance in which people from both sides take part, continuous singing by the women, the tom tom of drums, on either side, and sometimes a hunting excursion to the forest nearby, all make the ceremony a memorable event. Poor people cannot entertain their guests on such a large scale and the people who participate in the function from the village of the bride as well as those from their own village provide the necessary assistance for the family concerned in the shape of gifts which consist of rice, flour, *ghee*, *gur* and sheep or goats.

In the case of poor families, however, it is not possible to invite every villager to the feast. So one person of each family is invited to join the festivities and to give the ceremony a representative character. Even then the village acts as host and all the necessary arrangements are made by the villagers whether they are invited to the feast or not.

The ceremony of marriage is extremely simple. The Pahari Brahmin puts a *Tilak* of *Pithain* or vermilion on the forehead of the bride in the bridegroom's house and on the bridegroom's forehead in the house of the bride. He also cites some *mantrams* in the presence of the couple while he may, if he is asked, sacrifice a goat in honour of the great god, Mahasu, to whom he prays for prosperity and happiness for the couple. Before the food is sent to the guests, a plate of it is offered by the priest to the village god. This is obligatory on all occasions of feasts and festivals in the village.

Besides the ceremonial gifts of a rupee, the bridegroom's people may and very often do pay a small sum to cover the expenses of the bride's parents. Where the financial and social status of the parties differs, as for example, when the bridegroom

is not well-to-do and the bride's parents are, or when both the parties are well off, the bridegroom has to pay some money as bride price. But this amount need not be paid all at once. Half the amount is payable before marriage and the other half after the woman has proved her fertility. This amount is not paid if the woman after marriage proves barren. Barrenness is a frequent complaint in these parts and a husband who has paid a big sum as *Jedhan* and has spent more on entertaining his friends and relations must be given some relief. Should the woman prove sterile, the bride's parents have to refund the other half of the dowry, and also have to receive the girl back if need be. A reasonable period after cohabitation starts is allowed to the wife to prove her fertility and if she fails to do so, she is returned to her parents and the necessary *Chhut* or divorce is obtained. Besides the fertility question, there is another practical implication of this custom, i.e. paying half the bride price and retaining the other half to be paid when the girl becomes a mother. The girl is married at the age of 3 or 4. When she grows up she becomes an economic asset. The father is reluctant to send the daughter away to her husband's village. He does not mind her licence in sexual matters so long as this is confined to the village. Intrigues with persons belonging to the same clan are not encouraged but there is not much restriction as regards those belonging to other than the clan of the girl. When the husband finds that she does not want to come to live with him, he demands repayment of bride price he has paid; of course, he takes this final step after he has tried his utmost to persuade the wife's people, for even if he has made a small cash payment he has spent a lot in kind and in entertainment.

The girl's father does not worry himself much about this demand, for if the girl is handsome-looking, she is sure to be demanded by another party who will pay the dowry back to the first husband and some amount to him as well. Whether he keeps the girl at his house or marries her a second time, he is a gainer in either case and these considerations have something to do with the many cases of *Chhut* and of strained relations between different villages. Where the girl is not handsome or does not receive proper care and indulgence in the parents' house, the parents do not prevent her going to her husband's house, for, in that case, they do not get willing assistance from her and lose the part of the dowry payable by the husband. Where there is no difference in status between the parties to a marriage, the girl is not withheld from the bridegroom's people, for unless she resides at her husband's place, she is not expected to fulfil the rôle of mother which alone entitles the bride's parents to receive the other half of the bride price. Girls even after their marriage come back to the village of their parents to assist them in field work during the harvest season and the sex licence that obtains in Jaunsar-Bawar during the festivals when even married girls

misbehave is understandable on this account. In the village of her husbands, adultery is a crime of the gravest magnitude and a wife guilty of such offence pays the penalty in no uncertain way. If she still remains in her husband's house, she is ill-treated by the family and is denied any sympathy by the village. This raises the question of morality in Jaunsar-Bawar. A woman has two standards of morality to conform to, one in her parents' house, one in her husbands'. In her parents' house she is allowed every kind of liberty and licence and nothing is an offence unless specifically prohibited. In case any child is born out of extra-marital relationship, the husbands concerned have to own it and this they do without much heart searching on account of the small number of children among the Khasas. Usually, the child is fathered on the eldest of the husbands of the woman. It was customary in earlier days, and even today it is in the interior, for girls (conforming to the social etiquette of the family) to offer themselves as bed-mates to guests of the family who may have no scruples in this matter. The rules of hospitality allow that grown up daughters of the family, married or unmarried, should cater to the comforts of visitors in every way. But a married girl in her husbands' house must observe strictly the rules of morality, must behave properly, must be faithful and loyal to the group of husbands and strict vigilance is kept on her movements by the family group as well as the village. Everything she does is considered an offence unless specifically permitted. But a wife in one village is a daughter in another and custom allows the wife to go to her parents' village where she may take advantage of this double standard of morality.

The usual explanation offered by the Khasas is found in popular sayings and proverbs which compare a girl after marriage to the carcase of an animal, so that the parents can have no interest in her after her marriage. She lives, they say, for the family of her husbands where her economic contribution is indispensable and thus her morals are no concern of her parents. How far this attitude is born of an original disgust at the transference of allegiance of the girls of a matriarchal society to a patriarchal is an interesting theme for discussion. We shall deal with this aspect later on.

Girls in Jaunsar-Bawar, as we have already pointed above, are married very early. But if the family suffers from some social stigma, or is known to have some hereditary disease, if the gods are known to have been displeased with the family, if some natural calamities had fallen on the family which could be traced to the wrath of the gods, or if the girls of the family are known to have broken faith by not going to live with the husband or husbands, it may happen that suitable proposals for marriage will not be forthcoming and the parents or brothers of the girl have to wait indefinitely for her marriage. A few such cases came to our knowledge during our investigations.

Some examples of polyandry in practice will be of interest in this connection. Hariram, *Sadar Sayana* of village Jadi, has four brothers, the youngest of whom Nain Singh is about 35 years of age. He with his brothers owns 9 acres, 3 roods, and 5 poles of land, 14 cattle and 88 sheep and pays Rs.8 as *malgoozari*. He is therefore quite a man of substance and the richest farmer in the village. Hariram married Gonga and paid Rs.60 as bride price. She proved barren and after 4 years, she was divorced and Hariram got back Rs.20 from her next husband. He married Jimuti, a divorced woman for whom he had to pay Rs.20 as bride price. Jimuti was found to be suffering from sexual disease and was divorced without any demand of part of the dowry. He then married Ashadi and paid Rs.50; she was also a divorced woman but after a couple of years, she died without any issue. The fourth marriage was with Pirudi for whom he paid only Rs.12. Pirudi is living with the family and has three children. Bipu is his fifth wife and has one son. Last year Hariram married Pusuli for whom he had to pay Rs.120 as dowry. She was divorced thrice before she was married by Hariram and has not any issue yet. Thus Hariram has married six wives one after another and between 4 brothers they have four sons.

Narayan, son of Hariram (for he is the eldest of the sons and thus was fathered upon Hariram), lives with his brothers and has married 3 wives. For the first wife Nagu he paid Rs.12 but Nagu died without issue. His second wife was Bardai who also was paid Rs.12 as bride price. She gave birth to two daughters but was later on divorced. The third wife, Chakeri was paid a dowry of Rs.120 as she was married after her second divorce. She has two sons living. Narayan's eldest daughter was first married to Jowar Singh who paid Re.1 as bride price but Pusu was divorced and the second husband had to pay Rs.240 to Jowar Singh as compensation.

Madan Singh has two brothers, Narayan and Ajmeru. He with his brothers possesses 4 acres, 1 rood and 30 poles of land, 8 cows and 44 sheep and pays a *malgoozari* of Rs.5-14. Madan paid Rs.2 as bride price and married Bardai and has 4 children by her. For the next wife he paid Rs.12 but after two years he divorced her and realized Rs.60 from the husband she married later. The third wife, Asuji had to be paid Rs.12 but she also was divorced after a year and fetched Rs.100. The fourth wife of Madan, Jamni, for whom he paid Rs.12 has no issue yet. Thus in this family 3 brothers have married 4 wives and have 4 children between them.

Amar Singh with his 4 brothers has married three wives. For the first wife, he paid Rs.50 as she was a divorced woman. After a year she was again divorced by Amar Singh and the latter received back only Rs.8. Next he married Jhani and paid Rs.10 as dowry. She also was divorced after a couple of years

and he realized Rs.8 from her next husband. The third wife is Rutu who is living with the brothers and for whom he paid Rs.50. They have a son by the present wife. Amar Singh with his brothers owns 2 acres, 1 rood and 26 poles of land, 10 cattle and 36 sheep and pays a fairly high *malgoozari* too. Thus in this family 3 brothers have one son.

Instances like these can be multiplied to show the rate of bride price, the frequency of *Reet* which combines in one transaction divorce as well as second marriage, and the number of wives and children per family. It appears from our investigation in Jaunsar-Bawar that usually the number of marriages is no indication of the plurality of wives for seldom has a family more than two wives simultaneously living together with the group of brothers as husbands. The marriages are usually in succession after the death of wife or after a *Chhut*. A *Chhut* is usually followed by another marriage. Further, the number of children in a polyandrous society is very low, for 4 to 5 brothers between them possess 3 to 4 children and sometimes less. Another fact which is extremely significant is the number of barren women. A husband waits 2 to 3 years to see if the wife provides any issue. If she fails, she feels that she is not much wanted in the family and thus she seeks a new home. If she is not wanted in the house, if she is lazy, or suffers from some form of sexual disease which is fairly common, or if she is guilty of some grave misdemeanour, such as her unwillingness to cohabit with the eldest husband, so long as he remains in the house, she is divorced and the next husband of the woman has not to pay any big sum as dowry for her. But if she wants to leave her husband herself and if she does not suffer from any disease or has already proved her fertility, the husband usually demands an exorbitant price from her fiancé, and this amount must be paid by the latter if he wishes to marry her. In such a case the larger the number of *Chhuts* a woman goes through, the higher the bride price she fetches, for the bride price must provide for compensation to the previous husband and his family.

It is easy to marry a girl of 10 to 12 years and one need not pay any but a nominal bride price, but a woman, who has been divorced thrice or four times, fetches a handsome dowry. A woman of 45 in Bangar village, with 4 *Chhuts* to her credit, was married by her fifth husband on payment of Rs.285 which may sound ridiculous when a girl of 15 or 20 can be married on payment of Rs.20 to 30 only. Investigations have shown that this woman has given one or two issues to every family she was affiliated to by marriage, and as children are very much desired by the people, a woman who has proved her fertility is at a premium. Considering the number of barren women, a woman who gives evidence of her fertility in one family is desired by others so that she chooses to change her husbands whenever opportunities present themselves. Besides with four

to five husbands to cater to, her affections may not be fixed on any, thus her change of family does not produce any great psychological reaction which one would normally expect in a monogamous family. The licence permitted to the girls while they live with their parents, the indulgence they receive from the society, the annual sojourn of married girls in their parents' village during harvesting season and also during festivals, uphold this laxity in morals.

In one of our village surveys in Nada, we were met with many requests for medicine to cure barrenness and we made a house to house inquiry to determine the extent of this disability. The figures we collected were indeed staggering and I should think that along with any scheme of economic uplift a health survey should be immediately undertaken to examine the causes of sterility in the women of the area. Some primitive tribes in India allow premarital licence and women are known to take recourse to indigenous medicines to avoid the consequences of irregular unions and the effects of such nostrums have been manifest in the increased incidence of sterility among them. How far such practices are responsible for barrenness among the hill people affords a subject for inquiry. Besides, in the hills, particularly those in the neighbourhood of cantonments, incidence of sexual diseases is greater than anywhere in the plains and a medical inquiry in the villages of this region will be of great help in determining the extent of sexual disease.

We have said that polyandry is the common form of marriage among the people of the Himalayan region. It is so, as all the cultural groups in this region practise it. But it is also a fact that other forms of marriage are also practised along with polyandry. In one house there may be three brothers with one wife, in the next house there may be an only son with three wives to himself, in the next, three brothers with four wives, so that monogamy, polygyny and polyandry and even group marriage are all practised side by side. Economic considerations have been suggested as the cause of polyandrous marriages. Thus whether a man should have one wife or a group of brothers one wife is said to be 'a matter of means and land'. Economic conditions engender social habits no doubt, and polyandry may be due to the difficulties of existence particularly in the region under investigation. The Gharwalis today do not observe polyandry but the Jaunsaris do. Once I had a talk with a number of Jaunsaris on this subject. I wanted to know why the Jaunsaris still practised polyandry while their next door neighbours the Gharwalis had outgrown this practice. The answer was extremely significant. I was told that they did not envy the Gharwalis. The latter left their homes due to the disintegration of joint families. At first, land in Gharwal was measured by acres, then by roods, then by poles, then by yards and feet till they all left their village and are today

distributed all over the country as domestic servants. The Jaunsaris love their homes and do not want to repeat the experience of their neighbours.

That economic conditions shape the forms of marital relationship we may not doubt, but can a society become polyandrous if polyandry is not the customary form of marriage among the people? The custom of hypergamy which makes it obligatory for a family to confine the marriage of girls within certain limits is a widespread practice in India and elsewhere where two or more races of unequal racial or cultural status have mixed together. It leads to the custom of marrying up as opposed to hypogamy or marrying below. It forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of group lower than her own in social standing and compels her to marry in it or above it, while man can marry in the group or below it. If we take a society with three social classes, A, B and C and all hypergamous, we shall find that men belonging to A can marry in A, B and C. Men of the B class can marry in B as well as C. Men of the C class must confine their marriages to their own class. Girls belonging to B can marry in B as well as in A, while girls of A must marry within A. If the sexes are equal in all the three classes, as they usually are, the girls belonging to A will have difficulty in getting married while boys in C will have a restricted choice and therefore will find difficulty in securing wives. In the A group polygyny may develop due to excess of females, in the C group polyandry is a possible consequence due to scarcity of women. But we find that in practice such situation has not developed. Instead in the A class the bridegrooms are at a premium and in the C class brides are at a premium. While in the A class bridegrooms are bought, in the C class purchase of brides is the rule. These customs have not led to the introduction of polyandry.

All of us know how difficult it is for the lower classes and primitive tribes to secure wives as it involves heavy financial commitment for the willing bridegroom, but such castes and tribes have not taken to polyandry. In some tribes if the bride price is not secured it is customary for the bridegroom to serve the family of the bride for a stipulated period so that he may liquidate the bride price by service and become eligible for marriage. Marriage by capture, concubinage, levirate and homosexual practices may be found along with polyandry so that economic conditions or the custom of hypergamy cannot by themselves explain the incidence of polyandry as we find in the Himalayan region.

Attempts have also been made to correlate polyandry to a disturbed balance of the sexes. Westermarck could not find any absolute correlation between them. In the cis-Himalayan region as well as in those areas where polyandry is practised there is an excess of males over females.

JAUNSAK-BAWAR.

Disparity in Sex Distribution in Jaunsar-Bawar from
1881-1931.

			M.	F.	Total.
1881	..	..	25,400	19,717	45,117
1891	..	..	28,435	22,262	50,697
1901	..	..	28,349	22,752	51,101
1911	..	..	30,518	24,294	54,812
1921	..	..	31,567	24,056	55,623
1931	..	..	31,922	24,853	56,775

India is a land of males, for according to the latest available figures regarding the distribution of population by sex, India has approximately 180 million males compared with 169 million females. In many European countries the women are in a majority. At the census of 1901, there were 102,826 males and 75,369 females in the Dehra Dun district and there were 39,611 married women and 56,254 married men during the same period. Figures from other parts of this cultural region will show sex disparity. This unequal proportion of the sexes may have some effect on the form of marital relationship in these parts, but then there is an obvious difficulty in accepting this position. An intensive survey of four villages in Jaunsar-Bawar undertaken by me last year, has given the following data :

Village.	No. of Families.	No. of male children.	No. of female children.	Total No. of children.
No. 1 ..	21	37	31	68
No. 2 ..	26	48	21	69
No. 3 ..	15	24	13	37
No. 4 ..	17	34	30	64
TOTAL ..	79	143	95	238

Thus in 79 families investigated there were 143 males and 95 female children, the proportion being 3 : 2 ; in another group of villages investigated by my student, Mr. H. Meithal, there were 139 male and 83 female children, the ratio of male to female children approximately was 7 : 4.

We have no evidence to prove that female infanticide was freely practised or is practised in these parts. The demand for labour is so high that it is not possible to believe that female

children were put to death. Today in Jaunsar-Bawar, we find that many girls after marriage do not proceed to their husbands' village because their labour is greatly needed in the household of their parents. How far polyandry is responsible for the excess of male children is a profitable inquiry no doubt, but even if we admit the physiological law which produces an excess of female offspring in polygynous animals the reverse process may not be true. Granting it to be true in animals, it does not follow that such result is a necessary consequence of polyandrous matings in man, for man differs from animals in many particulars. How far dietary conditions are responsible for difference in fecundity and fertility and in the determination of sex of children born is a problem which has received little attention. How far viability of sperm in polyandrous unions affects reproduction has not been found. From local knowledge as well as the testimony of the people themselves, it appears that the extent of sexual diseases must have some selective effects on reproduction so that female children are more vulnerable than male and the incidence of male births is necessarily higher in this area. In any case, it is legitimate to suggest that polyandry may not be the consequence of a disturbed balance of the sexes as it may itself produce a disparity in sex proportion as we have already indicated.

Even if biological and economic factors do not explain the origin of the institution of polyandry, they certainly have maintained the institution as it exists today. The origin of an institution may be due to a variety of causes, just as in the evolution of the races, we do not think monogenesis can explain the diversity of types and races. Monogenic theory fails to explain the origin of complex cultural institutions. The status of the first born in the family is an important factor in the life of most of the people living in the Himalayan region. The system of patriarchal family is consecrated by religion in Tibet and also in the cis-Himalayan tracts. The property of the father remains the exclusive property of the first born, he is, however, under the obligation of lodging, clothing and feeding his brothers. When the eldest son of a man marries, the father abdicates his trust and makes it over to the eldest son. Just as the property of the family is owned by the first born but is enjoyed by the other brothers and dependants, the various partners in the joint establishment have a share in the wife of the eldest brother. Such is the principle of Tibetan Jurisprudence that even a father or uncle may live with his son's or nephew's wife and share marital rights over her. The marriage of a younger brother with another woman is considered bigamy as it is incompatible with the principles of Tibetan marriage. We have already referred to the status of the first born in Jaunsar-Bawar and similar evidence has been provided by others who have written on the people living in other parts of the Himalayan region.

Marriage has always been a group contract. Where the sanctity of a marriage is not established it is taken as a means of uniting two families or even two villages or clans. If marriage is a group contract, as it essentially is, the marriage of a woman with a group of brothers is not a unique phenomenon. That the various branches of the Aryan race had practised some such form of marriage can now be readily understood. Briffault, in his 'Mothers', has provided unmistakable evidence regarding the widespread practice of polyandry among preliterate and literate people in precontrol and control days, that is in both savage and civilized societies. But polyandry has existed side by side with other forms of marriage and thus the existence of polyandry in the society does not represent a survival as the historical anthropologists suggested, or even as a stage in the evolution of marriage, for we find it present even today in many parts of the world.

The marital life of Jaunsar-Bawar, as also of the entire Himalayan region is characterized by the inordinate freedom of women. It may be that the economic importance of women has determined the attitude of the people to the marital code, but the laxity of morals, the double standard of morality recognized by the community and the freedom with which marriage ties are annulled and entered into, are difficult to explain from a merely economic standpoint. The frequency of divorce and dissolution of marriage commonly known as the *Reet* has introduced problems extremely tragic in themselves, and an understanding of the implications of the marital life in these parts is necessary before any steps may be taken to remedy the situation. We have already discussed the various possible causes of polyandry in this cultural region and we have found how difficult it is to pin ourselves down to any of the interpretations given above. It appears, however, that the entire Himalayan region particularly the cis-Himalayan tract has its own story to tell about the characteristic social life one meets there, for such problems, as are found there, may be due to contacts between two distinct matrices that still survive in various traits otherwise inexplicable.

Without accepting the theory of unilinear progress of human society it may be said that many of the aboriginal tribes, Australoid or Pre-Dravidian, have passed through a matriarchal stage of culture, survivals of which are found today in couvade, laxity of morals among women and an economic independence difficult to interpret otherwise. The Tharus of Nainital Tarai who represent an aboriginal stock in these parts and who were more widely distributed in earlier days possess certain customs which can be explained as relics of a matriarchal culture.¹ For

¹ Some Aspects of the Matriarchal Culture of the Tharus and Bhoksas of Nainital District, by D. N. Majumdar. *Jubilee Volume of the Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society.*

example, the women among the Tharus possess certain privileges which are denied to women in most parts of the country. The Tharu women do not allow their husbands to touch the water jars where water for drinking is stored. The Tharu women never salute the men who may stand to them in superior relation, they only bow but never touch the feet of their male superiors. The Tharu women go out to make purchases while their husbands carry them home. The Tharu women are expert painters and their mural paintings consist of pictures and scenes depicting fights and even warriors on horse back. The Census Report of the U.P., 1931, records further peculiarities of the Tharu women. Indian women as a rule proceed to the fields very early in the morning. They have a meal at midday and work till the evening. The Tharu women, on the other hand, go to the fields after a good meal corresponding to an English breakfast. At midday they eat some grain and then return home in time to cook and prepare the evening meal for their men folk. They thus work two to three hours less than the women of other tribes and castes. Again, Tharu women, unlike other women, do not carry paddy seedlings to the fields where they have to be transplanted. The seedlings have to be carried by the men. Other women carry them on their heads, thus saving the expense of a labourer or two. The Zemindars did their utmost to change these conditions, but rather than change their mode of life they chose to leave the fields altogether. The result was a migration of the Tharus to Nepal and other tracts. The women among the Tharus thus wield great authority in social and domestic spheres, and even in the activities of an economic order they have assumed the rôle of leadership. Occupations which are taboo to women in other parts are pursued with consummate skill and enterprise by the Tharu women and even hunting, fishing and fowling are done by them.

The settlement of a purely patriarchal people, like the Indo-Aryans, among a predominantly matriarchal people, viz. the Doms, has certainly led to cultural fusion and acculturation. It is on this assumption that we can explain some of the important traits-complex in the cis-Himalayan region, as for example, the double standard of morality practised by the women. Matriarchal social life is incompatible with rigid rules and taboos fettering the free movement of the women, but patriarchal society cannot function unless the woman is loyal to the family of the husband and thus a conflict arises between duties and rights resulting in a compromise in behaviour patterns as we meet in Jaunsar-Bawar and other parts of the Himalayan region. The latitude granted to a woman in her parents' house is reminiscent of the matriarchal life, while the circumscribed freedom of the wife in her husband's village indicates the ascendancy of the patriarchal code over the matriarchal. Even today a woman returns periodically to her parents' village to

assist the latter in household and agricultural work and during festivals and ceremonies she must come back to her native village to pass the time in the company of her friends and relations on her parents' side. This custom, however, produces an interesting grouping of the village units and is responsible for much of the laxity in morals and peculiar behaviour patterns which characterize the hill community. The exogamous rule does not allow girls of the same village to marry within the village, though extramarital sex relations are possible and are not noted as serious offence by the local group. The girls of the family or village who may belong to two to three generations (as for example, grandfather's sisters, father's sisters and own sisters) are all known by the classificatory term *Dhyanti* and include the prohibited degrees of relationship. The diagrammatic arrangement given below will illustrate the nature of social stratification and grouping commonly met in Jaunsar-Bawar. As the village is usually inhabited by members of the same *Got* or clan, marriage must be arranged outside the village. But even if the village contained more than one clan, marriage within the village group may not be desired on account of the latitude in sex life obtained in the village.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 X \begin{array}{c} \sigma \\ \rho \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} A_1 & A_2 & A_3 & A_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} B_1 & B_2 & B_3 & B_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \\
 \quad \quad \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} b_1 & b_2 & b_3 & b_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} a_1 & a_2 & a_3 & a_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \\
 Y \begin{array}{c} \sigma \\ \rho \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} A_1 & A_2 & A_3 & A_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} B_1 & B_2 & B_3 & B_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \\
 \quad \quad \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} a_1 & a_2 & a_3 & a_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} b_1 & b_2 & b_3 & b_4 & \dots & \dots \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

If we take two villages between which marriages are usually arranged and if we denote the males of one village as $A_1 A_2 A_3 \dots$ and the females as $a_1 a_2 a_3 \dots$ and the corresponding units in the other village as $B_1 B_2 B_3 \dots$ and $b_1 b_2 b_3 \dots$, X would give the normal arrangement of units for an exogamous village, but the second situation, viz. Y arises on account of the social custom of the periodical migration of *Dhyantis* from their husbands' village to that of their parents. This periodical exodus of women in these parts is a compromise trait that owes its inception to the impact of cultures and not to the economic necessity of assisting parents as would be superficially evident.

There are other traits which point to a fusion of cultures already indicated. For example, when a matriarchal society comes in contact with a patriarchal and a miscegenation takes place between the people of these diverse cultures property consideration makes it necessary for children to be affiliated to the parent who owns the property. Thus metronymic designation is found with matrilocal residence and matrilineal inheritance, as otherwise the children would not be cared for by the patriarchal group to which the father may belong. So the children of a woman who leaves her matriarchal moorings and comes to live with a man of the patriarchal society must

receive patronymic designation or in default some arrangement should be made by the community to allow them to inherit some part of the property of their father or mother. But a compromise trait may develop as it has in Jaunsar-Bawar and neighbouring hill States, which makes it possible for a Bhat (or Brahmin) or a Rajput, for example, to remain a Bhat or a Rajput even when he marries a Kanet girl, the children, however, are called *Sarteras*, though it is possible for the latter to regain the status of the Bhat or Rajput after two to three generations. A Bhat or a Rajput is not allowed to marry a Koli girl or any girl belonging to the artisan castes who are recruited from the Dom element. Should a Bhat or a Rajput girl marry a Kolta or Dom, the children must be affiliated to the father's caste and receive patronymic designation. Sex relations are allowed, but strict rules are in force prohibiting any social intercourse between a Brahmin or Rajput, and Kolta or Dom woman. A Brahmin or a Rajput may even be allowed to keep a Kolta woman as his mistress, but he should not be seen to smoke or drink with her. When a Bhat girl marries a Kanet in the Sirmoor State, she becomes a Kanet, but if a Kanet girl marries a Bhat she may remain a Kanet or become a Bhat.

In the matter of inheritance also we find that the hill code differs materially from that of the orthodox Hindu, as it allows a woman to inherit her father's property in the absence of any male issue by the same father. So long she remains unmarried or even after marriage should she reside with her husband in her father's village, she can own and use the property in anyway she likes. If she leaves her house and proceeds to live with her husband, she forfeits her claims to the property which passes on to the collaterals. A widow in Kulu and other areas can inherit the property of her deceased husband and even keep a partner to live with her in her husband's house though she cannot formally marry any one and retain her life title to the property at the same time. Not only in the economic sphere but in the matter of sex the woman is given an inordinate latitude incompatible with the patriarchal code. In Sirmoor and other Punjab Hill States where polyandry is the prevailing form of marital relationship, the joint wife sleeps with all brothers in the same common house or dormitory and complete freedom is allowed to the wife to choose her mate for the night. She naturally makes her choice earlier in the day in consultation with her husbands, but she does not usually bestow her favour in such a way as to arouse suspicion about her intimacy with any particular husband. The joint wife by tradition and upbringing knows her responsibility and meets the wishes of her spouses as best as she can. Enquiries on this subject have elicited frank answers from the wives and it may be mentioned as a general rule that a wife may sleep with a particular husband every night but must also meet the demands of the other husbands by turns. A

number of girls admitted that they were fond of one of the husbands but they did not object to having sex relations with other husbands if and when they wanted them. When asked why they did not live with the husband they were fond of instead of living as the spouse of the other husbands as well, they did not think it was necessary as the other husbands did not grudge her freedom in this respect. When economic conditions improve and the head of the family can spend some money over the purchase of another wife she does not object to a second wife and some wives have confessed to us that for years they have been living under monandrous conditions.

The importance of the maternal uncle in a patriarchal society where cross-cousin marriage is not popular, furnishes another argument for a matriarchal matrix in these parts. The mother's brother has an important rôle to play in the marriage of his nephew or niece. It is he who finds out mates for his sister's children. He arranges the ceremony, manages the function and receives presents from friends and relations. As child marriage is very popular in the hills, the child bride is carried on his shoulder by the maternal uncle and when the couple return to the house, it is usually the maternal uncle who supervises the propitiation of spirits and the worship of benevolent gods and goddesses.

Thus we find that the superimposition of a patriarchal culture on the matriarchal matrix has been responsible for many of the traits characteristic of this cultural region. The feudal system which still survives in this part largely accounts for an elaborate territorial organization based on a confederacy of *Thokdars* or *Sayanas*, and also consequent desire to concentrate power in the senior male member of the family. These have given rise to a rigid code of joint living and co-partnership and may have sanctioned the prevailing type of marital life in these parts.

In our description of the physical features of the Khasas we had emphasized the fact that the hill people do not represent an undiluted stock and the Doms have received Khassa infiltration. The physical features of the artisan castes, such as the Bajgirs, the Koltas, the Oadhs and others, provide ample proof of this fact. But the hypergamous practice of the Khasas has prevented the Khassa girls from marrying the Doms while the Dom girls married to Khasas did not receive Khassa affiliation. Nor did the Khassa girls marrying the Doms or members of the artisan castes retain their castes. So that the intermixture of the two people on the one hand prevented much dilution of Khassa blood and on the other contributed to great admixture among the Doms. It is not improbable, however, that polyandry would be hailed as a welcome means of keeping the Khassa blood free from wholesale contamination though Khassa infusion must have contributed to a large scale admixture among the inferior

groups. The peculiar economic conditions of the hills and the biological factor of sex disparity where it exists have no doubt largely determined the form and functions of the traits-complex, but had it not been for the matriarchal matrix the polyandry of the Himalayan region would not have assumed the importance it possesses.



2. A Khasa Woman working in the field.



4. A Group of Khasa-Rajputs of Jodi, Jaunsar-Bawar.



1. A Hill View showing the terraced fields and the valley.



3. A Group of Khasa-Rajputs and Khasa-Brahmins.



5. A Jaunsar Bello of Lakha Mandal,
Chakrata Sub-Division.



6. A Beautiful Khasa Woman of
Nada, Chakrata Sub-Division.



7. A Khasa Girl in her Bridal Dress.



8. A Group of Child Brides.



9. A Couple of Khasa Women Married to a Group of Brothers.



10. A Polyandrous Family with a daughter on the eve of her departure for her Husbands' village.

Notes on the Life and Labours of Captain Anthony Troyer.

By SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

During the laborious years, 1888–1899, spent by me at Lahore I devoted whatever scanty leisure could be spared from teaching duties and exacting administrative work, to the task of critically editing, translating and annotating Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the oldest extant Sanskrit Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmīr. In the course of these protracted labours supplemented by such antiquarian tours in Kashmīr as vacations allowed me to make, I became necessarily interested in the person of Captain Anthony Troyer, a predecessor in this difficult task. His career had been very varied, and his life had been spent in many lands. Returning after two prolonged periods of service in India, first at Madras and after an interval of more than ten years at Calcutta, he published in 1840 at Paris an edition of the Sanskrit text of the first six cantos of the Chronicle with a French translation under the auspices of the Société Asiatique.¹ Twelve years later he followed this up with a translation of the remaining two cantos containing the greater portion of the work, an *editio princeps* of the whole of the text having been printed in 1835 at Calcutta.

Kalhana's 'River of Kings', as practically the sole extant product of Sanskrit literature possessing the character of a true chronicle, was bound to attract attention ever since European scholars became aware of its existence. Moorcroft, that intrepid but ill-fated explorer, had shown zeal and judgment when during his stay at Srinagar in 1823 he secured a copy from the oldest then known manuscript. But the *editio princeps* produced from it at Calcutta in 1835 was far too defective in many respects to serve for a serious interpretation. The grave shortcomings of Troyer's effort based on the same materials have long ago been recognized by all qualified Sanskrit scholars. The patient industry and perseverance of the aged scholar might well claim recognition; but there could be no doubt that the great Indologist, Professor George Bühler, was justified in

¹ *Rajatarangini—Histoire des rois du Kachmir*. Traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer, Membre des Sociétés Asiatiques de Paris, Londres et Calcutta, et publiée aux frais de la Société Asiatique. 1840. Paris. Vols. I, II.

Vol. II contains in its second part an 'Esquisse géographique et ethnographique du Kachmir, ancien et moderne'.

judging that Troyer had undertaken a task very much beyond his strength.

This failure was due largely, as I have explained elsewhere,¹ to the insufficiency, in general, of the materials available to European scholars at the time, and in particular to the fact that for the full comprehension of Kalhana's narrative such familiarity was needed with the topography, physical and economic conditions, and other local features of Kashmir as could not be obtained from outside then or since. But the shortcomings of the translator and commentator are still more readily understood—and excused if account is taken of Troyer's career and his preceding work in fields wholly different from Oriental research. It is the distinct interest presented by Troyer's personality and life which prompts me to record here what information the help received from a revered teacher, a War Office now defunct, and two kind friends has enabled me to gather from widely disparate sources in the course of decades.

It was from a fairly detailed obituary notice² contained in the Annual Report presented in 1866 to the Société Asiatique by its Secretary M. Jules Mohl,² the distinguished Orientalist scholar, that I first became acquainted with the main outlines of Troyer's singularly varied life story. As Mohl tells us in the introductory remarks of this notice, the information he recorded was based solely on his recollections of conversations with Troyer when the latter, arrived at a very great age, was leading a life of studious seclusion at Paris. Mohl took care to warn his readers that these recollections were incomplete and might prove inaccurate on some points.

This warning, as we shall see, has proved justified in the light of later enquiries. It had been emphasized by that great Sanskrit scholar, Professor Rudolf von Roth, my master, when in 1893 in response to my enquiries about Troyer he showed me the great kindness of copying out with his own hand Mohl's notice. Roth, when working in Paris in 1845-6 under the guidance of Burnouf, had occasion to meet Troyer. He remembered some quaint features in the habits of the old gentleman who in his retirement was *inter alia* fond of putting his birth even earlier than that indicated in Mohl's notice. This would have made him nearly a centenarian at the time of his death. Roth's critical sense duly recognized the need of controlling Mohl's recollections by a search elsewhere for data

¹ *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, translated with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, by M. A. Stein. Archibald Constable & Co., 2 vols. quarto. Westminster, 1900. See Vol. I, pp. ix sq.

² See *Rapport Annuel fait à la Société Asiatique* par M. J. Mohl, Paris, 1866, pp. 13-18.

concerning Troyer's chequered life. But owing to absorption in my subsequent Central-Asian explorations and labours in other fields the opportunities for this came to me only after years. Hence in a note to the preface of my annotated translation of the Chronicle¹ I could do no more than reproduce an abstract of the essential statements contained in Mohl's biographical notice.

It is probable that even now additional facts of some interest concerning Troyer's life and manifold contacts in widely separate spheres might be brought to light from different sources. But since now the kindness of my friend Colonel R. H. Phillimore, late of the Survey of India, has recently made me acquainted with the result of his researches, illustrating what must be considered by far the most important portion of Troyer's life work and one hitherto left unnoticed, it seems time to sketch here what we know at present of his strangely diverse career.

According to Mohl's story Anthony Troyer was born in Austria about 1769 and having received his education in a military institution left it as an artillery officer. During the campaign of 1792 in Flanders he was stationed in an abandoned monastery and by a curious incident there was led first to Oriental studies. One day he found his artillery men about to make up cartridges for their guns with pages torn from a fine polyglot bible. Having saved the volume from their hands he beguiled his leisure with the study of an Arabic version of the New Testament. After his transfer to the Austrian army in Italy he was attached, evidently as liaison officer, to the English naval force co-operating at the siege of Genoa in 1800. In this capacity he made the acquaintance of Lord William Bentinck, and this changed the whole course of his life. Lord William Bentinck formed a friendship with the capable young officer and on his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1803 brought him out to India as a member of his staff. For this purpose, as Mohl tells the story, it was necessary for Troyer to hold a commission in the British army. So he was provided with a captaincy in a Ceylon Rifle Regiment about to be raised. He is said to have promptly sold his brevet and to have then proceeded as a retired officer to India with Lord William Bentinck. In Madras he then was, so Mohl tells from recollection, officially charged with a course of instruction in mathematics and thereafter became Principal of the Muhammadan College.

Vague and slightly anecdotic as this information about Troyer's start in life seemed, it was sufficient inducement to take the chance of my passage through Vienna in September, 1902, of making an enquiry at the Austrian War Office as to

¹ See Stein, *Kaṭhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, etc., Vol. I, p. x. note 7.

what might be found in its records about Captain Anthony Troyer. The result to my pleasant surprise was the receipt of authentic information unexpectedly prompt and detailed. When addressing my verbal request to the officer to whom I was directed in the Historical Section of the War Office he at once declared himself quite familiar with the name of Captain Anthony Troyer and his career also, as far as it had lain in the Austrian army.

There on his table lay a file concerning the planned publication of the materials contained in a history of the campaigns fought in 1794 by the Austrian forces in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, which Troyer had prepared in five foolscap volumes. On account of its excellence this history was declared in 1816 a model for similar official records of campaigns. I regret that I have since taken no steps to ascertain whether and when the intended publication of Troyer's work actually took place.

It was a curious play of chance when two days later by the courtesy of the Imperial and Royal 'Kriegs-Archiv' there was placed at my disposal a detailed and fully authenticated record (No. 2036 and No. 568, dated September 25th, 1902) of Troyer's career in the Austrian service. It comprised the time from his entry into the Military Academy at Wiener-Neustadt, founded by, and called after, the Empress Maria Theresia, until 1803 when his application for two or three years' leave to accompany the newly appointed Governor of the Madras Presidency was granted. Of Troyer's life after his departure for India nothing was known to the Historical Section of the Vienna War Office. Hence the succinct account I could in return furnish relating to his employment in the East India Company's service and his scholarly work later was welcome.

It is from that official record, provided with all needful references to the original documents, that I glean the following essential data. Anthony Troyer von Aufkirchen was born in 1775 at Klattau in Bohemia. This fact proves that his age at the time of his death, as recorded in Mohl's notice, was distinctly overestimated and confirms the doubt Professor von Roth had expressed on this point when writing to me on February 26, 1893. Troyer was the son of Lieutenant Joseph Troyer von Aufkirchen, of the Austrian Dragoon Regiment Josias Prinz zu Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld. In 1787 he was admitted into the Military Academy at Wiener-Neustadt, a famous institution which as long as there was an Austrian army, supplied the élite of its corps of officers. In 1791 he received his first commission as cadet-ensign in the Infantry Regiment No. 38 and was promoted in the same first to Ensign and then in 1793 to Second Lieutenant.

He took part with his Regiment in the campaigns in France, the Low Countries and on the Rhine, and was wounded

near Valenciennes in 1793. Attached to the Quarter Master General's Staff he greatly distinguished himself during the actions fought in 1795 near Düsseldorf and, in consequence, was in that year promoted to First Lieutenant on the Quarter Master General's Staff. On account of illness he did not take part in the campaign of 1796, but served in the following year in the Rhine army. In 1798 he was ordered to Italy for survey work, was subsequently attached to the army operating there and was wounded at the battle of Novi in 1799. Meanwhile he had received promotion as Captain in the Quarter Master General's department. He served during the campaigns of 1800 and by May 1801 was appointed to the newly established 'War Archive' or what corresponds to the Historical Section of a modern War Office. It was during this employment that Troyer was charged with preparing the record of the campaigns of 1794 in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, above referred to, the value of which was specially eulogized years later.

After nearly two years' work in that post Troyer applied for two or three years' leave in order to accompany Lord William Bentinck who had invited him to proceed to India as a member of his household. As he explained in his application, he could hope there to acquire a competence and therefore would renounce any claim upon future provision by the Austrian Government. His application was duly granted by an imperial resolution of February 23, 1803. In order that his post on the Quarter Master General's Staff might be filled he was transferred without pay as 'supernumerary on leave' to the Infantry Regiment No. 49. As he did not return from leave and no information about him was received, his name was at the Regiment's request removed from its cadre in March, 1809.

The record here reproduced affords ample evidence that Troyer's career as a young officer in the Austrian army, comparatively short as it was, had offered him opportunities to distinguish himself in the field and to display marked intellectual abilities. His four years' training at an early age in the foremost military institution of old Austria was bound to have played a chief part in developing them. It may safely be assumed in particular to have laid the foundation to his scientific knowledge of surveying methods and practice.

This, as we shall see further on, enabled him in Madras to render very important services to the army in India, by providing its first staff of officers specially trained for systematic topographical survey work. In this respect the reference in the record to his employment on topographical surveys in Italy is of special interest. It proves that as a young officer on the Quarter Master General's Staff, for which he, no doubt, had been selected on account of his superior training and mental capacity, he had opportunities to acquire practical experience in survey

work with the plane-table. The use of this he was to be there-after the first to introduce for surveys in India.

The record makes no mention of the special circumstances which during the Italian campaign of 1799-1800 offered the opportunity for Troyer to come to the notice and acquire the friendship of Lord William Bentinck. On the strength of Troyer's recollection as reproduced in M. Mohl's notice, it may safely be assumed that it was the siege of Genoa in 1800 by the Austrian army under General Melas which by chance determined the whole course of Troyer's subsequent life. Lord William Bentinck, then a youthful Colonel, was attached as the military representative of England to the Austrian army in Italy during the years 1799-1801.¹ As such he was, no doubt, present before Genoa when the strongly fortified city, blockaded from the sea by a British naval force, was ultimately surrendered by Masséna owing to famine among its population.

If Troyer was acting as a kind of liaison officer between the Austrian army before Genoa and the British naval force he would have been bound to be often brought into contact with Lord William Bentinck. His abilities could scarcely escape so good a judge of men as Lord William Bentinck proved all through in the high offices which he was destined to fill. It may, perhaps, be conjectured also that Troyer's linguistic talents, as amply displayed later in his Indian studies, and indicated by the story of Mohl about his interest first aroused in Arabic, attracted Lord William Bentinck's attention. Troyer's selection as liaison officer with the British command may well have been due to a knowledge of English, an accomplishment probably very rare in those times among Austrian army officers.

The exact information secured at Vienna about the early part of Troyer's career induced me next to apply to Mr. (now Sir) William Foster, C.I.E., late Superintendent of Records at the India Office, for data concerning Troyer's later employment in India. That ever helpful friend was kind enough to furnish me on December 5th, 1902, with a memorandum based on the records of the East India Company but not intended for publication as it stood. From this it was seen that Troyer accompanied Lord William Bentinck to Madras in 1803, having been provided, probably through the latter, with a commission as Ensign in His Majesty's 12th Foot. He was not attached at that time to the Governor's Staff.

¹ See Boulger, *Lord William Bentinck*, Oxford, 1892, p. 16. The interest subsequently shown by Lord William Bentinck in Troyer might, perhaps, be partly accounted for by what Boulger states in a note: 'In one of his despatches, he (Lord William Bentinck) bore eloquent testimony to the valour and devotion of the Austrian army, which he found far too few to appreciate it. "It is impossible to do justice to the valour and perseverance of the Austrian army," he wrote.'

In 1804 Lord William Bentinck proposed a plan for the establishment of a class for the special instruction of a certain number of cadets in topographical surveys. This proposal having been accepted by the Council, Major General Dugald Campbell, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, on November 12th, 1804, nominated, probably at the prompting of the Governor, 'Ensign Anthony Troyer, of His Majesty's 12th Foot', as Drawing and Mathematical Instructor for this class. This nomination was promptly followed on November 13th by his appointment to the post on a salary of 250 Pagodas per mensem. The plan and Troyer's selection for the post were finally confirmed by the Court of Directors on the 30th July, 1806, Troyer having meanwhile been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant.

The class soon developed under Troyer's direction into the Madras Military Institution. In a Military Letter, dated 24th October, 1808, as quoted in Sir William Foster's memorandum, the Madras Government speak highly of the results of the establishment of the Institution and praise the 'zeal, attention and ability' of Lieutenant Troyer. From this and other more incidental references to Troyer's work at Madras quoted in Sir William Foster's memorandum, it became abundantly clear that his activity during the first period of his Indian service soon fully justified the judgment displayed by Lord William Bentinck in bringing his friend to India and in providing for him a field of work worthy of his capacity and to the advantage of Government.

But it was only when I turned lately to Colonel R. H. Phillimore for any information which, as a late Officer of the Survey of India, he might be able to trace about Troyer's activity at Madras, that I became aware of the importance which must be claimed for it. For several years past Colonel Phillimore has been engaged on a full history of the Survey of India, that great department of the Indian Government which for nearly a century and a half has rendered very notable services not only to the administration of the sub-continent but to geographical research over a still vaster area of Asia. In the course of painstaking search in the archives of the Madras Government he collected much interesting information about the working of the Madras Military Institution which owed its creation to Lord William Bentinck's initiative and its success to Troyer's zealous direction. From this I have been enabled through Colonel Phillimore's kindness to gather the following data.

"Stimulated by a recommendation made in 1804 by the Surveyor General in Bengal to the Bengal Government, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, General James Stuart, had urged his Government that more officers should be trained as Surveyors in order to facilitate the extension of surveys into the unmapped territories added to the Presidency since the defeat of Tipu in 1799. Lord William Bentinck took up the matter

with enthusiasm and in a minute of September 24th, 1804, proposed that 'a select number of the Gentlemen Cadets at Tripasore shall be instructed in the art of topographical surveys by an instructor capable of giving the double lesson in Geometry and Military Drawing'. The suggestion having been accepted by the Council the succeeding Commander-in-Chief at Madras, General Dugald Campbell, recommended the appointment of Ensign Troyer, of His Majesty's 12th Foot, to the proposed post. To this he soon after added the significant recommendation that 'the plan in question having originated with the Right Hon'ble the Governor, . . . the first arrangements of it may take place under His Lordship's superintendence', as stated in the Madras Military Consultations, 13th November, 1804.

"The Military Seminary" was thereupon established, and Lord William Bentinck laid before Council on November 17th, 1804, detailed regulations for the conduct of the Institution, together with a 'plan of instruction'. It was to include from the start 'the practical part of surveying with the plane-table'."

The promptness, unusual in those days and parts, with which these regulations were prepared strikingly illustrates the keen interest with which the Governor followed up the scheme. That its inspiration came largely from Troyer is definitely indicated by the mention of practical surveying with the plane-table, a method not applied then in India but of well-established use where Troyer had received his own training.

"By April 1805 the first class of cadets passed into the Institution and like those which until 1814 followed annually in succession remained for two and a half years under instruction. Troyer's first report submitted in October, 1806, shows the extent of the scientific instruction imparted and refers to specimens of drawings of survey work done by the cadets in the field as 'exhibited every month to your Lordship'. In May 1807 Troyer submitted a long review of the course of instruction to Lord William Bentinck. A memorandum on this course and the future employment of the officers trained was submitted by him after Lord William's departure in that year and was favourably commented upon by Lambton, the founder of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey, the Astronomer at the Madras Observatory and the Quarter Master General at Madras to whom it was circulated.

"In December 1807 Troyer's hands were strengthened for the purposes of discipline by the Institution being placed under the control of the Quarter Master General under whom it still remained after the establishment of a Surveyor General at Madras.¹ In a report to Government submitted in 1808 Troyer

¹ Information extracted by Colonel Phillimore from the Madras Military Consultations and kindly communicated to me helps to throw light on this step. It illustrates the personal interest which Lord William

indicates his intention of giving lectures also on 'those astronomical problems which are in the strictest connexion with geography and of the greatest practical use'.

"The partial withdrawal of the East India Company's trading privileges by the Act of 1815 induced the Court of Directors to effect reductions in their Indian establishments. A despatch addressed by them to Madras on 5th May, 1815, ordered, among other economies, the abolition of the Military Institution, on the ground that the existence of a similar institution in England rendered the Madras one superfluous. Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, recorded a protest (15th January, 1816) strongly emphasizing 'the great mass of geographical and topographical materials with which...the students of the Madras Institution have enriched the records of the Company and in some instances of the civilized world'. It points out the great value of the scientific training imparted to young officers, also that in the course of it 1,620 square miles on the average had been annually and most minutely surveyed. Stress is laid on the services rendered by pupils of the Institution when attached as Surveyors to successive expeditions outside India they 'compiled the best map of the countries between the Indus and the Nile that has ever yet been given to the world' and produced topographical information of the utmost value in territories as widely apart as the Deccan and Java.

"The Governor and Council, however, decided that the orders of the Court of Directors left them no discretion in the matter, and a General Order was approved abolishing from the 31st May, 1816, the Military Institution and the Survey branch of the Quarter Master General's department. At the same time

Bentinck continued to take in the Institution created under his auspices and indicates also a characteristic feature of Troyer's personality. After Lord William Bentinck had left Madras in 1807 Mr. William Potric, the acting Governor, proposed that steps should be taken for the better maintenance of discipline at the Institution, Bentinck's supervision no longer existing. 'Discipline would be much better maintained if entrusted to Troyer who is always on the spot.'

It was accordingly proposed to give to Captain Troyer the appointment of Assistant to the Quarter Master General. After noting that Troyer had hitherto been in no way responsible for the discipline of the pupils, the minute states: 'Every praise is no doubt due to Captain Troyer for the universal satisfaction which he seems to have given to the Gentlemen who were placed under his tuition; but probably he would not have been less fortunate, had he, at the period of his first appointment, been invested with more extensive authority.' Troyer's appointment as A.Q.M.G. 'placing him ostensibly under the first public officer of the Army, will no doubt (combined with the mildness of his manners) give him sufficient weight to maintain discipline'.

It does not appear from the records consulted by Colonel Phillimore that "Troyer ever signed himself, or was listed, as A.Q.M.G. But he is hereafter frequently designated Superintendent of the Institution, which title was probably recognized as covering his complete responsibility, in addition to being Instructor".

testimony was borne to the excellent way in which Captain Troyer and his staff had carried out the duties entrusted to them." The lasting value of the work directed by Troyer and its far-reaching effect upon the topographical surveys carried on since all over India and great adjacent regions by the Survey of India are thus summed up by Colonel Phillimore, its very competent historian.

"During the 11 years that the Military Institution existed, it remained under the charge of Troyer and he was entirely responsible for the methods of survey in which the pupils were taught and trained. Survey was carried out by plane-table on the scale of 4 inches to the mile. The plane-table survey was based on triangulated points as fixed by Lambton's triangulation, minor triangulation being carried out by Troyer or the more senior pupils. Where surveys extended beyond the area covered by Lambton, special triangulation was carried out by Garling, Troyer's most successful pupil.

"Survey by plane-table was thus introduced as a regular method of survey for the first time in India by Troyer, and all officers of the Madras Military Institution were thus brought up to regard it as the normal method of survey. Through the influence of the officers of the Institution the plane-table was, about 1824, declared to be the standard instrument of survey for all Madras surveys.... The methods taught by Troyer gradually extended to the Bengal Presidency as Madras trained officers were eventually brought up to Bengal....

"The choice of Anthony Troyer as Instructor for the Madras Military Institution was a most happy one and of particular interest. Starting the surveys of the Institution shortly after Lambton had completed his first series of triangles along the Madras coast, he was able to introduce for the first time into India the soundest principles of topographical survey, breaking down the main triangles of the trigonometrical survey by his own minor triangles and filling the detail by plane-table, laying out the plane-table sections in a continuous rectangular grid. Holding the post of Instructor for eleven years he trained a large number of officers in this system which in its main principles has persisted to this very day."

There can be no doubt that the work done by Troyer at Madras was by far the most important achievement of his life. Yet he seems, if we may judge from Mohl's very scant reference to it, to have been strangely silent about it in the communications of his retired old age. But about a personal aspect connected with his employment at Madras the official records consulted by Sir William Foster at the India Office supply some interesting information. As it throws light on Troyer's position and also curiously illustrates military procedure at the time it may be quoted in full.

"Lieutenant Troyer had not as yet joined his regiment (His Majesty's 12th Foot), and as the Commanding Officer had resolved not to recommend him for a Captaincy unless he did so, he caused a letter to be written on 7th February, 1812, from Port Louis, Mauritius, where the regiment was then stationed, summoning Troyer either to join or to exchange into some local regiment. On 16th September, 1812, Troyer forwarded this letter to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and asked for instructions. In doing so he stated that he was extremely desirous of remaining in his present post without losing his position in his regiment.

"The Commander-in-Chief replied that he had no power to give leave of absence from a regiment not under his command, but he would write to the General Officer Commanding at the Isle of France and also to H.R.H. the Duke of York at home, requesting that leave of absence might be granted to Troyer without detriment to his promotion. This reply was communicated (27th September, 1812) by the latter to the Officer Commanding his regiment, with the request that the indulgence already shown to him might, if possible, be extended until he should have obtained the rank of Captain.

"On 1st April, 1813, he received a brief answer, dated 11th November, 1812, to the effect that the Officer Commanding could not grant him any leave whatever; that he had now been returned as 'absent without leave'; and that the Duke of York had approved of his being passed over in a recent selection for a captaincy. Troyer thereupon forwarded the correspondence to the Governor of Madras, pointing out that possibly the matter might yet be reconsidered, as evidently a decision had been taken before the arrival of the promised letter from the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, but stating that if his promotion in his Corps were incompatible with his retention of his post at the Military Institution, he should not hesitate to give up his prospects in the army and rely upon the favour of the Madras Government.

"The Government of Madras addressed a letter to the Governor of the Isles of Mauritius, Bourhon, etc. (11th May, 1813) apologizing for having detained Lt. Troyer from his duty; eulogizing his services and intimating that the Court of Directors would be asked to arrange if possible for the continuance of his employment at Madras. The Court of Directors was addressed accordingly (25th August, 1813).

"Nothing further on the matter has been traced; but it appears from the (British) Army List of 1814 that Troyer was appointed to the 4th Ceylon Regiment, the date of his regimental rank being given as 15th July, 1813. He was placed on half-pay on 25th July, 1815 (Army List of 1824) and remained so till his death."

From Mohl's notice it is known that Troyer while at Madras had married a French lady at Pondicherry; at what date is not

stated.¹ This explains the record contained in the Madras Military Consultations of 15th June, 1816, as kindly communicated by Colonel Phillimore: 'The Commander-in-Chief . . . at the earnest request of Captain Troyer permitted that Officer to accompany his family to Pondicherry, where he proposes to reside until an opportunity shall occur for proceeding to Europe.' Colonel Phillimore adds the information that Troyer was probably still in India when Mackenzie left Madras in July 1817; for Mackenzie writes to Mountford in October 1818: 'What is become of Capt. Troyer? Recommend me to him.'

That Troyer during his employment at Madras took up the study of Indian languages can safely be concluded from Mohl's statement that he studied there Tamil, Hindustani and Persian. But there is no evidence of his having ever been in charge of the Muhammadan College there, as Mohl indicated. But his reference to Troyer having at Madras commenced a translation into German verse of episodes from Firdausi's great epic, the *Shāhnāmāh*, may be accepted as correct. Mohl was bound to have been specially interested in this proof of Troyer's Persian study as he himself published later a monumental edition and French translation of Firdausi's *Shāhnāmāh*. He declares to have had portions of Troyer's manuscript version in his hands. It deserves also to be noted that the 'plan of instruction' for the Military Institution, which was proposed in 1804 by the Governor (Madras Military Consultations, November 17th, 1804) and was probably drawn up under Troyer's inspiration, specifies 'one of the native languages' in the first place among the subjects to be taught.

It is much to be regretted that we have no definite information about the years spent by Troyer after his retirement to Europe after 1817. According to Mohl he lived with his wife at Paris, continuing his Oriental studies '*dans une retraite silencieuse*'. It would be interesting to know something about the contacts he might easily have formed there with that leading master of Oriental studies, Sylvestre de Sacy, and other French scholars of note. It would be, perhaps, still more useful if evidence could be traced as to the way in which personal touch was maintained by Troyer with his friend and patron Lord William Bentinck.

That this contact, so important for Troyer's life, remained unbroken after Lord William Bentinck's departure from Madras and also during Troyer's subsequent stay at Paris is proved by the fact that Troyer accompanied Lord William Bentinck when he returned to Bengal on his appointment as Governor-General.

¹ The enquiries which my friend Colonel Reginald Schomberg, British Consul General at Pondicherry, was kind enough to make at my request both at Pondicherry and at Madras, have failed to trace any record relating to Troyer's marriage.

Sir William Foster's memorandum shows that the list of persons permitted to accompany Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General designate, to Bengal, as contained in the Court of Directors' despatch to Bengal, dated 28th December, 1827, includes 'Captain Anthony Troyer on the half-pay of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment (an error for 4th Ceylon Regiment) as Aid de Camp'. In the same memorandum Sir William Foster adds the following: "The India List shows him in this post during the whole of Lord William's tenure of the Governor-Generalship. He is not shown as acting in any other capacity, nor can I find him mentioned in the letters from the Government of India to the Court of Directors. I believe, however, that the Calcutta Sanskrit College was not under the direct management of the Government, and it is possible therefore that Troyer may have had some connection with that institution without official notice being taken of it."

Mohl states that Troyer took charge of the 'Brahmanical College' at Calcutta before Lord William Bentinck left India and directed it until his own departure in 1835. Information kindly communicated by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India shows that Troyer was Secretary to the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, up to January 1835. This confirms the statement made by Troyer in the Preface to his translation of the *Kashmir Chronicle* as to his having held the post of Secretary to that College where certain Pandits were employed for correcting the proofs of Sanskrit texts which were being published at the expense of Government. In the same Preface Troyer mentions having left Bengal in February 1835.¹ Among the various manuscript materials which Troyer is stated to have brought back on his return to Paris as fruit of his scholarly labours at Calcutta, were those he had prepared for his edition of the Sanskrit text of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir* and his translation of the same.

We have no exact information as to when Troyer's study of Sanskrit had started. Nor do we know to what extent his interest in India's classical language and its vast literature may have been stimulated by the influence of such great scholars as Horace Hayman Wilson, James Prinsep, Csoma de Körös whom Calcutta could claim at the time of his own stay there. Wilson had been the first to acquaint European students with the general character of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir* by publishing in 1825 a critical abstract of its first six cantos. It was James Prinsep, the famous decipherer of Indian inscriptions

¹ Colonel Phillimore points out to me that as Lord William Bentinck's departure on relinquishing charge as Governor-General of India took place on March 25th, 1835, and, perhaps, counted from his embarkation at Madras, it is possible that Troyer accompanied him on the homeward voyage.

and coins, who, if Mohl's statement apparently based on a communication of Troyer can be trusted, made it possible for the first edition of the text, very imperfect as it was, to appear in print at Calcutta in 1835. Either of them might well have drawn Troyer's attention to the importance of the Chronicle.

I have already in my introductory remarks had occasion to point out that Troyer's equipment was inadequate for the difficult task which he had undertaken and to which he devoted himself with such assiduity for many years. A quasi-pathetic proof of this was afforded to me by a letter written by Troyer from Paris on 5th June, 1845, to Professor Horace Hayman Wilson which my friend the late Mr. A. H. Wilson allowed me to see and copy from his grandfather's very valuable store of correspondence. It deals mainly with his labours on the Kashmir Chronicle.

Referring to his translation Troyer says that he is 'undergoing a hard struggle with the two languages, Sanskrit and French', and expresses his belief that the two last cantos he was engaged on translating are not the work of Kalhana. In reality this is the most authentic and critically valuable portion of the author's historical record, but rendered often difficult by the lavish display of characteristic rhetorical skill specially appealing to Indian scholars' taste. On reading that letter, written by Troyer in his seventieth year with a remarkably clear strong hand, I felt much impressed with the remarkable perseverance which enabled the aged scholar to complete his 'arduous work', as he calls it, seven years later.

The only other work which was published by Troyer after his final retirement to Europe, was an English translation of the *Dabistan or School of Manners*, a Persian treatise of which David Shea had finished two-fifths and which Troyer completed with notes and an elaborate preliminary discourse. It was published in 1845 on behalf of the Oriental Translation Committee. It deals principally with the religious doctrine patronized by the Emperor Akbar. M. Mohl emphasizes the thoroughness with which manifold problems raised by this curious work are treated in Troyer's introduction but expresses no definite opinion as to the solutions proposed for them.

As Mohl tells us, Troyer continued to pursue his scholarly labours all through the long years of his remaining life spent in Paris, but published none of their fruits. This bears out Mohl's description of Troyer as a man wholly indifferent to fame and content to satisfy his interest in study for its own sake. From the record at Somerset House of Troyer's last will which Colonel Phillimore inspected, it is seen that he died at Royaumont on the 2nd June, 1865, in his ninetieth year, leaving two married daughters and a son (under interdiction). His wife had predeceased him.

We are told by Mohl that the tranquillity of his spirit in old age was such that neither good nor bad fortune could disturb his serene composure. Yet he seems for all that to have retained to the end a bold independence of opinion, which the perfect calm of expression made all the more striking. He is said to have faced undisturbed whatever personal losses and disappointments befell him, heavy as they seem to have been. It is hence pleasant to think that the British half-pay which good health allowed him to draw for fully fifty years, spared him serious material cares. It was a reward well deserved by the services he had rendered in India and by his devotion to India's intellectual interests.

Survivals of the Indus Culture.

By M. E. and D. H. GORDON.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

The intention of this article is to indicate certain survivals from the Harappa and Jhukar cultures of the Indus Valley over to the Early Historic Period,¹ and at the same time put forward certain objects as deriving from that apparent cultural hiatus of approximately two thousand years.

When one comes to examine the objects from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, and Chanhu-daro in the light of material collected from thirty mounds in the Peshawar, Mardan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Montgomery Districts, all demonstrably of the Early Historic Period, certain interesting facts emerge. The small dating value of such objects as shell bangles, knob handled pot-lids, etched carnelian beads, all of which are to be found quite commonly in these sites, impresses itself on one immediately. Nor do these objects show much change: the pot-lids which are made in thousands to-day, are unaltered, shell bangles of both periods show a large range of width and thickness, carnelian beads are etched with very similar patterns, the framed Greek Cross being found at Taxila and Sahri Bahlol. In addition to these objects, Painted Pottery, as such, is found on every one of the thirty mounds mentioned, and is made to-day in all of the five districts in which these mounds are situated.

This does not mean that there is no distinction to be made between the painted pottery of the three periods, pre-historic, early historic, and present day, there are in fact more differences than there is similarity: the similarities with the later types being more readily traceable in the early pottery of Baluchistan and Makran than in the early Indus Valley types. This point requires however a great deal more investigation before any useful theories can be advanced.

Over and above these more common objects, resemblance between which might well occur without having very much significance, there are a number of other articles in which the persistence of type over the great period of time postulated, say about two thousand years, is less easily explicable, and which may possibly be of the greatest importance.

¹ The expression 'Early Historic Period' when used in this article refers to the period from the beginning of the Mauryas to the end of the Guptas, i.e. 322 B.C. to c. 600 A.D.

The first of these is the image of a bird with extended wings on a pedestal. These are common at Harappa where we examined twenty-four of them. Plate 4, fig. 1 shows one of them. Alongside this is shown a similar object, found on the surface at Bala Hissar near Charsadda in the Peshawar District. The concept is identical and also much of the execution. They are both birds with spread wings, ornamented with incised lines to indicate plumage, balanced on pedestals. The particular example from Harappa was found at Mound F only five inches below surface, one similarly incised was found at six feet below surface at the same mound, and yet another at five and a half feet below surface at Mound A-B. Bird figures on pedestals with closed wings are found both at Mohenjo-daro and at Sari Dheri, Charsadda Sub-division. The examples from Sari Dheri and the Bala Hissar date quite definitely from the Early Historic Period.

The familiar bird whistles found at all the Indus Valley sites provide the next example. A fat semi-globular bird again balances on a pedestal, having a whistle hole just above its tail. Plate 4, fig. 3 shows an example from Harappa: alongside it is a bird rattle from Sirkap, Taxila, the shape, pedestal and general style are, allowing for its rather chipped condition, identical. Grouped with the bird whistles of this type at Harappa is one found by Daya Ram Sahni in the early days of exploration there: it has no pedestal and the whistle hole, working on a slightly different principle, is in the head: along the back is a ridge rising like a cock's comb in a series of points. We have an identical one which was made recently by wandering nomads. The Harappa specimen, a surface find, is of course modern and of the same origin, but the clay bird whistle is thereby shown to exist to this day.

The next instance is possibly more peculiar than convincing. At the site of Bala Hissar in particular, a large number of figurines of an archaic type, which can now confidently be dated 200 B.C.-300 A.D., are found cut in half down the centre; in some cases it appears to be quite definite that they were deliberately cut through in this way. We were therefore surprised to find in the Harappa museum a number of figurines both male and female which had been treated in exactly the same way, Plate 5, figs. 1 and 3 show examples from both sites.

The majority of Harappa female figures, those of the Jhukar Period, if they exist, have yet to be identified, have a fan-shaped headdress. Primitive figures from Sahri Bahlol which are almost certainly of Kushan date also have a fan-shaped headdress, and so has a Hellenistic head from Taxila (Plate 4, fig. 5 and Plate 5, fig. 2).

Among the designs on the curious copper tablets from Mohenjo-daro, having a design on one side and an inscription on the other, is an elaborate looped figure. An identical figure

is to be found on a terracotta stamp-die and a terracotta stamped tablet from Taxila (Text-fig. 1). Of a similar style to this

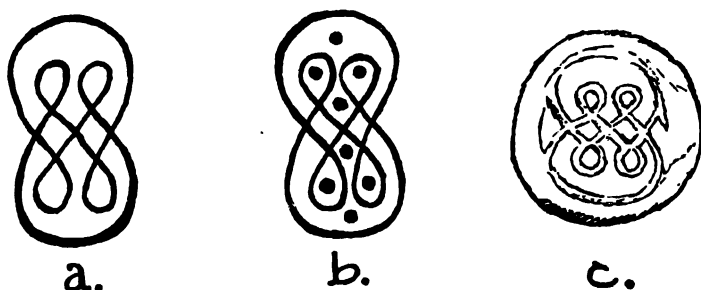


Fig. 1. Continuous looped designs from (a) Mohenjo-daro and (b) and (c) Taxila.

is an intricate pattern on the left of the seal inscription shown in Pl. XXIII, fig. 6, *Arch. Survey of India Report*, 1930-34. A similar design is cut in the floor of the main sanctuary at Kailasa, Elura, and designs of this type are made down to the present day. Regular continuous designs have a wide distribution and a long history, and their diffusion in the Melanesian region, attested by the late Mr. Deacon's work in that area, may be one of the links by which the scripts of Mohenjo-daro and Easter Island hang together.

From Akhkari Dheri, Risalpur, Peshawar District comes a potsherd having on it a peacock, conventionalised, so far as can be seen, in the same way as those on the burial jars at Harappa, particularly as regards the egg-shaped cross-hatched body. Plate 6, fig. 1 shows this sherd with added reconstruction, wings and fan-shaped tail are both clearly indicated in the surviving part, the only conjectural feature being the peacock crest, the fan-shaped tail is however a justification for its possible correctness. From Taxila comes an urn lid from the Mahal area near Sirkap with a design of cross-hatched segments, trees, and peacocks, which definitely associate it with similar lids on burial jars at Harappa. The date of the jar burials at Harappa is at present a matter for conjecture. The style of painting has but the very slightest resemblance to that of the Harappa Period; besides which, as we have observed *in situ*, the Harappa pottery, both plain and painted, accompanies the extended burials.

In the Harappa museum are animal figurines very closely resembling a pig made out of a lemon and four sticks. A figurine exactly of this type, except that it is covered with incised decoration, was found at Sari Dheri. From Chanhudaro also come small four-legged pottery stands supposed to have been used for cosmetics. These have their exact counterpart

in small four-legged blue schist stands from Buddhist sites all over the Gandhara region. The strange fragments of very thick sectioned pottery with deeply incised patterns found at Mohenjo-daro can also be closely paralleled from these sites.

Finally, Dr. C. L. Fabri, in his article on 'Latest attempts to read the Indus script',¹ discussing the possible use of copper tablets from Mohenjo-daro as coins, suggests a similar use for the seal impressions. These he holds are a forerunner of the punch-marked coins, as 'a form of stamped obligation to pay a sum'. There is much to be said for this idea, but in our opinion there is a more striking survival of this usage than the punch-marked coins. From many mounds in the N.W.F.P., but particularly from Kula Dheri near Charsadda, there come small baked tokens each marked with a seal impression made by the typical intaglio seals of the period 1st Cent. B.C. to 3rd Cent. A.D. We have more than thirty of these, of which quite two-thirds come from Kula Dheri, indicating their existence in very large numbers. These baked clay sealings are, we feel certain, tokens issued by merchants, and therefore had the same function as is assigned by Dr. Fabri to the seal impressions at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Though no very definite conclusions can be arrived at by evidence of this kind, two points stand out very clearly. The first is the rejection by any reasonable mind that these striking similarities are quite fortuitous and in no way related, the Indus types having perished without immediate successors round about 2200 B.C., only miraculously to reappear two thousand years later, from about 200 B.C. onwards. The second is that the interpretation at the Indus Valley sites of the first ten feet of deposit, which, through quarrying, erosion, day to day complication by objects dropped down holes and recovered by earth and misplaced in countless other ways, is so difficult and yet so important, has been a complete failure.

It has been reiterated constantly that there must be links to fill this gap of two thousand years, and it has been urged that digging at such sites as Kosambi and Ramnagar would produce such links.² Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and Jhukar all have plentiful remains of the Early Historic Period on the surface. It is true for the reasons we have given, that the upper levels of these sites are more difficult to handle than would be the case with the lowest levels of Kosambi or Ramnagar, but it is unfortunate that because of these complications no real effort has been made to reconcile a number of unaccommodating objects with a more acceptable chronology.

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1.

² In particular by Sir Leonard Woolley in his report upon Archaeological research in India, where he stresses that further work on the pre-historic sites should be postponed and effort concentrated on bridging this gap.

We must refer yet again to that outstanding article by R. Heine Geldern, 'Archaeological traces of the Vedic Aryans',¹ which is the first really valuable contribution to knowledge on this subject. In linking up Tepe Hissar IIIc, with Transcaucasia and Turang Tepe and establishing a definite date for the adze-axe at Mohenjo-daro, and at the same time its spread via the Caucasus and North Persia, he produces the evidence of animal headed pins and also objects which he terms double animal protomes. Such objects exist at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.



Fig. 2. Animal Headed Pin from Harappa.

From Mohenjo-daro comes a double headed pin very similar to the type found at Tepe Hissar, dated by Heine Geldern to the IIIc, phase, and from Harappa a pin or rod having a wolf attacking an animal with spiral horns placed on a cross bar. The former was found at the D.K. area at twelve feet below datum and the latter at Harappa one foot below surface and so immediately comes under suspicion (Text-figs. 2 and 3). The style of the Harappa pin is very similar to some from Tepe Hissar and also to a gold Ibex from tomb IV Mycenae which can be dated to the second half of the 16th Cent. B.C. (Bosser's *Ancient Art of Crete*, fig. 191). At Harappa we found a double animal protome in terracotta almost identical with Heine Geldern's Transcaucasian example; it is in poor condition though quite recognisable by its two heads and curious shape. These few objects may not seem very impressive but they are even less so when suitably kept in the background; they indicate, however, the presence of material which is referable to the middle of the second millenium B.C. at the earliest.



Fig. 3. Double Headed Pin from Mohenjo-daro.²

¹ *Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, No. 2, December 1936. Already quoted by us in our article in *Iraq*, Vol. VII, pt. 1, 1940.

² Figs. 2 and 3. Published by Courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

In addition doubt may reasonably be cast on the dates as now assigned to the following objects:—

- (a) The steatite bearded head with the trefoil robe which has the most striking resemblance to figures of the Sangari and Kadshi, Asiatics on the chariot of Thothmes IV,¹ and is therefore quite possibly not earlier than the first quarter of the second millenium.
- (b) Seal from Chanh-daro, Jhukar Period, showing antelope and flower, is of an Eastern Mediterranean style not earlier than Middle Minoan III, second quarter of the second millenium.
- (c) Seal from Chanh-daro, Jhukar Period, showing ibex, having North Persian affinities similar to the double animal protomes and animal headed pins, dateable to the second or third quarter of the second millenium.
- (d) The shaft-hole hammer-axe from Chanh-daro, not to be dated prior to 1800 B.C.²
- (e) The famous bronze adze-axe with tubular collar, dated by Heine Geldern to 1200–1000 B.C., but in any case not older than the middle of the second millenium.
- (f) The two Harappa statuettes of red limestone and dark grey slate, which cannot by anyone who has held them in their hand and examined them closely, and has a fairly unbiassed mind, be assigned to any date earlier than the 3rd Cent. B.C. at the earliest.
- (g) The terracotta head with moulded bearded face and high pointed cap, found somewhere in the Mohenjo-daro D.K. area, which we assign without any hesitation to either the Indo-Parthian or Kushan Periods.³

To these must be added the fact that at Harappa there is a great deal of painted pottery which shows no affinities with that of the 'Harappa Period' but may be of the same period as the burial jars and to which as yet no date can be given, but which must be located somewhere in the two thousand year gap. Painted pots of Jhukar type and pots of Jhangar ware are also non-existent at both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro; and though flooding and consequent abandonment of the site at that period may account for the lack at the latter place, it is obvious that

¹ *Vide* fig. 2, page 25, 'The Aryans' by Prof. Gordon Childe.

² For illustrations of (b), (c) and (d) see *Illustrated London News*, November 1936.

³ *Vide* text fig. 2. Mohenjo-daro, some observations on Indian Pre-history, *Iraq*, Vol. VII, pt. 1, 1940, by M. E. and D. H. Gordon.

these terms have only very local application as they are also inapplicable to the pottery of Makran or the Zhob.

The sum total of these trifles is not to be ignored, if indeed they are as trifling as some appear to consider. In any case objects have been shown to exist which indicate that there are a number of definite survivals from the pre-historic to the early historic period. The important point which follows unquestionably from this basic fact is that if they are survivals they must be connected. Objects have also been shown to exist which in our opinion indicate quite clearly that the apparent blank hiatus is only the result of inadequate research. 1

Up to date the chronological yardstick of the Early Historic Period has been the successive types of stone statuary, their treatment and their ornament, about which there can be but small differences of opinion, such as whether the large early Yakshas are really Mauryan or post-Mauryan, and whether the Buddha image of Gandhara is older than that of Muttra. The measure for the pre-historic period is derived solely from links with the early chronology of Iraq. At any rate both these periods have a basis of fact for any chronological arguments advanced; this is not so in the case of the hiatus. Here we find that the measure is the period of time which various pundits and philologists consider must have elapsed for the production of certain scriptures and the development of certain religious ideas. Added to which are some notable speculations, such as whether the pole star was sufficiently in evidence at some not very well fixed period, for it to be taken as an image of constancy. All such fantasies, including the arrival of the Vedic Aryans from the North Pole about 30000 B.C. and their existence in another Yuga when the Universe presented a different aspect, are profitless conjecture. The truth is that so far as India is concerned we have no measure for this period and but very few facts on which to form one.

The Indo-European names found in the archives of Boghaz Keui and 18th Dynasty Egypt have only the vaguest value in determining the period and progress of the Aryan occupation of Northern India; for Vedic India is by tradition Northern India, and it is there that search must be made to fill the gap in our knowledge. So far nothing has been done which has yielded very concrete results, a summary of this material, real or hypothetical as has yet to be determined, may prove to be of some interest. Firstly, there are the few objects which we have mentioned above as being almost certainly of middle second millenium date, found for the greater part in the upper levels of pre-historic sites, those first eight or ten ambiguous feet. To these may be added the copper and bronze objects put forward by Heine Geldern in his article, namely the Truncheon Axe from the Kurram, the Punjab Dagger, the Bithur Dagger and Harpoon head, the Fathegarh Swords and the Rajpur Harpoon,

all of which together with the Mohenjo-daro Adze-axe he refers to the period 1200-1000 B.C. Besides these there are only the ancient walls of Rajagriha, the 'Vedic' burials of Lauriya Nandangarh, the punch-marked coins, the various terracottas which from time to time have been loosely classified as Primitive and Pre-Mauryan, a good deal of painted pottery about which so far but little is known, and the somewhat meagre knowledge we possess of the ancient sites of the Punjab and the N.W.F.P.

For the Walls of Rajagriha and the Nandangarh burials a date of 800 to 700 B.C. is claimed, which may prove to be correct in the case of the former, but the mounds of Lauriya Nandangarh have been examined by Mr. N. G. Majumdar; four of them were cleared of earth until the underlying structures were revealed, these proved to be Buddhist stupas possibly of early date. The gold leaf female figure, thought by Bloch to be an Earth Goddess, came from a trench on the top of this recent work and is therefore not of Vedic date and probably Post-Mauryan. I have purposely omitted any reference to the Megaliths and Cairn burials of Southern India and Hyderabad, as I consider that the North is the region where links must be found if they are to carry conviction. The Megalithic remains of the North, Burj Hama in Kashmir (*Antiquity*, June 1937) and Asota in the N.W.F.P. (*Antiquity*, December 1939), afford but little help. The former is extremely 'sui generis' both as regards the monument itself and the remains which have been excavated there. The latter may well be of no very great antiquity and at the moment there is nothing available to support a contention either way.

Punch-marked coins we feel need to be handled with caution. It is undeniable that many if not the majority of the symbols on them have their counterparts in the Indus Valley script. These symbols are therefore almost certainly survivals, but after what lapse of time, that is the question. Here we need to go warily, for in quite early literature these coins are known as 'purana' and that is quite sufficient for many Indian archaeologists to date them back indefinitely. To us it is plain however that the term purana (ancient) is of exactly the same value as when the present day owner of a battered Moghul copper coin tells you that it is a Sita-Rami, nine hundred lakhs of years old, which merely means that in his opinion it is very ancient; that is to say, as proof of any particular dating the term 'purana' has no value at all. A very clear exposition of the evidential value of the punch-marked coins and their symbols is given by Dr. C. L. Fabri in his article 'A new branch of knowledge in India'.¹

The question of the Pre-Mauryan terracottas is still being worried out. So far not one single terracotta from any level of any site of the Early Historic Period can be shown con-

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1.

clusively, even by the unreliable method of archaeological dead-reckoning, let alone association with definitely dateable objects, to be of Pre-Mauryan date. As for the criterion of style, unless backed by conclusive parallels with material of known and accepted date, considerable familiarity with many hundreds of Early Indian terracottas makes us regard this method as on the whole worse than useless. The primitive and the archaic can again and again be shown quite conclusively to be the result of ineptitude and degeneration. Hellenistic Indo-Greek may turn out to be Hellenistic Indo-Roman of the early Imperial period when Greek art was 'the thing'. There are in fact a multitude of unappreciated pitfalls.

Of all the archaic terracottas those found in the Gandhara-Taxila area with applied and incised eyes are the most intriguing. They can now be shown as coming from fourteen sites in British India as well as others in Afghanistan and Tribal Territory. I cannot with propriety at this stage say more than that excavation at Sari Dheri¹ revealed such figures throughout the section from two feet to thirty-five below datum in the main mound, and at 40½ below datum and 9½ below surface at an adjacent point originally covered by the mound. As a Hellenistic moulded torso was found in the main mound at 37½ feet and a Menander coin at 32 feet² below datum, it is unlikely that anything found is older than 200 B.C. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility of finding them with yet earlier associations.

There is one point, however, that needs clearing up once and for all, and that is the possibility of these figures being in direct succession to those of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. In point of fact, though it would be most helpful and convenient to believe otherwise, the figures under discussion have no real resemblance to those of the Indus Valley sites. In particular we wish to pin down this matter of applied and incised eyes. Though Mlle. Corbiau states, and we are sure and assured states quite accurately, in *Iraq*, Vol. IV, Spring 1937, that 'Dr. Mackay tells me that among the unpublished material of Mohenjo-daro this feature is quite frequent', the facts are however as follows :

At Mohenjo-daro out of 510 human figures examined by us not one had applied and incised eyes. The example quoted by Mlle. Corbiau was noted and is a bearded head broken almost certainly from a man-headed animal. Of the man-headed animals, out of 61, four have applied and incised eyes, and one applied and indented. At Harappa out of 673 human figures

¹ Excavation was carried out at Sari Dheri during May, and October to December, 1938, by Mille, Simone Corbiau and Mr. Mukerji of the Archaeological Department. The results have yet to be published.

² As Kushan copper coins were found down to this depth the Menander is we feel a survival in a higher level than its true context, and it is probable that some of the square copper coins unearthed between 32' and 42' B.D.L. will be found to be Saka issues.

examined one had applied and incised eyes, and of the 13 man-headed animals, two only had this feature. This disposes finally and definitely of this convention being a survival characteristic of the pre-historic period.

Another point may also be touched on in passing, and that is that there is one figure only from both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro which has the smallest resemblance to the pre-historic female figures found at Periano-Ghundai and other sites in the Zhob. The latter are of fragile creamy white clay, and the ornaments, eye forms, headdress and general style of modelling are all totally dissimilar from the Indus specimens. The same lack of similarity being found in the painted pottery types, this material should be used with the greatest caution when looking either for the origins or offshoots of the Indus Cultures, both in time and space.

It would be rash to deny that none of the terracottas found at sites other than those containing remains of the Harappa Period is of Pre-Mauryan date, but none of them is demonstrably so. The Archaic types from the Frontier Province and Taxila and those from Muttra cannot be dated higher than 250 B.C. and it is unlikely that any of them are earlier than 200 B.C. The terracottas from Kosambi fall in line with those from Muttra, and the earliest types from Bhita and Basarh may possibly be Mauryan but are certainly not Pre-Mauryan. The material from Buxar has been treated in such a way that it is quite impossible to make head or tail of anything connected with this site.¹ The female figures with moulded faces appear to be Sunga and the primitive type with directly incised diamond-shaped eyes and small pursed-up mouth can be paralleled from Taxila. The alleged Pre-historic and Sumerian connections will need to be supported by the results of scientific examination before they can receive any serious consideration.

Surface investigation of sites is, to say the least of it, inconclusive. At the same time certain observations made in this way may be of some small value. The bluffs above the Soan River in the vicinity of the Attock Oil Company's Works are an example and a warning; here on the surface may be found any number of quartzite artifacts, a very few chert microliths, pottery of the Buddhist Period, and painted pottery, some of which may be as early as the 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D., but most of which is almost certainly modern. A site near Taxila produced one very finely struck micro-core of chert; wide and careful search failed to produce further traces of this material. The site yields plenty of painted pottery, all of it

¹ Remains of a Pre-historic Civilisation in the Gangetic Valley by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri in the K. B. Pathan Commemoration Volume. The references in the text have no relation to the numbers on the very indifferent plates. The text is modelled very closely to that of A. K. Coomaraswamy's article in *Ipek*, 1927.

dated to the early centuries A.D. if not later. The Akbar mound near Gugera, Montgomery District, about thirty miles from Harappa, though a vast mound with deep eroded channels in it, does not show a single sherd of Harappa type, though there is plenty of pottery, including painted pottery, of Buddhist, Mediaeval, and Mohamedan times. At Harappa however unmistakeable 'Harappa' types are in profusion both on and close to the surface. At first sight this does not appear to get us anywhere, but it does lead us to one important point. Painted pottery in India, without critical knowledge of patterns, shapes, colours, slips and texture, is quite meaningless, and even the presence of an odd chert flake does not make a pre-historic culture. We were under the impression that the word chalcolithic indicated the co-existence of stone and bronze implements, yet sites have been called chalcolithic simply on the strength of some painted pottery almost certainly of the historic period and not necessarily the early historic period at that.

Enough we hope has now been said to show that a blank hiatus of two thousand years in Indian culture does not exist, and at the same time give some tentative indication of the links available, and the pitfalls that await the investigator over this line of country. It is to be feared that it will be possible to add but little to this until there has been more and better digging.



1



2

FIGS. 1 & 2. Pedestal Type Birds. (1) From Harappa (2) From Bala Hissar.



3



4



5

FIG. 3. Bird whistle from Harappa.
" 4. Bird rattle from Taxila.
" 5. Hellenistic Head with fan-shaped headress, Taxila.
(Figs. 4 & 5 published by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.)



FIG. 1. Divided Terracotta figurines from Harappa.

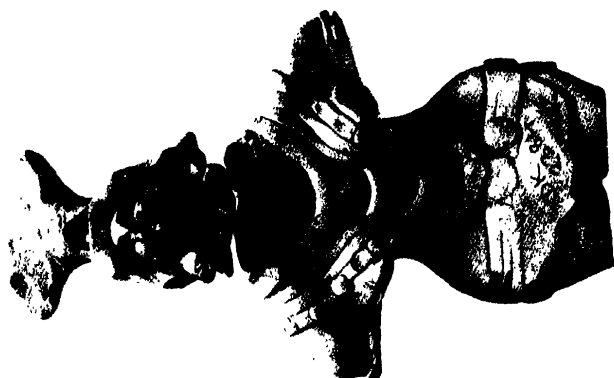


FIG. 2. Female figurine with fan-shaped head-dress, Mohenjo-daro.
(Published by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.)

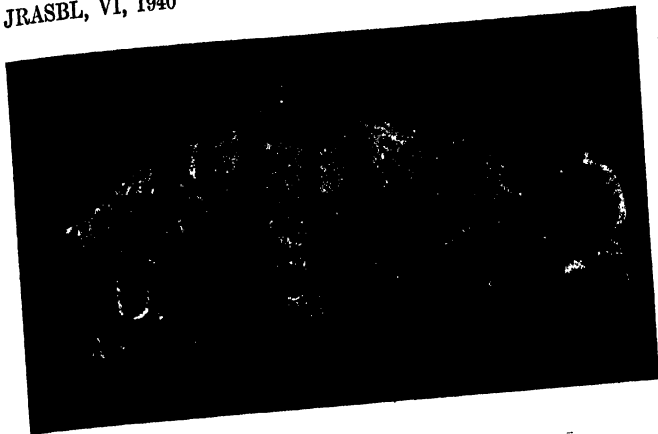


FIG. 3. Divided Terracotta figurine from Bala Hissar, Charsadda.

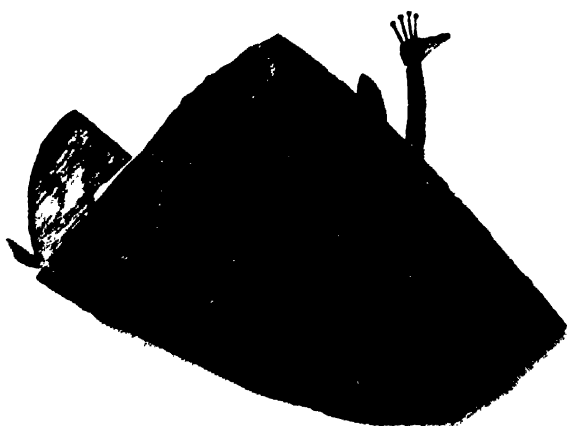


FIG. 1. Potsherd with peacock design, Akhkari Dheri, Risalpur.

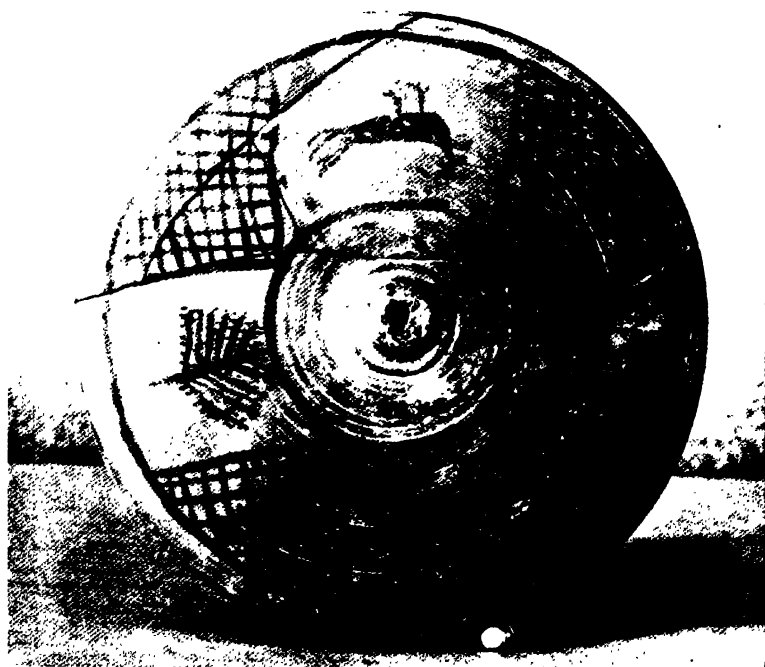


FIG. 2. Pot lid with peacock design, Taxila.
(Published by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.)

**Some Observations on Two Copper-plate Grants from
Bhāṭerā, Sylhet District, Assam.**

By UMESH CHANDRA CHAUDHURI.*

(Communicated by Mr. J. C. De.)

About the Bengali year 1279 (1872-73 A.D.), two copper-plate inscriptions were found on a hillock in a village known at present by the name of Bhāṭerā in the District of Sylhet, Assam. This village lies at the eastern foot of a small hill, extending north and south from Maurāpur on the southern bank of the Kuśiārā river to the northern bank of the Manu, and spreading over an area of about twenty miles in length and between three and five miles in breadth, interspersed with several small hills about fifty to two hundred feet high, all covered with dense jungle.

Along the eastern side of the hill (known in the records of the Forest Department as the Bhāṭerā Hills) and just by the side of the Sylhet-Kulaurā branch line of the Assam-Bengal Railway, between the mile-posts $2\frac{1}{5}$ and $2\frac{1}{6}$ lies what was to all intents and purposes a deserted hill-fort, with brick-built stairs to reach the level of the fort. At the present moment, however there remains little of what must once have been a magnificent structure.

In the Bengali year of 1279 (1872-73 A.D.), a local zemindar, the late Babu Kāśī Chandra Chaudhuri arranged to collect old bricks from the above-mentioned fort for some constructional works in his house. One of his men employed on the task, came across the two copper-plates, placed one above the other, in course of digging. Some five or six years later, after the death of Kāśī Chandra, the plates passed into the hands of his youngest brother, Babu Jagat Chandra Chaudhuri. Facsimile impressions of them were sent to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The inscriptions were transcribed by Panditā Ramā Bāi and her brother Śrīnivāsa Śāstri and the whole was published by Dr. R. L. Mitra with a short note, English translation and facsimiles in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for August 1880.

The plates are now preserved in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

* The author expresses his gratitude to Mr. R. K. Ghoshal for kindly revising the paper.

As has been said already, it was Dr. R. L. Mitra who published a comparatively full and critical edition of the two grants. These were next discussed by scholars like the late lamented Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya and Dr. K. M. Gupta in the periodical press of Sylhet and Calcutta. Dr. Gupta further re-edited one of the plates (that of Keśavadeva) in the *Epigraphia Indica*¹.

In the present paper I have endeavoured to discuss the two records afresh in the light of such local and topographical knowledge as I have been able to collect by a long and continued residence in the District of Sylhet very near to the find-spot of the inscriptions concerned.

Locality.—As we have stated above, the plates were discovered from the ruins of a fort on a hillock or *ṭilā*. The hillock is about 150 feet high, the highest level portion measuring about 400 feet from east to west and about 200 feet broad from north to south.

The eastern side of the hillock has even now distinct traces of extensive long and broad stairs made of bricks. These stairs, commencing from the upper portion of the hill-fort, go down to the bank of a tank which is about 600 feet long and 300 feet broad. The tank at present goes by the name of Sātpāḍi Pukur (i.e. 'tank with seven banks'), whatever that may imply. The Sylhet-Kulaurā branch line of the Assam-Bengal Railway runs by the western bank of this tank separating it from the stairs-system of the hill-fort referred to already. There are traces of another old tank a little to the north-west of the hill-fort which now passes under the name of Baḍa Pukur ('the big tank') and which is about four times larger than the Sātpāḍi Pukur.

The southern and western sides of the hillock permit an easy access, but the northern side is steep and difficult to negotiate. Considering the enormous extent of the ruins on the hill, it may well have represented the royal palace of the kings of the Bhaṭṭapāṭaka line.

Towards the north of the palace or hill-fort, within half a mile, there is a smaller hillock which goes by the name of *Homer ṭilā* (i.e. the mound for the performance of *Homa* rites). At the foot of this *ṭilā*, there is a tank about 150 feet long and 90 feet broad. The *Homer ṭilā* is about 50 feet in height and approximately 100 feet in length and breadth, though not exactly squarish in shape. At the central part of the upper portion of the hillock, there was the sacrificial pit (*Homa kuṇḍa*) built of the same type of old red bricks. The pit itself was 3½ cubits in length, breadth and depth.

About two or three furlongs to the north of the *Homer ṭilā* we come to what are called the Darbārī *gul* and the Darbārī

¹ Vol. XIX, pp. 279 ff.

ṭilā. The latter stands in the centre of a plain. It is about 20 feet high, 90 feet long and 60 feet broad. Here the royal personages of Bhāṭṭapāṭaka would seem to sit with their officers in a position overlooking the multitude that would gather over the extensive plain. The very appearance of it points to the probability of its having been a very suitable place for holding royal *darbars*. By the north and south of this plain run two small streamlets: The one by the north side has dried up long since, but the southern stream which now bears the name of Phulchhadā is still active.

About a mile off, to the east of the Darbārī *ṭilā*, are the Dakṣiṇā *Kāndi* and the Dakṣiṇā *bil* to the east of which is the great Hākāluki *haor*. It was perhaps at this spot that King Keśavadeva performed the Tulāpuruṣa *yajña* referred to in the smaller inscription and distributed *dakṣiṇā*.

The plates and their purport.—Both the grants are records of gifts of land, houses, slaves, etc., to two household deities, probably of the royal family. The earlier and larger of the plates records a gift of 375 *hālas* of land, in 67 plots and 51 villages, scattered over the sub-divisions of North and South Sylhet, Habiganj and Karimganj and also partly in the plains of the Cachar District. Along with this land 296 houses and a number of slaves were given away in the name of Vateśvara Śiva by king Keśavadeva. Vateśvara Śiva has been mentioned as 'the Lord of Śrīhaṭṭa' (*Śrīhaṭṭa-nātha*) in whose honour Keśavadeva built and dedicated a number of temples.

The latter and smaller plate is a gift of two *hālas* of land to Kamalākānta Nārāyaṇa by King Īśānadeva, son of Keśavadeva, the donor of the earlier grant. Dwelling houses and fields included within the area were also given away to the deity and a lofty temple was built for Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu.

As regards the dates of the inscriptions a number of suggestions has been offered. The date on the earlier plate begins with *Pāṇḍava-kulapāl-ābda* followed by four numerals. Paṇḍitā Ramā Bāi and her brother Śrīnivāsa Śāstri read them as 2928, while according to Dr. R. L. Mitra it stood for 4328 corresponding to 1245 A.D. The latest reading is that of Dr. K. M. Gupta who puts the date at 1049 A.D.

We may now proceed to an examination of some of the interesting facts elicited by the records under discussion. For purposes of convenience, we have preferred to deal with the several points at issue under the following heads:

(i) *Alleged connection of the Bhāṭerā group of kings with those of Cachar and Āgartālā.*—There has been some inexplicable unanimity of views among some of our scholars on this particular point¹. The Bhāṭṭapāṭaka kings have long been

¹ See e.g., *Proc. A.S.B.*, August, 1880, p. 144; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 280 ff.

regarded as sovereigns of Cachar, the founder of whose dynasty is traditionally supposed to have been Ghototkaca, son of Pāṇḍava Bhīma by Hīḍimbā, daughter of an aboriginal chief. As a matter of fact however, the available data point to a quite different conclusion: The people who now go by the name of Cacharis were originally settled in the Brahmaputra valley. Driven by the rising Ahom rulers, they betook themselves to Dimapur about 1531 A.D. Being still hard pressed by the Ahoms, they moved on to Maibong and thence finally to the vast plain of Cachar where they established their new home. They were essentially a community of uncultured hill-people having absolutely no alphabet whatever and as yet entirely uninfluenced by Sanskrit culture. It was in fact not till after the 16th century of the Christian era that the people of Cachar were converted into Hinduism and it was about this period that the legend of a Pāṇḍava extraction of their kings was concocted to keep up their pride.

It will thus appear that the dynasty of the kings of Bhaṭṭa-pāṭaka and those of Cachar were far too separated from each other in point of time—by three or four centuries to be sure—to allow us to accommodate any theory as to their being mutually related.

As regards the Āgartalā kings, it is well-known that their dynasty originated from the Shān States of Northern Burma and their family title was originally the inconspicuous *Phāñ*. They entered Assam for the first time in 1228 A.D. It was about the first quarter of the 14th century, that some branch of them crossed the North Cachar Hills and passing the Lushāi and the Chittagong Hills, settled itself at Āgartalā¹. This branch was converted to Hinduism in the 16th century, i.e. about the same time as that of the kings of Cachar. They now changed their original family title of *Phāñ* into *Māṇikya* which is current to this day. It seems therefore unlikely that the kings of the Bhāṭerā plates² had any family link either with those of Cachar or of Āgartalā.

What however looks more reasonable is to surmise that the kings mentioned in the Bhāṭerā inscriptions were a group of chiefs who wielded some influence in the country representing the modern district of Sylhet. This dynasty continued apparently for five generations after which it became extinct. Possibly it was only a result of the oncoming Muhammadan invasion of the country. Or it may have been that the last

¹ For the origin of the Cachar and Āgartalā kings, see E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 242-43 ff.

² From the nomenclature of the family titles and the names of the persons, as well as most of the place-names mentioned in both the copper-plates, it appears that the land was a part of Bengal and the persons were Bengalees.

member of the line—Īśānadeva—died without leaving an issue and the dynasty came to a natural end ¹.

(ii) *Tradition of alleged association of the Iṭer ṭilā and the Homer ṭilā with king Gauragovinda.*—The whole question appears to us to hinge on a mistaken identification and also perhaps an unwarranted word-interpretation. In the earlier of the Bhāterā plates (that of Keśavadeva), the donor king is described (ll. 9-10) as *ripurāja-śoṣi-Govinda-ity=ajani Keśavadeva eṣaḥ* ², which has been almost unanimously taken as pointing to there having been a second name, *Govinda*, of king Keśavadeva ³. If one may hazard an opinion on this point, the explanations of this epithet offered so far seem to be quite strained. In fact the whole phrase could conveniently be broken up into two distinct but inter-related parts: (i) *ripurāja-śoṣi-Govinda-ity=* and (ii) *ajani Keśavadeva eṣaḥ*,—meaning that king Keśavadeva is here regarded as having been the equal in might of Govinda (Lord Kṛṣṇa), the destroyer of enemies. Such expressions, as will be readily admitted, represent but a common epigraphic and literary convention of the age to which our record belongs.

It has further been assumed ⁴ that the ruined mound called Homer ṭilā marks the spot where king Gauragovinda (*alias* Govindasimha) used to perform sacrificial rites. This assumption is of course a corollary to the supposition that Govinda is only another name of Keśavadeva. The explanation suggested by us, if accepted, will surely help to dispel such a notion. It should also be taken notice of that Gauragovinda of North Sylhet was conquered by Shah Jallal in 1384 A.D.

¹ It appears however from the later inscription (No. 11, *Proc. A.S.B.*, August 1880, p. 153, ll. 25-28) that Īśānadeva had a childless elder brother (*sthavirah putrasūnyah*, l. 27) and that he had another brother who pre-deceased him leaving a widow and a son. No record has yet been discovered of this fatherless child. Perhaps even before he grew up to manhood the whole country was engulfed by the Muhammadan invasion.

² In the inscription of his son Īśānadeva, Keśavadeva is referred to (ll. 8-9) in almost identical terms, *viz.*, *ripurājā-śoṣi Govinda-vīro* . . . etc.

³ *Proc. A.S.B.*, August 1880, pp. 144, 151n; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 279 ff.

⁴ *Proc. A.S.B.*, August 1880, p. 144.

The Ancient Workers of Western Dhalbhum.

By E. F. O. MURRAY.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

The Dhalbhum pergannah, which forms the most easternly portion of the Singhbhum district of Chota Nagpur, has long been noted for the multiplicity of ancient workings that occur therein. It has an area of nearly 1,200 square miles through which the copper belt runs roughly south-east to north-west for a distance of over 50 miles, quite half of which must be covered by old workings when parallel lines are taken into consideration. In addition to the copper workings the ancients have worked gold, both alluvial and quartz, in the southern and eastern portions, and soapstone, while numerous small heaps of iron slag are to be found scattered all over the pergannah wherever the ore occurs; the refuse of the local iron smelters, which industry still exists in the remoter parts up to the present day.

On its eastern border is the Midnapore district and the States of Mayurbhanj and Seraikela bound it on the southern and northern borders, while in the centre comparatively level or undulating country predominates, divided by the range of hills that follows the copper belt over the greater portion of the pergannah. The inhabitants of Dhalbhum consist mainly of Santals, Mundas and Bhumij with a sprinkling of Hos and Kherrias, all members of the group that must have been in possession of the greater part of Northern India in pre-Aryan days. Among the semi-Hinduized castes may be mentioned the Goālās (cowherds), the Kumhārs (potters), the Kammārs (blacksmiths), the Perehs or Tāntis (weavers) and the Mahles (basket-makers), the last four being essential to the existence of village communities. The Santals, Mundas and Hos all speak languages belonging to the Mon-Khmer group of the Austric languages of which Pater Schmidt found relics among the forest tribes of Pegu, Malacca and Indo-China, and along the middle Salwin, the Nicobars, and part of the Philippines and Oceania.

Ethnologically the Santals, Mundas and Kols all belong to the Proto-Australoid family which is widely distributed in Southern Asia and the Oceanian islands. Risley in his measurements of the various tribes obtained the following indices:

		Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Stature
Munda (100)	..	74.5	89.9	1446
Santal (100)	..	74.5	88.8	1510
Kol (32)	..	72.4	82.2	1650

The specimens of the last, however, are stated by him to have eastern Hindi as their tongue, to live in the United Provinces, and to be of Aryo-Dravidian type. This cannot be taken as typical of the Kols of the Kolhan of Singhbhum whose language is allied to Mundari and Santali and with whom they have similar physical characteristics. Both the Mundas and Santals have legends about migrations from the west before the Aryan invaders, in times when Indian history was confined to legends; and in the Rg-Veda frequent mention is made of the Dasyus or Savaras, the Aryan names for the original inhabitants of the country. Both Kolarian and Aryan traditions point to these tribes as having extended further to the north-west prior to the invasion and to having been gradually driven into the more southern and eastern hills as the Aryan invaders fought their way towards and down the Gangetic plain.

Roy¹ has traced the wanderings of the Mundas by their traditions and pointed out that many of the names of the enemies of the Aryans, mentioned in the Rg-Veda, are to be found among the Mundas and allied tribes at the present day,—evidence that the writer is able to corroborate from further examples. That the aboriginal races were not mere savages is evident from the accounts of their organization, strong-built cities and forts which gave much trouble, while their wealth proved a source of envy to the invaders. From Āzamgarh, now in the United Provinces, Munda tradition commences, so it would appear that they must have remained for some time in this district, an assumption that is supported by Hindu tradition. By the reign of Rāma Chandra of Ayodhya the Raj-Bhars appear to have been the only tribe left at Āzamgarh and before the departure of the Savaras, or Asuras as they were then called, both Hindu and Munda traditions record a deluge. Gradually they continued their eastward march before the increasing hordes through Bihar into Chota Nagpur, but from their later temporary sojourn in Rohilkhand and further west the invaders would appear to have met with some reverses and the native races to have regained some of their terrain. This change of tide in their fortunes would seem to be confirmed by sepulchral cairns existing near Nagar, and attributed to the aborigines, representing two distinct stages of culture. In the first only stone implements and rough pottery are to be found, while the latter contains iron weapons and gold and copper ornaments.

The earliest foreign reference to the use of iron in India appears to be the description in Herodotus² of the Indian mercenaries in Xerxes' army in 480 B.C. who were clad in cotton garments and armed with bamboo bows and cane arrows with

¹ Roy, S. C.—The Mundas and their Country, Chap. I, 1912.

² Herodotus, VII, 65.

iron tips, which with the addition of axes form the complete armament of the aborigines in modern times.

The Hos, or Kols, appear to have occupied Chota Nagpur from pre-historic times though they are reputed to have at one period ousted the Bhuiyas from Singhbhum and to have settled there, where the majority of them now are. Their prowess in the field earned them their name of Lerrka (fighter), by which they are known to the other tribes at the present day, and in their encounters with the British fully sustained their reputation until they realized that axes, bows and arrows could not seriously compete with firearms and cavalry.

Pliny in *Hist. Nat.*, quoting from Megasthenes, states that 'The tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calingae nearest the sea and higher up the Mander; also the Malli among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that region being the Ganges'. Mount Mallus is probably identical with Mount Mandar of the Vedas which lies near Bhagalpur and the Malli with the Mahle Paharias who occupy the Rajmahal Hills. The Calingae were the inhabitants of the kingdom of Kalinga, or Orissa, which, with lapses, preserved its independence from the earliest times until towards the end of the eleventh century A.D. when Kulottunga I added it to his dominions. That the Kolarian tribes were in this region in the sixth century B.C. is proved by records of the travels of Vardhamāna Mahāvira who was the twenty-fourth Tirthankara and main founder of the Jain religion in which it is stated that 'he traversed the country occupied by the Bajra Bhūmi and Sudhi Bhūmi (the modern Bhumij) who abused and beat him and shot at him with arrows and barked at him with dogs, of which small annoyance he took no notice'.

As a detailed account of the geology of the district does not come within the scope of this paper this subject will be dealt with as briefly as possible. Singhbhum is composed mainly of Archaean rocks. In Dhalbhum the Dharwar complex is represented by lava flows in various stages of metamorphism, phyllites, slates, talc, hornblende and micaceous schists and quartzites. This period was followed by intrusions of granitic batholiths, which in their turn were invaded by doleritic dykes of varying basicity, whose extent is generally limited by the perimeters of the acid intrusives. The Dharwars are the main seat of the Indian metalliferous ores, most of the gold, copper, iron and manganese produced in the country being connected with them. Copper, having been the cause of by far the greatest proportion of the ancient and more modern workings, this will be dealt with first.

The Singhbhum copper belt, which starts from 5 miles north of Chakradharpur in the west and runs through the States of Kharsawan and Seraikela, enters Dhalbhum between the villages of Keryuadungri and Rangadih where old and

more recent workings show three more or less parallel runs of ore. Further east between Talsa and Nandup and on Chandar Buru these veins have been extensively mined by the ancients, and in more modern times by the Singhbhum and Hindustan Copper Companies, of whose activities Stoehr, Durrschmidt and Schenck have left records.¹ On Chandar Buru old workings are very numerous on three lines of ore: while extensive old workings occur between Talsa and Turamdih on the southern line; on the centre and southern lines near Sideswar, to be described later, and others further east beyond the limit of this article at Surdah and Mosaboni. It is on the last of these that the Indian Copper Corporation has developed its Mosaboni Mine.

On Chandar the ancients were well clear of the water-line as the summit of the hill is about 700 ft. above the surrounding country and most of the ore occurs near the top. Old ventilation shafts are to be found on both the northern and centre lines, the latter being circular and about 3 ft. in diameter by 20 ft. deep to the debris in the bottom above the stope level, while the dumps from all three runs of workings are considerable. From the numbers of palaeoliths, bouchers and neolithic cores, flakes and beads occurring in the neighbourhood, this would appear to have been one of the earliest points of attack of the ancient miners, and the wreckage of trap implements in the dumps leaves no doubt about the extraction of copper having been started with their aid. As plenty of iron ore exists close at hand one can only assume that the use of this metal was not then general. Between Chandar Buru and Hartopa there are no prominent hills along the line of belt and old workings are confined to sundry ridges that rise out of the plain, but from the latter to Rajdoha they are fairly extensive on both sides of the Garrha River which cuts across the strike at right angles. From Rajdoha, where three inclined and one circular vertical shafts have been sunk and one adit driven in modern times, old workings are scarce until close to the Kapurgadi Pass where considerable runs occur on the hills on both sides. The easternly run of these is continued to Rakha Hill and was included in the area worked by the Rajdoha Mining Company towards the end of last century. On Rakha Hill old workings are numerous and can be followed until they run up on to the spurs that connect the northern side of Sideswar with the lower country. Here as at Nandup and Chandar three parallel runs are found: the most northernly follows the crest of the spur south-east of Roam; the centre, which is the most important, the flank of the next ridge to the south, while the third is below Sideswar itself. This last consists of an open stope running from the valley into the side of the hill and connected some way in by a steeply inclined circular shaft

¹ Gold, Copper and Lead in Chota Nagpur, W. King and T. A. Pope.

of about 4 ft. in diameter to the ground above. The top of the ore shoot being flat this was soon below the surface of the rising ground and the shaft must have been sunk for ventilation, though the steps cut in it permitted its use as an emergency exit. The northern line was explored by an adit started from the valley by the Cape Copper Company, which had taken over the assets of the Rajdoha Mining Company in 1912, but on holing into a very extensive ancient stope and meeting with runs of filling or fallen rock, both above and below the adit level, suspended this work. The height of this stope was probably little short of 150 ft. and of undetermined length, but the only things of interest produced were some small baked clay pots that had probably been used as lamps by the miners.

The only important source of gold hitherto discovered has been in the south-western portion of the pergannah close to the Mayurbhanj border. Here numerous trap grinding and crushing stones litter the jungle south of the village of Kundrukocha, with further small clusters over the hills in Mayurbhanj State. Isolated ones are to be found in most of the localities where blue or white quartz veins are available, proving that the ancients must have scoured the district in search of payable deposits. Numerous old workings have been found in various places around Kundrukocha and in 1913 the Dhalbhum Gold and Minerals Prospecting Company was floated in Calcutta to work this area. Its activities have already been described¹ so it is only necessary here to state that during the years 1916-1920 gold to the value of £25,000 was obtained, nearly all of which came from the Porojarna section. Most of the ancient workings follow pipe-like enrichments on folds, but in one case values of 2 ozs. over 30 ins. were obtained over a length of 80 ft. from quartz that did not outcrop and was thus missed by the old miners. The greatest depth so far known to have been reached by the ancients here is 97 ft. on a pipe coming down from the top of Porojarna Hill, and in the bottom of this were found a stone hand hammer and broken chisel.

Soapstone resulting from the metamorphism of trap is to be found in many places all over the pergannah, though by far the largest aggregate of workings exists on the hill to the west of Bhitari Dadi village, which rises to approximately 700 ft. above the plain. The rock varies in colour from light grey to bluish grey and is often traversed by streaks or stringers of magnesite, which spoil such parts for utensils without occurring in sufficient quantity to make their extraction an economic proposition. A large portion of the southern flank of the hill is covered by the spoil from the workings near the crest on that side, many of which are being exploited at the present day to meet the

¹ Gold in Chota Nagpur, E. F. O. Murray, *Min. Mag.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, 1923.

demand for soapstone bowls and plates, and as this may be of interest, a description of the operations will be given.

The miner, having selected what he considers a suitable band of rock in one of the open-cast workings attacks this with an implement of local manufacture that is a cross between a pick and a hammer until he has cut a circular groove somewhat larger than the size of the article desired, that slopes from the inner side and is vertical on the outside. When he is satisfied that the groove is deep enough the next step is the removal of the piece from the rock, which is accomplished by the use of hammer and chisels. This is the most hazardous part of the process as owing to the uncertain fracture of the rock many pieces break otherwise than intended. Having overcome this stage he next gives the piece a rough dressing outside the working, after which it is put aside and mining continued. At the close of this the miner with the aid of his wife removes the roughly dressed blocks to the village where they are to be turned, to effect which a lathe of some sort is obviously necessary. In the ground are sunk two slats of wood with semicircular notches to take a wooden roller about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, to one end of which the plate is stuck by means of lac, two grooves on the roller running in the notches preventing lateral movement. The motive power is supplied by the wife who takes some turns round the roller with a piece of thin rope and holding an end in either hand imparts the necessary motion while the man with his cutter, a piece of iron or steel let into the end of a stick, removes the superfluous portions. The northern side of the hill is the one that was mainly worked by the ancients, though most of their dumps are now overgrown with grass and therefore inconspicuous. The old workings, which are here exceedingly numerous, generally commenced with the sinking of a roughly circular and steeply inclined shaft across the strata and, as good bands of the rock were intersected, stopes were opened out along them. The methods of detachment and treatment have not been determined, but probably did not differ much from modern times.

Remains of the ancient copper workers, as before stated, are exceedingly numerous, countless workings, dumps and slag heaps testifying to their industry. Below the largest of the old workings on the southern line between Talsa and Turamdih occurs the most extensive series of palaeoliths yet found by the writer, many hundreds of these being scattered over the ground at the foot of the hill and have the appearance of having been brought there for treatment. The rough fragments vary a good deal in size, untreated stones being mixed with broken ones and chips, but the general run desirable seems to have been 6 or 7 ins. by 3 to 4 ins. by 1 to 2 ins. thick and from these the implements were fashioned. The pieces are nearly all of a fine-grained trap and the actual source of supply

has not definitely been determined, though very similar rock occurs near Balidi about 3 miles to the south. Higher up in the dump from the workings further pieces and a few broken bouchers are to be found; some of a coarser grained material, but these are mostly small and in all probability mainly fragments of those that broke in mining. Above the workings are some flat rocks pitted all over to a depth of about 1 in. on which the ore must have received a crushing and picking before it was despatched to the smelters below, two crushing stones having been found close by. One of the pitted rocks has a hole about 5 ins. deep and 3 ins. diameter which may have been used for hulling paddy for the workers or for giving the concentrates a final crushing with a pestle for the furnace, but none has come to light in these parts. More recently, however, two broken stone pestles with circular polished handles that would fit a similar mortar have been found near Rakha Mines. Among the palaeoliths at the foot were two stone hammers and two pieces of roughly polished chisels, the former being made from waterworn pebbles of fine-grained trap that probably came from the Korkai River about 6 miles west of here and bear evident signs of chipping and hammering. Slag heaps and the remains of old clay furnaces lie all around and testify to a considerable output of copper at this point. Moving east the next places of importance on the south line are beneath some trees close to Turamdih village and the flat ground immediately west of the railway line, where most of the Turamdih ore must have been treated. Crushing stones consisting generally of flattish roughly circular pieces of trap, or occasionally quartz, with depressions to fit the fingers, are plentiful and some small slabs of pitted rock used as anvil stones lie around, while slag is abundant. Several ring stones have also been found in the neighbourhood. East of the railway line the first place of note is on some small hills close to the road on the northern line of ore where several traperushing stones of varying texture and a few anvil blocks are found. To the south of this the writer picked up a roughly smoothed axe-shaped piece of trap which from its chipped ends, one sharp and the other rounded, may have been used as a wedge. From here we come to Chandar Buru where the workings and remains have already been described. The flat rocks above the south line workings are pitted like those near Turamdih with a similar deep hole in one of them and the rejected material, showing malachite, lies around. Slag heaps and the remains of old furnaces abound all round the foot of the hill, while to the south-east is a place where hornstone and quartzite cores and flakes occur in profusion, not far from the banks of the stream which comes down from Dadi. Following the heaps of slag eastwards towards Goradi crushing and anvil stones occur with these, while not far from the banks of the stream on ground that has since been cultivated formerly

stood the remains of a battery of six old furnaces. The plan drawn from measurements taken before their destruction will

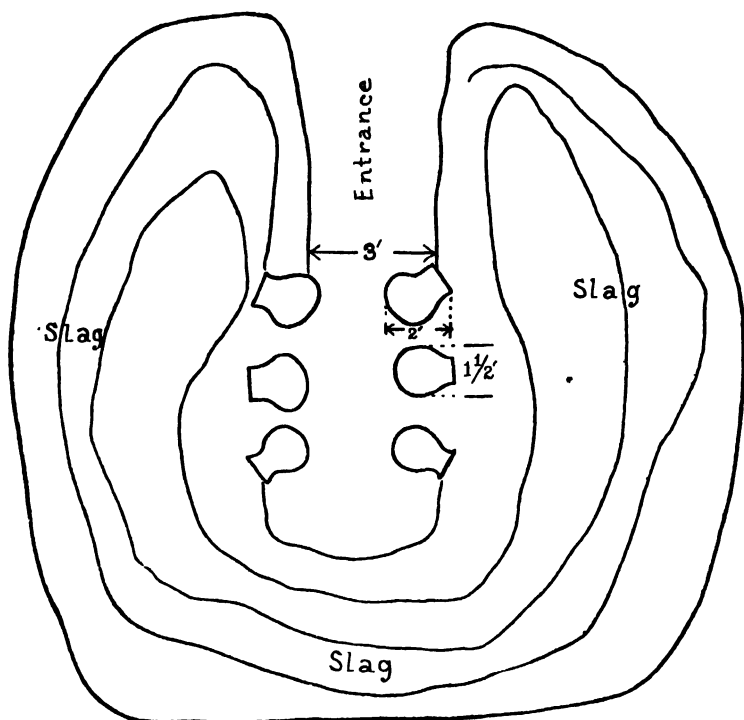


FIG. 1. Old Copper Furnaces, Chandar Buru.

show the layout, and a portion of one of the clay tuyeres remained on the ground. This was cylindrical, about 9 ins. long and 3 ins. in diameter with a pointed, slag-covered nozzle, the air passage tapering from about 1 in. to half an inch at the point. Only the hearths of the baked clay furnaces remained, 18 ins. wide by 2 ft. long, of the shape shown. Smelting must have been much the same as at the present day for iron, air being supplied from foot-worked leather bellows to clay furnaces about 3 ft. high. The bellows are rounded hollowed out blocks of wood open on the top over which a piece of hide is tied, while to the centre of the leather a cord is attached with the other end tied to a flexible stick planted in the ground, a hole being cut in the hide for the entry of air. A pair of these is placed side by side slightly sunk into the ground at a convenient distance for the operator's feet and air supplied by the bellows man marking time and closing the air vents with his feet on

the downward stroke while the spring of the stick raises the leather again as soon as the pressure has been released. A bamboo pipe taking off from each leads to a clay Y which joins the tuyere, one set being generally sufficient for each furnace though two are sometimes used. The blower's balance is often assisted by a sapling with one end sunk in the ground so that he can grasp the clear end with his hands.

The fire having been lit and charcoal blown up to a good heat the powdered ore is fed into the furnace with charcoal and in copper smelting either iron ore or kankar lime were used to flux the siliceous gangue. Considering the crude methods employed a remarkably clean slag resulted, but in two places where the ancients seem to have tried apatite-magnetite rock as a flux their metallurgy resulted in numerous small shots of copper remaining in the slag.

Immediately south of Goradi village is some stony undulating ground with spare vegetation, the knolls running towards the Dadi nallah. In a small hollow on one flank of the most easternly of these, just above a newly excavated tank, is a bed of solid laterite from 6 ins. to 2 ft. thick and about 60 ft. by 30 ft. in extent. A little way west of this bed three stones are stuck upright in the ground forming a rough line, the centre one protruding about 15 ins. and the other two 6 ins. each.

Both Hos and Mundas have from times immemorial been accustomed to mark their burial grounds in a similar manner by groups of monoliths, but these are as a rule anything from

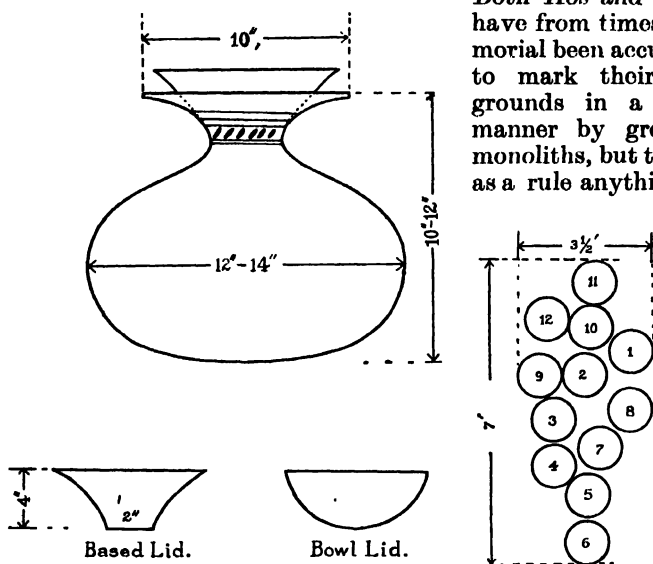


FIG. 2. Burial Urns, Goradi.

3 to 10 ft. high and large flat slabs of stone cover the earthenware pots that contain the remains of the bones of the dead.

These slabs may weigh anything from 1 to 15 cwt., though heavier are known, the size generally depending on the amount of influence the deceased possessed. At the present day, however, many of the Mundas have deserted this method for ordinary burial, the corpse being covered by earth over which any large stones lying around are laid, while the 'parkom', or string bed with wooden frame, belonging to the deceased is placed upside down on the top.

An open hole in the ground near the three standing stones being unusual, an investigation was undertaken when this was found to be a cemetery presumably of the ancient miners. Though stone slabs are easily procurable in the vicinity none covered the urns and digging proved that these people had been in the habit of stopping the mouths of at least some of the pots with a small clay bowl. Altogether twelve clay urns were



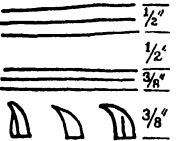
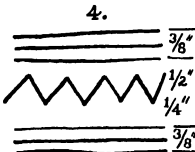
1.  1. Micaceous clay. Wide top. Few bones, charred.
2.  2. Micaceous clay. Wide top. Based lid. Many bones.
3.  3. Ordinary clay. Based lid. Many bones and piece of copper.
4.  4. Quartzose clay. Wide top. No lid.

FIG. 3(a). Urn Neck Patterns (1-4).

extracted on the south side of the stones, from a plot about 7 ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., in the hope of finding some relics that would give a clue to the times to which they belonged; but probably more exist here as well as on the opposite side of the stones.

The majority of the urns were made from a micaceous clay that seems to have been peculiar to the ancients and is no longer used, while the shapes and markings are more elaborate than at present. The pots varied in shape and size, being from 10 to

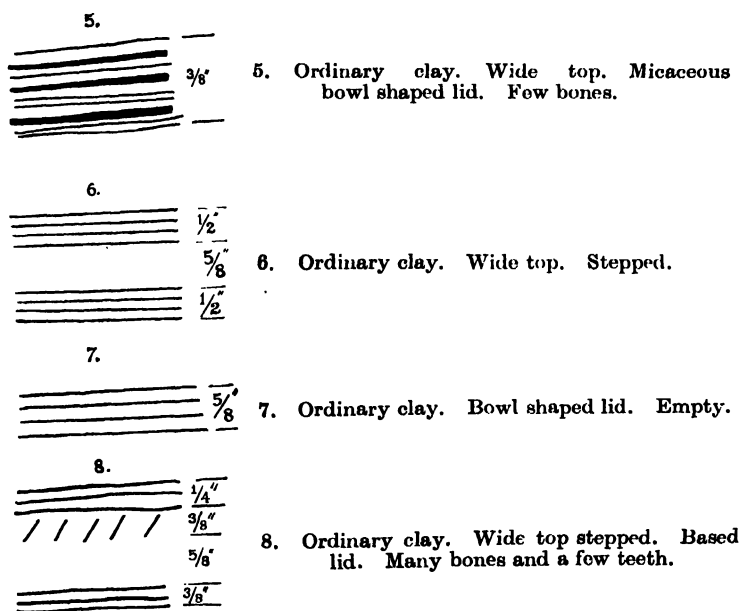


FIG. 3(b). Urn Neck Patterns (5-8).

12 ins. high and 12 to 14 ins. wide at their maximum, while the neck of each, which varied from 4 to 6 ins. in width, bore distinctive marks. Beyond broken bones, some of which seemed to be very slightly charred, some teeth and small pieces of copper oxidized to malachite, that may have been part of a chain, nothing was found. Owing to their broken state none of the urns could be preserved intact, but nearly all possessed widely turned back tops, while the small clay pots that filled the necks were of two kinds, one shaped like an ordinary bowl and the other with concave sides and a small flat base, the average size being about 8 ins. in diameter by 4 to 5 ins. deep.

A little way above the cemetery crushing stones of the usual type were fairly plentiful, while among them lay three neolithic celts and one flat stone about 15 ins. long by 7 ins. wide that had a groove caused by grinding. A portion had split off this stone at one end and both pieces had laterite attached to them along the sides of the crack. The nearest portion of the laterite bed is about 30 ft. away and there are

no means of ascertaining whether this has been formed since the ancients worked here or how far up the knoll it originally extended. Broken pieces of pottery lie about and in various places small heaps of slag, many pieces of which are cylindrical with

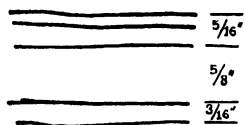



- 9.
- 
- 10.
- 
- 11.
- 
- 12.
- 

FIG. 3(c). Urn Neck Patterns (9-12).

vesicular surfaces and vary in size from about one inch to a quarter inch in diameter. Along with these are other pieces with semi-circular indentations which fit the cylinders, but the object and method of manufacture have still to be ascertained as well as the reason why such slag should be confined to this locality.

On the way from Kudada to Dadi, close to where the road crosses the railway line, occur two main lots and some scattered slag entirely different from the usual iron or copper slags of these parts. It varies considerably in colour, the greater portion being a light brown shading to the usual black, is porous and full of large cavities which look as though some crystalline

material formerly existing had since been leached out. In the darker material malachite stains are sometimes visible as well as long acicular crystals, which under the microscope are shown to be mullite. Both blue and white quartz veins occur in slate in this locality, while a tufa limestone deposit is found about half a mile to the west and small fragments of pottery with crushing and anvil stones are plentiful. For a long time the origin of this slag could not be determined until one day some years ago the writer was informed that beads had been made here in the distant past by a small old man who lived on Dhoba, the mountain above the village of Bonidi. Further enquiry elicited the information that they were sometimes found during the wet weather washed out of the ground and as the rains were then on, an immediate search was undertaken. The recently ploughed ground above the village soon produced some red and yellow beads, the former of which under the microscope proved to be made of a devitrified glass and the latter of terracotta, so the village children were put on to collect as many as they could. The result was that a supply started coming in and with the glass variety quite a number of polished stone ones. The majority of the composition beads are cylindrical and a brick red colour, varying in size from 13 mm. long by 6 mm. in diameter down to sections 5 mm. in diameter by 2 mm. thick, while some of the larger cylindrical pieces have been pressed flat before hardening and pinched near both ends, or cast to this shape. Nearly all the yellow beads hitherto found consist of sections which vary in size from 6 mm. in diameter by 2 mm. thick to 2 mm. in diameter by 0.75 mm. thick. Quite a number of blue and green beads also appeared, but these are generally roughly rounded and considerably more glassy than the others. The colouring matter of the blue and green beads is, as one would expect, copper, while an assay of the red devitrified glass ones gave results of 1.72% Cu and 1.68% Fe and the yellow ones also contained copper.

The stone beads are commonly made from carnelian, agate, onyx, or crystal either roughly rounded or flattened after the composition pattern, or faceted with eight or twelve faces, the last idea having doubtless been derived from quartz crystals. The largest bead is 23 mm. long by 16 mm. in diameter at the widest portion, diminishing to 6 mm. at the ends; while the rounded agate and jasper ones vary from 16 mm. in diameter. One quartz bead about 15 mm. long was shaped like a fang with a horizontal hole drilled through the thick end, while another one was a flattened hexagonal prism made of black hornstone and a third a cylinder of green epidote hornstone, both these rocks being establishable in the locality.

For threading, holes have been drilled from both ends and the alignment is frequently so faulty that these have scarcely met, the sizes varying from 1.5 mm. downwards. The means

and method of drilling have still to be ascertained, but supplies of kyanite-topaz-corundum rock are obtainable about 3 miles away, where a few stone implements have also been found. Lying among the relics of the beadmakers were two broken ringstones, one of a grit that occurs on the northern slope of the hills and the other of an iron-stained siliceous slate from the top of Dhoba Buru. Articles of baked clay were also found, the first a ball about 36 mm. diameter with a 6 mm. hole through the centre that served some undetermined purpose and a reel that probably once held the line on which the beads were threaded. Other items of interest were one white glass bead partially overlaid with beaten gold that had been stuck to the glass by lac, a piece of beaten gold lying in the soil and a portion of what looked like thick copper wire 40 mm. in length by 4 mm. in diameter. On cleaning up one end this was found to have a centre of red copper, an intermediate ring of black copper and an exterior of polished malachite. From the curve on it this may have been a portion of a bangle, or by cutting off slices and drilling out the red copper core it would have formed beads almost identical in shape to the smaller terracotta and stone sections. The only remaining article of interest was a pointed iron punch 75 mm. long and 20 mm. square, but of doubtful age.

The beads having been found scattered over the area it is impossible to say how they were strung in ancient times, but the greater portion of a necklace of col-de-chien length has been found with a burial urn and remains of bones near the village of Banabassa on the south side of Chandar Buru. This consisted of seven oblong and eleven rounded stone beads, nine flattened double-necked composition ones, one green one of same shape and one red cylindrical one 3 mm. wide by 5 mm. in diameter.

Stone beads of many types are recorded to have been found by Bruce Foote in Southern India, ascribed to Neolithic times, and on a comparison with those in the Madras Museum the writer has been able to find several similar to the Bonidi beads. Many neolithic beads seem to have forms common to both Europe and Asia, but the most striking discovery comes from a find from Montapalam in Pondicherry where the uncommon flattened barrel with lined ends shape occurs. A French authority¹ ascribes this type to Phoenician influence though the writer has hitherto only been able to find this form in beads from Mohenjo Daro and Ur and not among Phoenician beads in any museum visited.

Some years ago some rounded carnelian beads and a barrel-shaped onyx one were dug up at Kundrukocha not far from where the old gold workers' grinding stones are, and some of the

¹ Numa Lafitte—Rapport D'ensemble sur les Fouilles Exécutées dans le sud De L'Inde, Paris, 1932.

older men of the surrounding villages still have a few that have been picked up from time to time. More recently a trap ring-stone and various other stone implements have also been found in this locality, of types similar to those occurring on the copper belt and pointing to both the copper and gold workings having been made by the same people.

Following the copper belt eastwards, little of interest beyond old workings, occasional palaeoliths and cores and flakes, is to be found between Goradi and Rajdoha, or between this and Rakha Mines; but just beyond this last place on a spur that runs north from Sideswar we come to the ruins of Roamgarh, situated on the most elevated portion. This spur, which has a flat top, is exceedingly steep on all sides except where it is

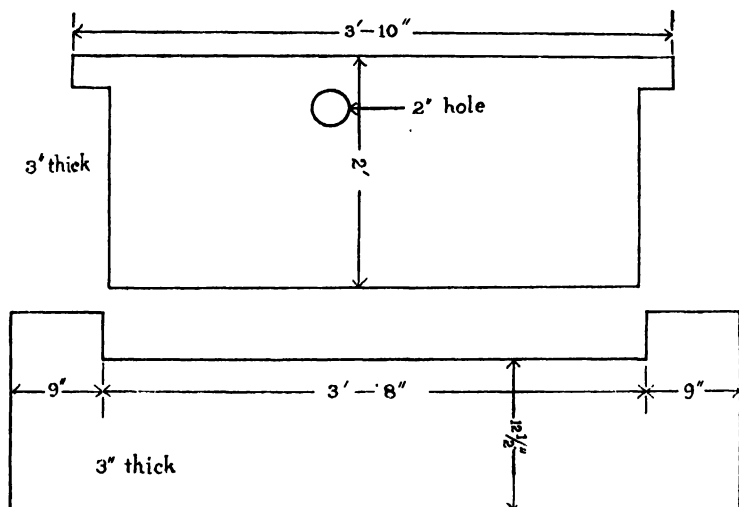


FIG. 4. Stone Door (?), Roamgarh.

joined to Sideswar by a thin owe neck, while covering the top and extending along the neck to where it commences to dip is the remnant of a thick bed of laterite which presents a vertical face of about 15 ft. to the slope on the west and what look like two or three 6-8 ft. terraces roughly cut out of the laterite to the north and east. The laterite bed extending along the neck has the appearance of a causeway, but comes to an abrupt end in a face about 15 ft. high, at which point the width has narrowed down to about 8 ft. The strength of the position from a defensive point of view, except where a supply of water is concerned, is very evident and the view commanded therefrom embraces all the flat country to the east, north and west

and the spurs around Sideswar to the south. On the highest part are the ruins of a circular brick-built watch-tower of which only some 5 ft. now remain, the rest of the brick walls lying scattered around and down the south-eastern slope of the hill. The bricks seem to be of two sizes lightly burned and mixed with rice straw, the smaller $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6 \times 3$ ins. and the larger about $20 \times 10\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ ins., but the length of the latter is uncertain as so far only broken fragments of these up to 15 ins. in length have been recovered. The circular tower, which is now filled with debris in the centre, is set on a brick plinth built on the laterite and covered by spear grass for the greater part of the year. The place is now the haunt of hyenas which have small passages through the laterite leading towards the tower and from the weathered material lying on the floor of these they probably at one time afforded access to chambers cut out of the laterite bed. Some years ago an attempt was made to clean the debris out of the watch-tower until a small hole put through was tested with a long drill and as this failed to find any bottom and liberated swarms of fleas, work was stopped. In 1926, the place was re-visited after a couple of years' absence, when two human skulls¹ were found lying on the flat ground near the northern entrance that had not been there previously. As the writer had been asked to collect skulls by W. P. Pycraft, these were submitted to him for measurement with the following results:

		Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Alveolar Index
No. 1..	..	73.4	48.0	101
No. 2..	..	72.3	57.4	102

Near the foot of the plinth on the south side was a flat piece of schistose quartzite sticking out of the ground, 5 ft. 2 ins. long, 14 ins. wide and 3 ins. thick with the central portion of one side cut away to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins., while close to it a piece of similar stone 2 ft. wide lay nearly covered by earth and broken bricks. On extraction it was found that the shorter side of this fitted the recessed portion of the other stone while the opposite side had a 1 in. pivot at either end and a circular hole 2 ins. in diameter about midway near the edge. Higher up on the flat ground below Sideswar is a slab of similar rock 10 ft. long by 2 ft. wide by 3 ins. thick, presumably intended for Roamgarh, but abandoned on the way and close to it, the writer picked up a broken stone postle and various crushing stones though here they are far from plentiful, as further west. Recently on cleaning out one of the ancient copper workings near Roamgarh thousands of pieces of pottery were uncovered

¹ These two skulls have been re-examined by Dr. B. S. Guha in 1935 through the courtesy of the Keeper of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, London, and a short note will be published in near future.—*Editor*.

in the refuse surrounding the shaft. The higher layers contained only red clay pottery similar to that used in modern times, but

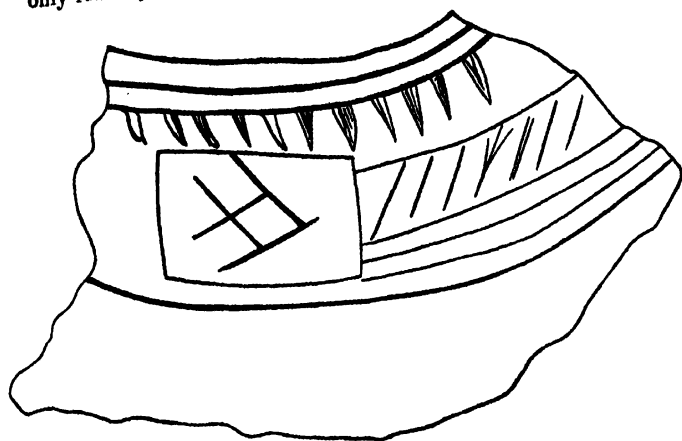


FIG. 5. Pottery, Roamgarh.

as the cut got deeper, this gave place to yellow and often to dark and nearly black pieces of superior manufacture and finally to the elaborately ornamented fragment illustrated. In the same locality was found the broken portion with moustache and eyes, the nose forming a spout used perhaps for pouring

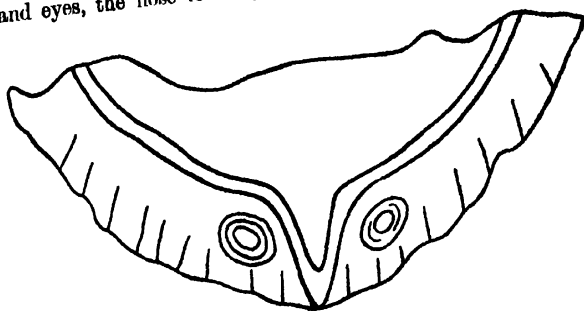


FIG. 6. Pottery, Roamgarh.

oil into the miners' lamps previously discovered in the vicinity. The eyes were black and shiny like slag and firmly fixed in the baked clay. The superior workmanship of the earlier workers was thus again clearly established.

Shrines.

South of Asanboni, near the bank of the Garrha Nallah, and north of Badia beyond Mosaboni in the central portion of the pergannah, are the remains of two similar shrines. When the writer first knew them many years ago both were deserted, but on subsequent visits to them the former was found to be occupied by a Hindu priest who had collected and replaced some of the scattered fragments. The walls, which had been roughly rebuilt to a height of 2-3 ft., were made of laterite blocks tongued and grooved in many cases to fit one another in one of two ways. The former was to leave a triangular tongue with one inclined and three vertical faces midway near one end that fitted a corresponding groove in another block while the other was to double mortise the centre of a block and have a tenoned piece to accord. Another piece of laterite in the shape

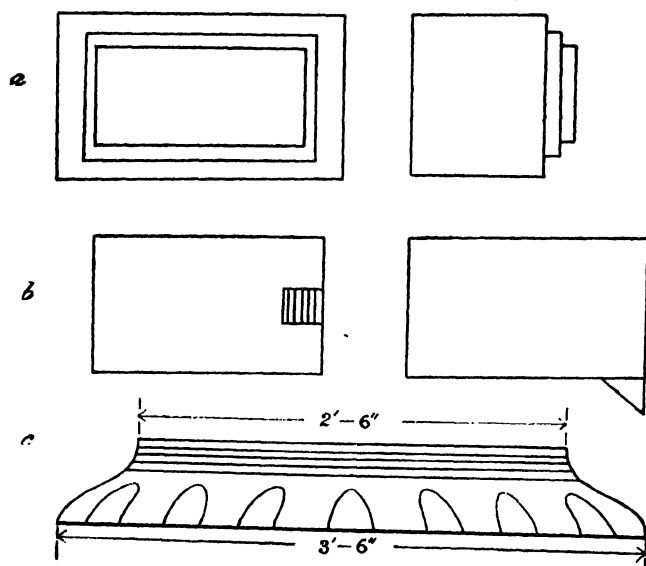


FIG. 7. Wayside Shrines. a and b Laterite building blocks.
c Pedestal.

of a circular pedestal bore rough carving being stepped near the top and bottom and curved in between. Among the relics dug up by the priest was a slab of hornblende schist about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, 1 ft. wide and 3 ins. thick that bore figures in twelve panels and ornamentation on either side of them. At the head was a wheel followed in the second panel by a kneeling human figure, a deer, an animal like a rhinoceros, a sitting

human figure, then a standing one, an elephant, a squatting human figure followed by one bending, two human figures, a female figure bending, and a female bust; after which the ornamentation ended in a large standing male figure whose legs and arms were in positions similar to Egyptian carvings, which occupied most of the end of the stone. Unfortunately during subsequent building operations this stone has disappeared. In addition to this were two phalli of similar rock

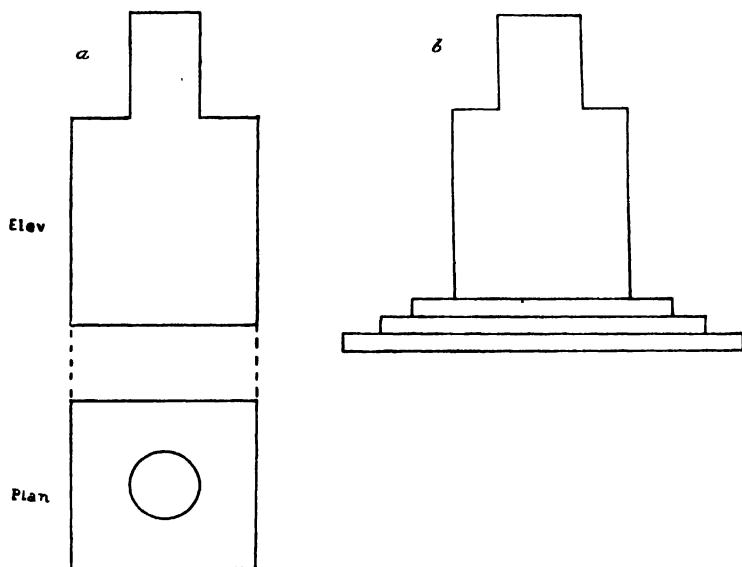


FIG. 8. Wayside Shrines, Asanboni.

and a square soapstone yogi with three projecting bands round the top, centre and bottom and a panel in the centre of two sides which bore a sitting figure, while the top, which was

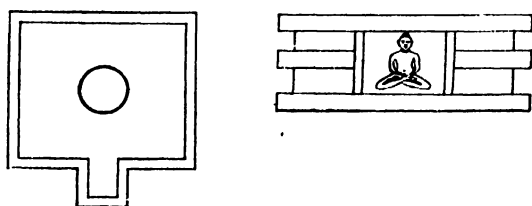


FIG. 9. Yogi.

recessed, had a spout and a circular boss in the centre level with the sides.

This shrine is in such disorder that it is necessary to refer to the one at Badia for a realization of how it formerly must have been. About a mile west of the village of Gohala and not far from the south bank of the Subarnarekha is a cluster of trees some of which seem to be growing from an elevation higher than the alluvial plateau that surrounds them and in the midst of them are the remains of a shrine with walls still standing to a height of 9-10 ft. The outside measurements are roughly 15 ft. wide by 16 ft. long, with the major axis and entrance facing east, and the walls 4 ft. thick made of rectangular laterite blocks of varying sizes; leaving an open space inside 7 ft. 9 ins. long by 7 ft. wide which was once paved with flat soapstone slabs, one of which bore carving in the centre that resembled a four-petalled flower. Two of the inside blocks of laterite, one on the south side of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide entrance and the other near the western end of the south wall have niches cut in them with lean to tops and straight sides and bottoms, which measure about 5 ins. by 5 ins. at the points of greatest dimension and are sunk 3 ins. into the stone. Outside close at hand is a circular pedestal of laterite about 3 ft. in diameter and 8 ins. thick stepped and carved in a similar manner to the one at Asanboni. Further away again and beside the path to Gohala is a rectangular carved soapstone pillar, with rounded head and neck, which projects about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the ground. The rounded head is ornamented by a ring near the top and vertical rolls while the rectangular portion which has 11 ins. sides at the top, increasing to 13 ins. at the bottom, has smoothed bands along each side $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide at the top and diminishing to 3 ins. towards the base so as to leave a roughly dressed panel in the centre. Beyond Kuyali on the road to Kundrukocha are the remains of a similar shrine, where the aborigines now offer sacrifices. The usual laterite pedestal and blocks of the same stone lie about or are enclosed in a mud hut covered by a roof of thatch. Remains of a fourth shrine also occur near the south bank of the Subarnarekha River in Mayurbhanj State near Baragora where a phallus has a metal 'nāg' coiled

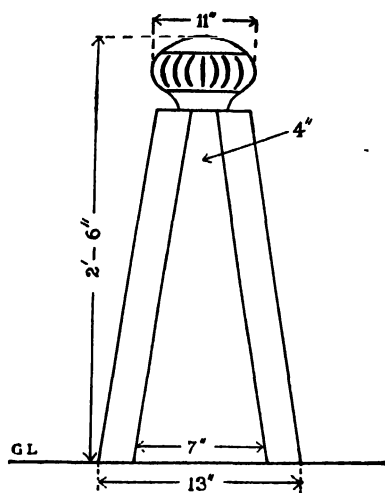


FIG. 10. Gohala Shrine - Soapstone Pillar.

enclosed in a mud hut covered by a roof of thatch. Remains of a fourth shrine also occur near the south bank of the Subarnarekha River in Mayurbhanj State near Baragora where a phallus has a metal 'nāg' coiled

around it. The usual laterite blocks and four pedestals, differing in size, lie around. Gravelly mentions the existence of several similar shrines in Ganjam and the northern Telegu country.¹

The ancient gold workers have left many traces of their industry in the southern part of the pergannah, and on the way from Kasibera to Kundrukocha is a large flat grinding stone with a few other slabs of rock which cover clay pots containing broken bones and must have been brought there by a succeeding generation that marked this burial ground by three upright monoliths. The largest collection of grindstones is found in the jungle along the western side of the nallah that comes down from Porojarna and Kerriam where several hundred stones must have been in use; while the next largest of about 100 stones is east of the two Putra shafts, being separated from them by a ridge and nallah which descend from the hills forming the Mayurbhanj boundary. Another lot of about 50 occurs further east where the Rangra spur joins the boundary range and nearly all of the three lots of stones seem to have originated from a band of fine-grained trap that runs up the nallah past the back of Porojarna Hill until it is lost near Putra South shaft in the main range. Why the ancients should have gone to the trouble of carrying heavy stones for about a quarter of a mile over rough country and away from water to the Rangra spur is not evident unless old workings still remain to be discovered in this vicinity. The only other large accumulation of stones occurs to the east of Mangru; and though rock and water are handy here this seems to have even less cause for its existence as no old workings have been found within a mile of the collection. In the circumstances the writer has come to the conclusion that the gold workers, coming from the north, fixed this, being in an open position and comparatively healthy, as their base from which to test the surrounding country, which in those days must have been covered by dense jungle and have had more than sufficient tigers, leopards and bears to add interest to a miner's life. As malaria is also unusually prevalent in these parts in the hills and elephants are not uncommon, the lot of the early workers cannot have been all that could be desired. The grinding stones are almost always made of trap, though occasional ones of quartzite or hornstone are met with, from 2-3 ft. long, 12-16 ins. wide and 4-9 ins. thick. A few that have been wide enough to take two grooves with a dividing ridge on each side are known, as well as one nearly rectangular stone about 3 ft. long by 1 ft. wide and deep that had a groove along each of the four sides and took four coolies to carry, but the regular weight is from 30-60 lbs. Generally both sides were used and grooves worn lengthwise by the forward and

¹ An Outline of Indian Temple Architecture, F. H. Gravelly.

backward movement of a stone muller held in one hand on material that had received a preliminary crushing, sometimes from the back of the muller stone or more often from a stone specially for this purpose. As no anvil stones are found, the same block must have been used for both purposes, the process being continued until the stone cracked with the hammering or a hole was worn through the centre of the grooves. Near the upper end of the largest lot of stones, below Porojarna where the trap widens, a large block on the outcrop has been used for grinding *in situ*, but this is unique in this locality.

The main old workings are found at Porojarna, Kerriam, Rangra and Suraigora while others exist on Jhik, Chailom, Gande and Bin Dungri (dungri = hill), and metal tools would seem to have been mainly used for mining as only three or four doubtful hornstone chisels and one doubtful trap hammerstone have been found, apart from those in the bottom of the Porojarna workings. Had copper been used, some of these implements would probably have survived the passage of time, whereas iron must have been lost by oxidation, so the main work here must have been done during the iron age and probably later than the commencement of that on the copper belt. The finding of stone beads and a ringstone similar to those at Bonidi show that this art was known to the early workers, but if copper slag formed the base of the glass beads, as seems probable and the stone ones were made in the locality, it is not surprising that they are not to be found here as the nearest copper slag is about 20 miles distant.

A place, that might lead to further relics, occurs near Saggora, over the border in Mayurbhanj, where an ancient shaft has a circular stairway leading down to stopes. The bottom of the shaft was filled with debris and countless pieces of earthenware pots, presumably broken while dealing with the water in the stopes. Unfortunately only some of the debris had been cleared in 1917 before orders were received to stop all work and nothing further has been done, though desirable from both mining and archaeological interests.

Summarizing the evidence at present available regarding the ancient workers we have the following:

1. Coins of the third to fifth centuries A.D. near Roamgarh;
2. Tradition and history;
3. Roamgarh and remains of shrines;
4. Burial urns and other pottery;
5. Beads;
6. Palaeolithic and Neolithic tools.

The only definite date that can be fixed from the above at present is that of the Kushan type coins, found in a clay burial

urn with fragments of bones at Rakha Mines, so that the workings must date at least from this period. From the projections left on the sides of the coins these were probably unused and must have been cast in rows in a mould. Similar coins have been discovered south of Chaibassa and in various parts of the districts of Ganjam, Puri and Balasore as well as in the State of Mayurbhanj. If we examine Indian history at the times indicated by the coins, we find that the Kushan empire started to break up with the death of Vasudeva around 220 A.D. and any influence that they had over Eastern India had disappeared by the middle of the third century. Chandragupta, the founder of the succeeding Gupta empire in the fourth century, married a princess of the Licchavi clan who had Thibetan connections so that either he, or his son Samudragupta, could easily have obtained technical assistance from the Chinese had they required it in the working of the copper mines. In any case, there was considerable trade between India and China over centuries through the port of Tamluk.

Coming next to the legend of the Jains this is as indefinite as the Chinese connection, the religion dating from the sixth century B.C. and continuing down to the tenth century A.D., or 300 years after the time of Harsha, who was visited by Hiuen Tsiang and sent and received missions to and from China. Again, Chota Nagpur formed part of the empire of Asoka, who as a true Buddhist honoured all sects, so that there is no reason why the lay Jains should not have worked the mines during his reign and added to the riches of his empire. On examining the records left by Megasthenes of his sojourn at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Asoka, more light is thrown on the state of India in those times. The capital of Magadha, the ancient city of Pataliputra, was about 9 miles in length by $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth, defended by a moat fed by the river Son and timber pallisade that had 570 towers and 64 gates; gold, silver, copper, pearls and precious stones were abundant, some of the gold basins being as much as 6 ft. in diameter while many vessels, definitely stated to have been made of Indian copper, were set with precious stones. During his reign woodcutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners were subject to special supervision, while punishment for Brahmans who offended included, being sent to the mines for life. As men, it seems, could not be wholly relied upon, the king had an Amazonian bodyguard obtained by purchase from foreign countries. Jain tradition affirms that he was of their faith and that following a twelve years' famine he abdicated, becoming a Yogi or ascetic. The nearest copper mines of any size to the capital are those of Baragunda in the Hazaribagh district and Singhbhum, so that it seems probable that they furnished at least some of the copper of the vessels used at the court.

Some of the Śāisunāga dynasty, which preceded that of the Mauryas, are also considered to have been Jain and both the Mahāvamsa and Hiuen Tsiang refer to the last of this line as being the possessor of great wealth and being so hated that he was finally deposed. Stoehr and Durrschmidt have left records of a tank below Roamgarh being attributed to the Jains and the fort of Roamgarh having been built by a Raja who spoke two tongues (do jib). Dalton, however, considers this to mean that he belonged to a serpent (Nāg or Nāga) race, meaning the Kols and it may not merely be a coincidence that the Nandas were of Śūdra origin, having usurped the throne from the former higher caste rulers.

The only other earlier historical reference throws no light on the copper workings, but records that under Darius the Asiatic satrapy used to pay as annual tribute of 360 Euboic talents of gold dust to the Persian empire, or the equivalent of about a million sterling on a normal pre-inflation basis. If burial urns similar to those occurring in Singhbhum could be found in other parts of India and some definite date be assigned to them, a further link in the chain could be forged, but at present this link remains incomplete, as the urns discovered by Laffitte¹ near Pondicherry bear no similarity either in size or markings to those of Dhalbhum. A question that remains unanswered is—why should each urn in the Goradi burial ground have a distinctive neck marking; was a record thus kept of those whose bones each contained and, if so, with what purpose?

A comparison of the beads from Bonidi with those from other places shows that many of the types are almost identical with those recently unearthed at Ur and those from Khorsabad that were in the Louvre. The most striking instances of similarity to Ur are the flattened barrel-shaped stone beads with lined ends, and the terracotta sections, the second shape being also found in Egyptian beads and the first at Mohenjo Daro. The table on p. 103 gives some of the beads found at Bonidi and compared with those in the British Museum, the Louvre and a few from Mohenjo Daro with the dates assigned to those from Ur. Unfortunately few of the beads from Mohenjo Daro have been accessible to the writer in Calcutta or that column would doubtless have more entries, while the Āzamgarh beads are confined to the exhibit in the British Museum. If any connection can be placed on the Ur dates for similar beads at Bonidi, the working of copper in this locality would be carried a large step backward and the connection of stone implements with the manufacture of the beads and the working of the copper would confirm their antiquity.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

	Bon.	Khor.	Phoen.	Sumer.	Ur	M.D.	Azam.	Ur. date B.C.
Blunt end double hexagon ..	S	S	..	S	S	..	..	..
Blunt end round ..	S & DG	S	..	..	S	..	TC	2000
Round ..	S	S	S	..	..	..	S	..
Round with central ridge ..	S	S	S	S	S	..	..	1400
Flattened barrel plain ends ..	S	S	S	S	..	..	S	..
Do. lined ..	S & DG	..	..	..	S	S	..	2000
Cylindrical ..	S & DG	S	..	..	S	..	S	2000
Sections ..	S & TC	S	..	S	TC	..	..	600
Barrel-shaped ..	S	S	S	S	..	..	S	..
Rough, round or flattened ..	S	..	..	..	S	..	..	1900
Fang shape ..	S	..	S	..	..	..	S	..

S = Stone, DG = Devitrified glass, TC = Terracotta.

The dates assigned to the Sumerian beads in the Louvre are from 3000 to 2500 B.C. As glass beads seem to be mainly confined to Bonidi no comparison of these has been possible and bead types unique to Bonidi have been omitted.

It may be argued that the civilization of the present inhabitants of the district is so little removed from that of the stone age that relics of this betoken no great antiquity, but against this may be set the facts that we have one fairly definite date, that all accounts of the working have been lost and that they are to-day quite incapable of doing what has been done in the past. A comparison of the present-day crude open-cast soapstone plate workings with the ordered circular shafts and stopes of the ancients show how much the earlier civilization was in advance of the present, while the smelting of copper and manufacture of beads are not likely to have been entirely lost had they originated, or been common practice, among the tribes of the district in comparatively recent times. The ancient civilizations that existed at Ur, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro seem to have many features in common that can only have originated through intercourse and time may prove that these influences extended further eastwards than has been thought.

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FIG. 1. Gold Crushing Stones, Kundrukocho.



FIG. 2. Gold Crushing Stones,
Bhitar Dadi.



FIG. 3. Ancient Copper Working,
Baragora.



FIG. 1. Ancient Soapstone Workings, Bhitar Dadi (North).



FIG. 2. Soapstone Outcrop, Bhitar Dadi (South).



FIG. 3. Remains of Stone Mining Tools, Talsa.



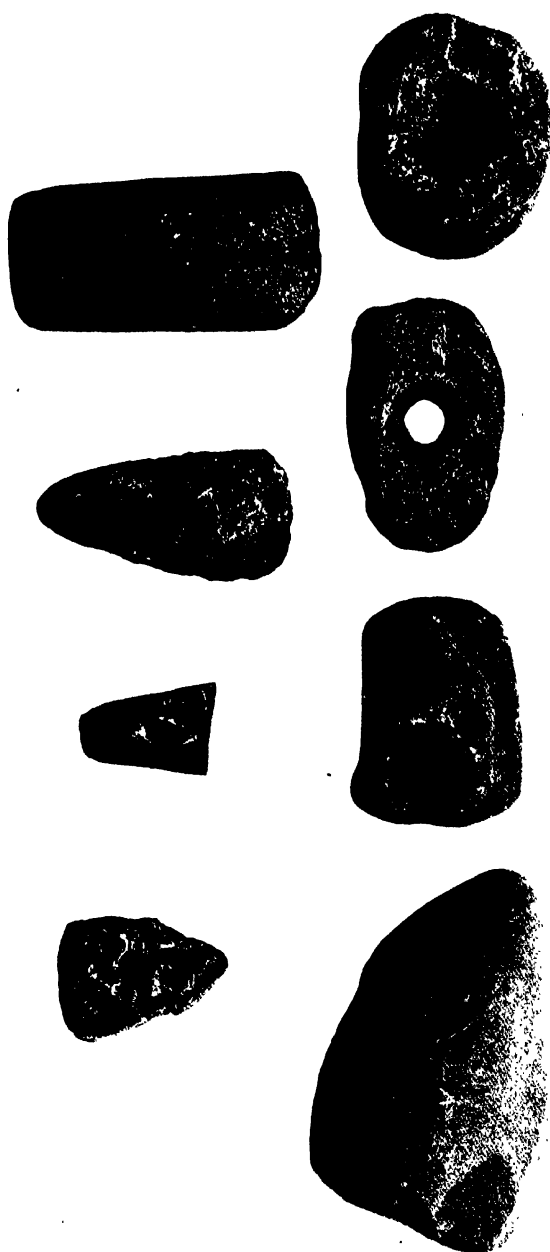
FIG. 4. Cores and Flakes of Quartz and Hornstone, Banabassa.



FIG. 2. 'The Widow', near Kalikapur.



FIG. 1. Shrine and Pillar near Gohala.



Stone Implements from India, Talsa.

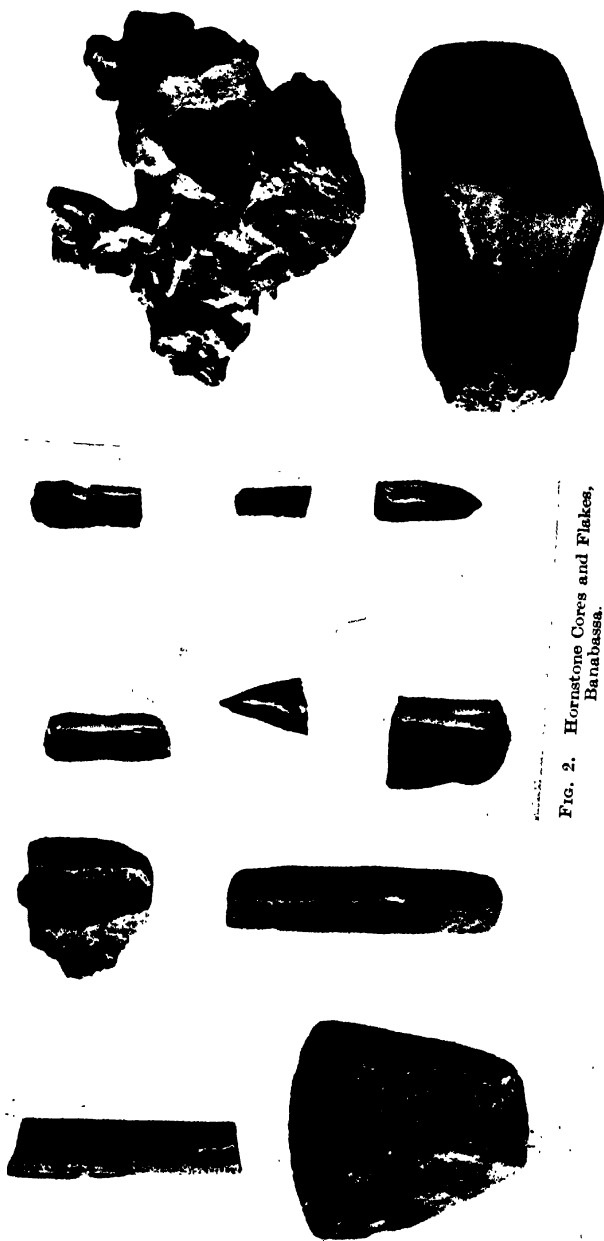


FIG. 1. (1) Stone Axe head.
(2) Cylindrical Slag and Core, Goradi.

FIG. 2. Hornstone Cores and Flakes,
Banabassa.

FIG. 3. (1) Bead Slag, Bonidi.
(2) Broken Pestle, Rakha.

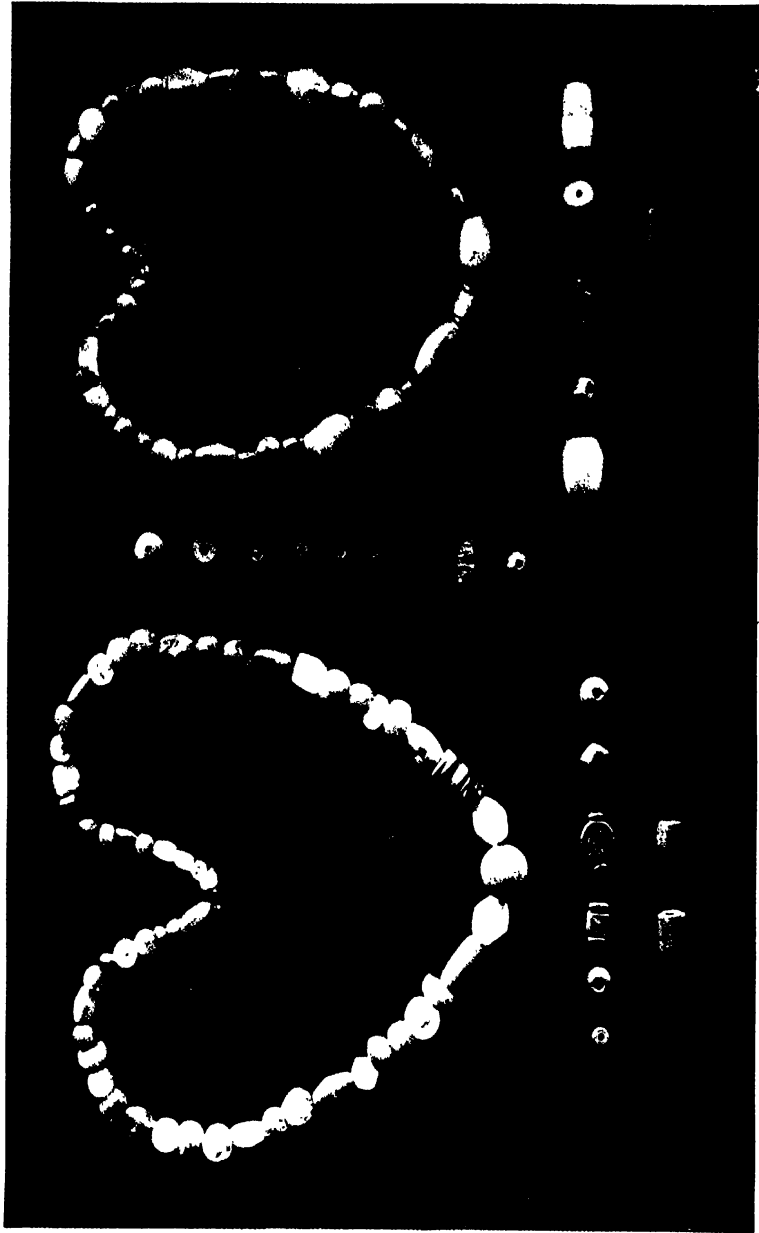


Photo of Beads.

Panegyric of Malaivamma.¹

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

The panegyric which consists of eighty-four verses is a rather unique one. The verses form part of a Tantric work² which deals with *Yantras* or symbolic diagrams. The description in it of each *Yantra* is concluded by a verse describing the author's patron or one of his ancestors, children or relatives referred to as having obtained success through the worship of the *Yantra* under description. It is gathered from these verses that Malaivamma, the patron of the panegyrist, who ruled over the hilly country called Rukma, situated on or near the mountain called Tākama, was the son of Ghanaśyāmamalla and Pārvaṭī (daughter of Virabhadra) and grandson of Sāhamalla. It is stated that he married Mahalavasantā, daughter of Dalasāhi and Subhadrā, whose dominions lay on the hill called Khāñci. As many as seven sons were born to the king each of whom has a verse devoted to him. The magnanimity of the king, especially with reference to the author, is extolled and it is definitely asserted that he gave to Premanidhi, the author of the work mentioned above, considerable property and a house in Benares. It is further stated that he consecrated a temple to god Śiva at the confluence of the Maṅgalā and the Gaṇḍakī. He also secured the release of the king of Mustān who was made prisoner in Kākavenī by Jumaliśvara. Incidentally the panegyric gives a detailed genealogical account of Malaivamma going as far back as his eleventh ancestor and as far down as his grandsons.

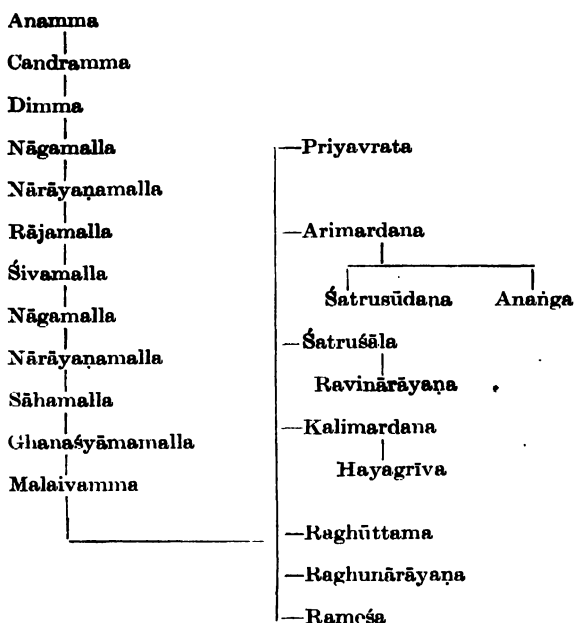
¹ Malaivamma was the king of a principality in Nepal which was later on conquered by the Gorkhas. The country ruled by him was included in the Chaubisi states of the Sapt Gandaki Pradesh of the present kingdom of Nepal. A short but imperfect history of the rulers of this place is given by Hamilton (*Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, etc., Edinburgh, 1819, pp. 269-72).

I am indebted for this information to Mr. Suryavikrama Gewali, author of *The Life of Prithvinarayan Shah*, published by the Nepal Sahitya Sammelan.

² This is a commentary on the *Yantra* section of the *Śivātāṇḍava* (Chapters XII-XIV). The RASB possesses two MSS. of the work—one complete and the other incomplete.

One MS. of the work was described by Prof. Peterson (*Cat. Sans. MSS. Uwar* No. 2389), but he made no reference to these verses. Pandit Narayana Shastri Khiste also has taken no notice of them in his article on *The Life and Works of Premanidhi* (*Nāgaripracārīṇī Patrikā*, Vol. VI, 1982 V.S., pp. 371-379).

The genealogical table may be constructed thus on the authority of these verses:—



The author of this panegyric was Premanidhi Pantha who hailed from Kūrmācala or Kumaon. It is learnt from the concluding verses of his works that he was the son of Umāpati and Udyotamati and was a worshipper of Kārtavīrya. Little is known about his life and family. We are told that he had sorrowful bereavements in his family. He lost his beloved wife at a comparatively young age. It seems he thereupon left his ancestral home and came to be settled in Benares where on the completion of his commentary on the *Śivatāṇḍava*, he was given considerable property and a house by his patron and disciple Malaivammadeva. Reference is made to two daughters of his—Mahālakṣmī and Kanakā. This much of his personal history may be gathered from his commentary on the *Śivatāṇḍava*¹ in which he incidentally describes his patron and makes reference to himself.

1 चत्वारिप्रचुरं हिमांशुवचिरं सौभाग्ययुक्तं यत्
 पूर्वं संहरतो यमस्य व्रतशो दुष्कीर्तिरेव स्मिरा ।
 सत्तारिप्रचुरं कुष्मांशुवचिरं सौभाग्यपूर्णं यत्
 यत्कथं हि मया पुनर्भवतमं त्रीमन्मलैवकथनः ॥ १ ॥
 मयेत्यन्तदा ज्येष्ठभार्यावियुक्तः प्रकृतप्रत्यक्षतां विवक्षितः ।

It appears from the introductory verses of the *Sudarśanā*¹ (commentary on the *Tantrarājatantra*) that he had a third wife, Prāṇamañjarī by name, who composed the commentary in memory of her son called Sudarśana. The name of the father and the mother of this wife are given as Harṣadeva and Harṣamati.

The time when he flourished is roughly indicated by the references to dates of composition given in some of his works. We are told that he composed the *Mallādarśa* and the *Dīpa-prakāśa* in 1648 Ś.E., *Prthvipremodaya* and the commentary on the *Śāradātīlaka* in 1659 Ś.E., the *Jagatpremodaya* in 1663 Ś.E., the *Prāyascittapradīpa* in 1675 Ś.E. This would point to the second quarter of the eighteenth century together with a portion of the third as the period of his literary activities.

Premanidhi was the author of a good many works on Tantra and Smṛti. He himself refers to some of them. He mentions six works of him at the end of his commentary on the *Śāradātīlaka*, and three at the end of the *Śabdaprakāśa*, while the *Mallādarśa* incidentally refers to the *Bhaktitarāṅgiṇī*. In the descriptive catalogue and the lists of his works based on them as given by Aufrecht and Kane different portions of the same work appear to have in some cases been indicated as separate

किञ्च, २ २ पाप कृतान्त मांसमयमद्भेदापहारात्त्वया

भुक्तिर्मेऽपहृता कृता वत महालक्ष्मीय निर्मातका ।

काश्चानेव मया दृक्कथयन्ते प्राप्ते मल्लैवन्मते

विन्यस्तापरमातृके किञ्च महालक्ष्मीवरो वासितः ॥ २ ॥

महालक्ष्मीय प्रत्यकर्तुः कन्योक्ता । अपि च,

पिशितमथयन् किं मृत्युना भुक्तिबीजं

दृतममज्जमकस्मादस्मदेकाग्रितस्य ।

इति महालक्ष्मीयुग्म मल्लैवन्मदेवो

दृढकनकसुमुक्तायुक्तमेवं ददाति ॥ ३ ॥

प्रत्यकर्तुर्द्वितीया कन्या यदि कनकापदेन विवक्षिता तदा दृढा कनका यन्नेत्यर्थोऽपि सम्भवति । अन्यच्च,

किं स्वर्ग्यसुखो तव धर्मराजता वत्सादुद्यौता मदुपात्रयेव हि ।

त्रौमन्मल्लैवन्मदपेक्ष केवला कृतान्तताम्रेव ततः प्रकुण्डलि ॥ ४ ॥

Fol. 37B of the MS. described under ASB. VIII, 6817. Also cf. the last verse of the panegyric.

¹ *Nāgarīpracārīṇī Patrikā*, N.S., Vol. VI (1982 V.S., p. 376, f.n.). The commentary is also attributed to Premanidhi (Cat. Cat. I. 222, II. 46). A portion of the commentary is preserved in a fragmentary manuscript described in ASB. VIII. 6819. An edition of its first chapter on the basis of one imperfect manuscript belonging to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta, 1940).

works. The same work has also sometimes been referred to under different titles. A brief account of the works on which more or less definite information is available is given below:—

1. *Prayogarātnākara* deals with the rites in connection with the worship of Kārtavīrya. No complete MS. of the work is known. Portions of the work found scattered in different parts of the country made it difficult to form an idea of the exact nature of the work. Eggeling in his India Office Catalogue (I.O. IV. 2595) frankly acknowledges this difficulty. A MS. of the concluding portion of the work belonging to the old collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal contains a detailed list of contents and thus indicates its extent and reveals its identity. It is gathered therefrom that the work is complete in three parts, each divided into several chapters. The Government Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the RASB contains a MS. of the first three chapters of the second part of the work while MSS. containing the first nine chapters of the first part and the last three of the third part are found respectively in the India Office (I.O. IV. 2595) and the old collection of the Society (No. I.E. 54). Several other chapters, not identified heretofore, are also found scattered in different places. Thus the old collection of the Society contains MSS. of the last chapters of Book II as also first and second chapters of Book III (Nos. I.E. 52 and III. D. 65). A MS. of the first chapter of the last Book has already been described in ASB. III. 2412 and Nep., II., p. 141.

2. *Prthvīpremodaya*¹ (composed in 1659 Ś.E.). The last section of the work appears to deal with *Prāyaścitta*. A fragment of a work on *dāna* found along with the Society's incomplete MS. of the *Mallādarśa* may not unlikely belong to this work one section of which deals with *dāna*.

3. *Jagatpremodaya* (ASB. III. p. 189). The work was composed in 1663 Ś.E. This, at least a part of it, deals with *Prāyaścitta*.

4. *Prāyaścittapradīpa* (composed in 1675 Ś.E.)². A work of the same name composed in 1654 Ś.E. is also attributed to the patrons of Premanidhi—Malaivamma and his wife. A MS. of this work is reported to exist in the library of Rajguru Hemraj of Nepal³.

5. *Dīpaprakāśa* (ASB. VIII. 6511). The work deals with the rite of dedicating lamps to Kārtavīrya. The topic also covers the first chapter of the last Book of the *Prayogarātnākara*.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for kindly supplying me with a description of the fragmentary MS. of the work belonging to the Institute.

² Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (p. 713). The concluding verses of the Commentary on the *Śārādātīlaka* refers to the work.

³ I am indebted for this information to Mr. Suryavikram Gewali of Darjeeling.

6. *Śabdaprakāśa* (ASB. VIII. 6511A). This constitutes a commentary by the author himself on his *Dīpaprakāśa*.

7. *Bhaktitarāṅgiṇī* or *Bhaktatarāṅgiṇī* referred to in the *Mallādarśa* as well as at the end of the *Śabdaprakāśa*.

8. Commentary on the *Śāradātīlaka* which is stated to have been composed in 1737 A.D. and a MS. of which is mentioned by Stein in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir (p. 237).

9. Commentary on the *Śaktisaraṅgamatantra* (Cat. Cat. I. 364, 623).

10. *Mallādarśa*, a commentary on the *Yantra* section of the *Śivatāṇḍava*. The RASB possesses two MSS. of a work of this name—one of which refers to Premanidhi as its author, while the other, which is incomplete, is bigger but anonymous and has slight occasional agreements with the former. The MSS. are described in ASB. VIII. 6817, 5971. Though the name of the author is not indicated in the latter MS., it has most of the introductory verses of the former and it refers to other works of the author in terms that clearly point to Premanidhi as its author as well¹. The date of composition of the work is stated to be 1648 Ś.E. (Khiste, *op. cit.*, p. 374).

The verses of the panegyric of which only the first one is found in the portion preserved in the incomplete MS. (Fol. 123A of the MS. described under ASB. VIII. 5971 where it is wrongly attributed to Ghanaśyāma-malla) are published below on the basis of the complete MS. (ASB. VIII. 6817). It will be noticed that the verses are full of corrupt readings which cannot be corrected without the help of other MSS. It is however expected that the published text, though corrupt, will be helpful in the study of the history of the Varmanas of Nepal.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE PAPER.

ASB.—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts belonging to the Government Collections in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Cat. Cat.—Catalogus Catalogorum, by T. Aufrecht.

I.O.—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, by Eggeling.

Nep.—Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Shastri.

TEXT OF THE PANEGYRIC.

- Fol. 24A, विविधतरनराचां पाछने भूरिचा[भा]रो
हरिहरसमर्चाचेतसो नैककस्य ।
भवति सदनयोग्यो हीतिकान्ताडितोयः
समवति नरलोकं श्रीमल्लैवमभूषः ॥ १ ॥
- 26A, मङ्गलपदमुपात्तं भाषया नेहराने
सततमिह वसन्तस्तृहपातोऽष्टवैषा ।
स्वयुतन्दपतिदत्ते तत्र वाङ्मावसन्त-
स्त्रिनिमङ्गलवसन्ता नाम राक्ष्साः कृतायेम् ॥ २ ॥
- 26B, अक्षुत्तरस्यां दिशि दक्षिणामको
देशस्तत्साकमसंज्ञपर्वते ।
आनमभूपास्तपुःसमाश्रितो
मत्ता प्रजाः पालयति स्य केशवः ॥ २ ॥
- 27B, चन्द्रमामन्दपतिर्द्विजवृन्दविद्यात्
तत्तद्विनोदविनिवेदितभूरिवित्तः ।
आनमभूपतनयः सकलाः प्रजा यः
स्नानन्दिताः किञ्च चकार नकारसुखः ॥ ४ ॥
- 28A, चन्द्रमभूपादुद्भूदपूर्वी
राजाधिराजः किञ्च दिग्गमासा ।
यस्मिन् मर्हो भासति नाकवाक्का-
दरिद्रताभूदखिलेऽपि लोके ॥ ४ ॥
- 28B, श्रीदिग्मभूपास्तुतस्तपूर्वी गुप्तेरभूदभूपतिनाममङ्गः ।
नामः प्रजा अस्य कदापि चक्रुः सुनौतिकेतुस्तदयं तु नामः ॥ १ ॥
- 29A, श्रीनाममङ्गादुपमादरिद्रो
बभूव नारायणमङ्गभूषः ।
यस्मिन् क्षितौ तिष्ठति देवलोको
लक्ष्म्या विहीनोऽभवदाग्नशोकः ॥ ७ ॥
- 29B, बभूव नारायणमङ्गभूषतः श्रीराजमङ्गः क्षितिपालकापधौः ।
प्रजात्रजारक्षकर्मतो भृशं राजेतिनामार्थयुतं चकार यः ॥ ८ ॥
- 30A, श्रीराजमङ्गतनयो विनयान्मुराशिः
सन्मानिताखिलधरासुरकावतंसः ।
स्त्रीयप्रतापपरितापितवैरिसार्थं
आसीदसौमगुचकः शिवमङ्गभूषः ॥ ९ ॥

- Fol. 30B, नरपतिशिवमहादुद्गतो नाममहाः
 क्षितिपतिवरमौलिप्रसूतद्रुमभूतः ।
 निजगुणमयैरद्वितीयो द्वितीयः
 सकलवधिरगोष्ठीलागतः स्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ १० ॥
- 31A, बभूव नारायणमज्जभूपो द्वितीय उर्वीपतिवन्द्यपादः ।
 यो नाममहास्य पितुर्वियोगं विस्मारयामासतरां प्रजाजाम् ॥ ११ ॥
- 31B, अस्मिन् नृपाक्षरमाकरे तु वंशार्चवे तस्मात् ।
 विद्वज्जीवेतो जातः श्रीपादमजेन्दुः ॥ १२ ॥
- 32A, घनश्याममज्जो घनश्याममग्नौ
 नृपः कोऽप्यभूत् साहजमज्जवि[क्षि]तीन्द्रात् ।
 वदीयप्रजानां विषादः शिवाग्नौ
 परो नीतिसङ्गादनौमिष मङ्गात् ॥ १३ ॥
- 32B, घनश्याममज्जक्षितीन्द्रस्य पुत्रो
 नृपः श्रीमलैवश्यामास सुरङ्गः ।
 हरिर्वा रविर्वा विधुर्वा सरो वे-
 त्यहं सर्वधर्मः सतां संशयच्छा ॥ १४ ॥
- 33A, हरिमदनशशाङ्कस्त्रुभान्वादिशङ्का-
 परिकृतिकरणाय श्रीमलैवश्यापत्यौ ।
 इह महत्प्रसन्ना नाम हृत्वेन्दुरैव
 प्रविभवति धरायामर्थिसार्थार्थहेतुः ॥ १५ ॥
- 33B, श्रीमन्मलैवश्यानृपाक्षरुमवः
 सद्योदराः सप्त मताश्चिरायुषः ।
 प्रियव्रतक्षेत्रे कुमार आदिमः
 कुमारमारादिविजिदुरः ॥ १६ ॥
- 34A, पुत्रोऽसावरिमर्दनो नरपतेराक्षोऽद्वितीयो गुणै-
 राद्यः सद्ब्रविमयादिना निजवशीभूतोभवदुविश्वकः ।
 योऽरीषां बलतः प्रतापदहनव्याघ्रोपशान्यादितः
 सत्प्रज्ञैररिमर्दनेत्यभिधया संयोजितः सार्धकः ॥ १७ ॥
- 34B, गुणैर्युतथापि गुणैर्मितस्य श्रीमन्मलैवश्यानृपाक्षजातः ।
 अथेन नाम्ना च स शत्रुशालः शत्रुार्थकं शास्त्रमिदं लिख्यते ॥ १८ ॥
- 35A, कश्चिमर्दननामाक्षे तूर्यः श्रीराजसत्पुत्रः ।
 कश्चियुगविभवजयायानुत्पत्त्यान्वर्थसंज्ञोयम् ॥ १९ ॥
- 36A, भवति रघुतनामा पुत्रः श्रीभूपवर्यस्य ।
 यः संख्यायापि कान्था धत्ते कन्दर्पमानवम् ॥ २० ॥

- Fol. 38A, रघुनारायणनामा राजकुमारो जयति षष्ठः ।
 आनन्दार्जितदुःखध्वानो रविरिव हि यन्मम ॥ ११ ॥
- 38B, भानुचन्द्रवह्निकर्षसमुद्रश्चित्यनङ्गमुचवानिति किं च ।
 सप्तमः क्षितिपतेस्तु कुमारः त्रौरनेश उदितश्च रनेशः ॥ १२ ॥
- 39A, त्रीमङ्गुपास्तनयादरिमर्दनाख्याद्
 अभ्युदगतो बुध इवात्र सुधाग्रदेष्टात् ।
 यः शत्रुसूदनपदेन गतः प्रसिद्धिं
 स ख्यादरातिमयनेन यथार्थनामा ॥ १३ ॥
- 39B, अरिमर्दनराजेन्द्रकुमारस्यापरः सुतः ।
 अण्डनामा सध्वजशिरोमणिराप्रथोः ॥ १४ ॥
- 40A, रविनारायणनामा पुत्रः त्रीशनुशास्त्रस्य ।
 रविनारायणतेजा बोधूयाङ्गहरिकवशातः ॥ १५ ॥
- 40B, कलिसर्दभनाम्नोऽसि पुत्रो नाम्ना जयपीवः ।
 भवतु जयपीवकपावणेन तज्जम्बवस्वाद्यः ॥ १६ ॥
- 41A, मङ्गलामण्डकौसङ्गमे पुण्यदेशे
 श्रद्धया साधुभिर्दर्शितेनाध्वनैव ।
 यः क्लिप्तोमापतेर्पावजं सङ्गं चक्रो
 तन्मलैवप्यतो नित्यसौख्यास्तु शुभो ॥ १७ ॥
- 41B, कक्षात् स्वर्गं त्रिदशाः समस्ताः
 शिखास्तकपा विहिता हिता नः ।
 इतीव वध्नाति हि मण्डकीं द्राक्
 त्रीमल्लैवप्यन्तलोकशास्ता ॥ १८ ॥
- सकलसुखहृदा मे वज्रमेव जिनेनो
 रक्षसि समुपनीतो मण्डकौगामवध्वाः ।
 भवसि किमिति विघ्नं तत्र याता पुरस्ताद्
 इति मङ्गलवसना मङ्गलां किं वदन् ॥ १९ ॥
- 42A, यो लौक्यैव सकलामरराजमौलि-
 रत्नानि नैकाद्यतिकर्मजते ददाति ।
 तं रावणं नृदितपुण्यमिवाकरोद् यः
 काराग्रे कसपि तं भज्यैवैवैवम् ॥ २० ॥
- 43A, अद्यापि दारिद्र्यपदस्त्रिरल-
 सङ्घिष्णुभिः कर्षमुचैः कृतं किम् ।
 इत्येव मत्ता भुवि कल्पवृक्षः
 त्रीमल्लैवप्यन्तनुं प्रयातः ॥ २० ॥

- Fol. 45A, किमिति भजति शिष्टान् प्रीतिनो निखुदेयं
परपुत्रनिविष्टेत्येव राज्ञी सुहृदा ।
किम् मन्त्रवसन्ता द्वेषार्थं तयोर्ज्ञानं
इह भवति सुयन्त्रे साधकास्त्रीवरिष्ठा ॥ ११ ॥
- 47A, श्रीमन्मलैवन्मन्त्रपात्रवैरिषां दुष्क्रीर्तिकामा निजसन्ततिं किम् ।
सन्नीहमाना विदधात्युपासनाममुख्य जाता यद्वन्त्रसन्ततिः ॥ १२ ॥
- 47B, मुक्ताभूषणपतिवरं किञ्च काकवेष्ठां
यत्नं स्वदर्पवशातो जुमस्त्रीश्वरेष ।
संनोचयन् कवयया स्वचसूत्रनेन
प्रत्यर्पित्वन्मन्त्रिणं जयति सा राजा ॥ १३ ॥
- 49A, श्रीमन्मलैवन्मन्त्रपात्रवैरिषां
प्रायस्त्रिदं यन्त्रमुपासितं पुरा ।
न चेन्मनोज्ञा पतिदेवतोत्तमा
सुभ्येत कामा कथमिन्दिरा परा ॥ १४ ॥
- 49B, मन्त्राजय राज्ञी च साधकौ पूर्वजन्मनि ।
आनुकूल्यं यतोऽन्योन्यं निवर्गपरिवर्धनम् ॥ १५ ॥
- 50A, श्रीमन्मलैवन्मन्त्रपात्रवयः प्रायस्त्रिदं साधितवान् पुरैव ।
यन्त्रादमुष्णारिवरौघनार्यो रणादपेतं नृमयनि कामम् ॥ १६ ॥
- 50B, मलैवन्मन्त्रपात्रः प्रमत्तस्याराष्ट्र-
द्विपं स्त्रीयसंसर्गतो भगनादम् ।
श्रद्धां सद्भिवेकं समाश्रित्य यन्त्रा-
दितो दूरदूरं चकारातिवेष्टम् ॥ १७ ॥
- 51A, साधितं मन्त्रपात्रा भुवनेतत्
पूर्वमेव जुमस्त्रीश्वरमुख्यैः ।
यत्कृतापि किञ्च विधिना किञ्च
कृत्या निष्कलपदवैमुपमुञ्चते ॥ १८ ॥
- 51B, ताकमनामकश्रेष्ठो न न्यूनो नाकतो भवति ।
राजेश्वरः करकल्पः श्रेष्ठो तु राज्ञी कृपाधेनुः ॥ १९ ॥
- 52A, मलैवन्मन्त्रपात्रजारातिचेतो
न चैकत्र देशे स्थिरं जालपीडि ।
ततो वेष्टि सत्यं पुरा जन्मनोदं
स्वसाध्वीकृतस्वामिकं चावयन्मम् ॥ ४० ॥
- 52B, श्रीराजराजेश्वरमित्यदीपदामप्रभावाद्युधितारिपथः ।
अयन्मन्त्रिणार्थमिदं सुधन्वं संसाधयामास स्त्रीकपात्रः ॥ ४१ ॥

- Fol. 53A, यो यौवनेपि विषयस्युद्यया विहीनो
भूत्वा प्रभुः शिवपुरीमविमुक्तसंज्ञाम् ।
गत्वा यथाविधि कृतचिपुरारिपूजा-
गङ्गावगाहनमुद्यः कृतकृत्य आसी ॥ ४१ ॥
- 53B, सेवसस्यधरणीं विदुषे यः
अद्यया कवसिनी यदुभर्तुः ।
प्रीतये प्रसिद्धाति स राजा
साधकोच गदितः कवशाभिः ॥ ४२ ॥
- 54A, सुवर्णधेन्यादिकदानतः सतां
दारिद्र्यादावानलकाशवारिदः ।
श्रीमन्मल्लैवमन्त्रपात ईदृशी
यन्त्रेऽपि जातः किल साधकापणीः ॥ ४४ ॥
- 54B, सद्यस्यः सन्तु नृपाः प्रथिव्यां
नामुष्य कुत्राप्युपमाश्रयोपि ।
अर्चनिभं पण्डितमपदल्लोको
यः श्रीपतेरेव करोति चर्चाम् ॥ ४५ ॥
- 55A, सदा मन्त्राभागतं पुराणं
तथा मन्त्राभारतमुल्लसन्त्यत् ।
श्रीलक्ष्मीललाचरितानुवादि
प्रियं मल्लैवमन्त्रपस्य नःन्यत् ॥ ४६ ॥
- 55B, श्रीराजराजेश्वरवर्मराजपाठेन नित्यं क्षपितोपसर्गः ।
श्रीमन्मल्लैवमन्त्रपातो निसर्गसिद्धातिदानावितसाधुवर्गः ॥ ४७ ॥
- 56A, पदे पदे सन्ति नृपाः प्रजानां
करपदाद्यैर्मनैकदत्ताः ।
श्रीमन्मल्लैवमन्त्रपातमातः
ज्ञावासमेवा लभतां प्रथिव्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥
- 56B, अल्लभ्यकामो नृपतेः परध्यात्
सन्त्यज्य सन्त्यज्य परं तमर्थी ।
सर्वोऽपि लब्धार्थ इहास्ति तृष्णं
श्रीमन्मल्लैवमन्त्रपात्रयेण ॥ ४९ ॥
- 57A, सर्वप्रजाक्षेत्रसुरक्षयोदुरः कथं मल्लैवमन्त्रपातकापणीः ।
भवेन्न चेत् पूर्वभवे विधानतः स्तुपासको यन्त्रपतेरमुष्य तु ॥ ५० ॥
- 57B, अमुना प्रथिवीश्वरेण किं प्रथमे जन्मनि साधु साधितम् ।
न हि यन्त्रमिदं न चेत् कुतो गतदस्युज्ज्वलीतिहाः प्रजाः ॥ ५१ ॥

- Fol. 58A, यथा पथश्रपूरादिकूटदुर्गजयोद्धरः ।
 त्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपाक्ष एतदुयन्मस्य साधकः ॥ ५२ ॥
- 58B, संसारदुर्गजय ईश्वरभक्तियोगाद्
 भक्तिः सदा त्रयवतो वक्षसां त्रुतीनाम् ।
 सत्पण्डितादिदमहो शुभपण्डितोद्यो
 द्रव्यसृष्टाविरहितो धनवत्ततोऽस्य ॥ ५३ ॥
- 59A, त्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपाक्षवैरिणां वीर्यस्य संश्लघनकारकं त्विदम् ।
 यन्मं कुतः शक्यविबोधसूडतामुपैति वीर्येतिपदस्य बुद्धिमत् ॥ ५४ ॥
- 59B, धातुभ्यो यः पितृदत्तादशेषाद्
 ग्रामान् स्त्रीयादप्यसौ वीरतृप्तः ।
 सोऽयं राजा त्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपाक्ष
 नान्यस्त्रीषिपाक्षकर्तव्यकर्मा ॥ ५५ ॥
- 60A, अमुना राज्ञा नूनं साधितमेतत् पुरा यन्मम् ।
 निर्विघ्नं कृतकृत्या प्रजा यदस्यास्ति सर्वापि ॥ ५६ ॥
- 60B, यः समस्तपुत्रवार्थसाधकः शत्रुसङ्घगुणद्विबाधकः ।
 स्त्रीयराज्यचरचौरसायकः केवलं चरिगुणाभिगायकः ॥ ५७ ॥
- 61A, प्रतिदिवसमवश्यं दौषदानं विधाय
 क्षितिपतिपतिवर्माभीतिसंसक्तचेताः ।
 निजगणगणतोत्राशेषभूपाक्षरत्नं
 जयति जयति भूमौ त्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपाक्षः ॥ ५८ ॥
- 61B, संसारसर्पभयतः कथमेष युक्तो
 न स्यादहो भरपतिर्यदि साधितो न ।
 यन्नेश्वरोयमथवा कवणामृतान्ये-
 र्ज्ञेयैपतेः परिचितः परिपक्षिराजः ॥ ५९ ॥
- 62A, शालेति शल्येति पदार्थवाचकं
 स्ववैरिणां शल्यमिवातिदुःसहः ।
 यदग्निभूतोऽग्निषु तेन च भुवं
 स शत्रुशालोऽग्निमितः प्रभोः सुतः ॥ [६०] ॥
- 63B, प्रथमजनुषि जातः त्रीचनश्चामदेवो
 मयि विद्वत्तिमिराशः साम्प्रतं नैतदेव ।
 उचितमिति तु मत्त्वा पार्वती वीरभद्र-
 क्षितिपतितनयासौख्यीचनश्चामराज्ञी ॥ ६१ ॥
- 64A, वनश्चाममन्त्राभूपात् पार्वतीतः कुमारश्च माराद् वरः कोऽप्यपूर्वः ।
 कृपाहो मल्लैवमं स जातो यतः स्वर्गदेवाद् वरा भूमिदेवाः ॥ ६२ ॥

- Fol. 64B, अरिमर्दनमासासौ राजकुमारो द्वितौषो यः ।
सुकुमारकुमारतुला मारतुला चाच बीजलम् ॥ ११ ॥
- 65A, चाक्षीनामकशैले राजा दक्षसाहिनामाभूत् ।
यस्मिन् सौम्यासति इष्वीं नरका रिक्तत्वमायाताः ॥ १४ ॥
- 65B, दक्षसाहिराजपत्नी भवति [सुभ]द्रा सदा भद्रा ।
अतिवीरकर्मतोऽसुं मत्कार्जुनमिह सती पुनर्जाता ॥ १५ ॥
- 66A, नरवरदक्षसाहिनीक्षितोन्द्रात् सुभद्रा
जनयति जनमध्ये चारुसंश्लेषकीर्तिः ।
इह मद्यस्त्रवसन्नामिन्दिरा या नरेभ्यं
भजति च कुसुपत्नी श्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपम् ॥ [१६] ॥
- 66B, अरीषां तु मत्ताः अथा[द्]ध्वस्तगर्वा
मल्लैवन्मभूमिपतेस्तेन शङ्के ।
पुरा जन्मनीदं महायन्त्रमुद्यैः
समाराधितं स्यादिति स्त्रीयबुद्ध्या ॥ १७ ॥
- 67A, श्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपाल उक्तं
यच्चं त्विदं साधितवान् पुरैव ।
यद्वैरिभूमौचरसत्प्रतापी-
ऽनल्पामल्लः] स्तम्भिततामवापितः ॥ १८ ॥
- 67B, श्रीमन्[म]ल्लैवन्मभूपालः साधकोऽसुष्य वर्तते ।
कुलद्विस्त्रितरथा कथं स्यादिति दुर्लभा ॥ १९ ॥
- 68A, नाकपालसदृशारातिपाते न्विप्रवेगमपि वैरिषामेषः ।
कुण्डितां गतिमहो विदधाति क्षापतिर्वरदयन्त्रकपाभिः ॥ २० ॥
- 68B, नूनमेव नृपतिः पुरा भवे यन्त्रराजसमुपासकापचीः ।
नो यदीत्यभ[व]दे[मे]व नित्यगो जायतां कथमहो महाजयी ॥ २१ ॥
- 69A, राज्ञी मद्यस्त्रवसन्ना समस्तइष्वीप्रदानाद्यैः ।
सन्तोषितभूमिदुरा भूमिपत्नीप्र[ा]प्तास्ति भूपत्य ॥ २२ ॥
- 69B, अशुना नरपालसूरिषा न न संसाधितमसि यन्त्रकम् ।
यदमो मनवोऽस्त्रिणा अपि प्रतिवर्षेणि समस्तस्यदः ॥ २३ ॥
- 70B, श्रीराजराजेश्वरदीपदान-
प्रतापविद्रावितचौरसंघः ।
अनीतिराज्योपि सनीतिराज्यो
नूनं पुरा जन्मनि साधकोऽस्य ॥ २४ ॥

- Fol. 71A, श्रीमन्मल्लैवन्मरपास चासौ च्छुस्य यन्मस्य तु साधकोऽन ।
न चेदमी वैरिष उद्गराः स्युः कुतोऽतिवैकस्यपदं प्रयाताः ॥ ७५ ॥
- 71B, धर्मार्थकाममोक्षा यद्द्वारे भृत्यभावमापन्नाः ।
जयति मल्लैवन्मास्त्रो राजा कल्पद्रुमावेशः ॥ ७६ ॥
- 72B, साधकोऽन मरपासनायकी नायकः प्रतिपदं रमापतेः ।
कर्मभामसिंहकामदायकः मय्यको रिपुकुलक्षवे भुवम् ॥ ७७ ॥
- 73B, वनश्यामस्तुर्ग मारः कुमारो
न वा पार्वतीको मन्दाहामशूरः ।
न कल्पद्रुमादिः पतिष[ः]पि लक्ष्म्या
न वा माधवोऽयं च्छुपूर्वोऽस्ति राजा ॥ ७८ ॥
- 74A, इह मल्लवसन्मात्रीमल्लैवन्मदेवा-
वमरनिकरवश्रं यन्ममेतद् भजेते ।
न यदि सकलकामा देववश्राः कथं स्युः
करतल्लतवासा यतयोरप्रय[त्ना]त् ॥ ७९ ॥
- 74B, कामधेनुसुरपादपावभावेकशोऽपि जगद्गतिनाशको ।
दम्पती तु सुतरामितौ किं तदयुगावतरणं युगं त्वदः ॥ ८० ॥
- 75A, सर्वयन्त्रफलवेदितपादः श्रीरमारमचसुस्मरसोत्कः ।
सर्वभूतसुरसमोहितमोदः कोऽपि भूपतिपतिर्जयतौह ॥ ८१ ॥
- 75B, वसति वसितवज्रा रोषकासौ च बृहा
ग्रयनजुषि तु सुप्ता स्त्रीयपत्यौ निसर्गात् ।
इतिष्ठतस्तत्पुत्रकान्म एवोऽतिश्रान्तो
मनुरपर इहासौ श्रीमल्लैवन्मामा ॥ ८२ ॥
- 76A, राज्ञी मल्लवसन्मा राज्ञी रूपानुसारेण ।
श्ववतीर्षा शतकृपा प्रियव्रतादिशुभपुत्रकाधाना ॥ ८३ ॥
- 76B, यन्मस्योपासको य[ः] कितिपतिनिहकः श्रीमल्लैवन्मभूपः
काश्यां जेवं सुसौधं प्रतिश्रद्धश्रमाद्यर्थकं चापि रायम् ।
मन्दादर्शस्य कर्णे खगुहकवचया प्रेमनिध्याकयाथ
अज्ञाभिर्यो ददाति प्रविभवतुत्तमानेव पूर्वाविज्ञार्थः ॥ ८४ ॥

Philosophy of Rural Reconstruction in China.¹

By JOHN B. GRANT.

THREE MAJOR DESIGNATIONS OF ADDRESS.

Reconstruction in its broader aspect arises from the impact of Science upon Society and the necessity for social reorganization from paleotechnique empiricism to neotechnique experimentalism followed by orderly social control. The narrower aspect is in the sense of overtaking the lag between the twentieth century science and its immediate utilization for human welfare in unindustrialized agricultural society. This latter is the topic under discussion.

Rural reconstruction in China may best be made comprehensible by summarizing the major differences between it and reconstruction in India. Chinese organization is the result of three factors that must be explained to understand the differences. First is the 20 years of field experience and lessons learned. Second is the extension into the communities of the research and training interests of certain leading Chinese universities to develop the methodology of successful reconstruction and to train in these methods the senior staff requisite for administration. Third, the policy of reconstruction, particularly of the universities in question, is based upon defined principles whose acceptance must constitute the point of departure in planning for reconstruction if it is to be either significant or successful. This address discusses reconstruction under the three major designations referred to of experience gained, university participation, and the underlying principles now accepted.

HISTORY.

Rural reconstruction in China developed in the years between the end of the Great War and 1937. This period had two chapters—the first of empirical hit-and-miss methodology lasting till 1934 and the second, a period of systematic planned reconstruction based upon enunciated principles. The earlier period had a number of separate efforts very similar and corresponding to those observable regionally in India today. It is unnecessary to report the majority of these on account of their non-reproductiveness and consequent insignificance in determining

¹ An address delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—March 7, 1941.

the main course of evolution. The main movement centres around a single individual J. Y. C. Yen.

Mr. Yen proceeded immediately upon graduation in the Yale University to the Chinese Labour Corps in France during the war as a Y.M.C.A. secretary. His imagination was aroused by the almost complete illiteracy of the several lakhs of his countrymen recruited chiefly from Shantung province and this resulted in his initial efforts in adult education through evolving a basic vocabulary. This war interest led upon his return to China to the establishment in 1921 of the National Association of the Mass Education Movement; and, the circumstances were such that the movement became nation-wide within a short space of three or four years, particularly in urban areas. During this period the movement enlisted the co-operation of scholars to determine the most efficient basic vocabulary of 1,000 Chinese words that could be learnt by the young-adult in a series of lessons covering three months. The beginnings also were made of the requisite literature to implement the basic vocabulary. And, during this period several provinces were stimulated to establish departments of mass education. The predominantly rural character of China directed Mr. Yen's attention towards the agricultural population. Professors of agriculture, mostly trained abroad, were enlisted to prepare the requisite follow-up literature. However, it was found that the material was so far removed from the realities of the problems of the farmer as to be almost useless in interesting him. This led the Association to establish a rural branch in Tingsien about 100 miles south of Peking, where a few agriculturists settled down to determine through experience what were the real agricultural problems of North China. Mr. Yen was soon forced to the conclusion that no single social field of application of knowledge could progress very far in so backward a community without the concurrent establishment of other fields. He consequently turned for help to the respective university experts in and around Peking, which still was the capital as well as the educational centre of the country. It was this realization of the necessity for a co-ordinated solution of the problem and the manner whereby Mr. Yen was able to enlist the interest and enthusiasm of academic experts which laid the foundation for the planned reconstruction that evolved during the next decade.

It was during this decade after 1925 that 'reconstruction' methodology was experimentally developed in Tingsien in education, agriculture, public health, etc., based on the economic practicability and social conditions of North China. Both the National and the Provincial Governments gave official status to the Association's work in Tingsien, originally established for mass education, whereby the Association was given control of the Local Government through its ability to nominate the Magistrate of the subdivision having approximately four lakhs of

population. In the meantime, Mr. Yen solicited funds for support of the work from private channels in China and returned from a trip to the United States with contributions of (£100,000) five lakhs of dollars to support the veritable social laboratory, utilizing more than 100 technical workers which had gradually been established. The success of Mr. Yen prematurely attracted hundreds of officials and others from all parts of China to an extent that the railway authorities had to make special provision for the number of visitors who also seriously hampered routine activities. This prematurity of interest was dangerous through the discredit resulting from efforts made by many upon their return to their own localities to reduplicate what they had observed in Tingsien without having grasped the technical implications and, more important, lacking the trained technical personnel to undertake reconstruction.

The singlemost important result from Tingsien probably was the manner in which certain universities in and around Peking were stimulated to extend the responsibility and scope of their social disciplines beyond their academic walls into the community. This resulted in the appreciation that the social sciences, as much as the natural sciences, are not taught to but must be learnt by the students through opportunity for self-participation in community exemplifications of the principles presented in the classroom. Consequently, undergraduate students were sent to Tingsien under their instructors. Thus, in medicine the fourth year students had three weeks' rural, added to their previous urban, 'clerkship' in public health, during which time opportunity was afforded for some participative experience in addition to general orientation in rural reconstruction as a whole through demonstrations provided in each field. This development of university interest coincided with the growing national demand for reconstruction that experience proved could be successful only if based upon effective methodology and personnel trained in such methodology. The natural outcome of this university interest was the establishment of a formal organization in 1936 designated the North China Council for Rural Reconstruction, consisting of five universities, the Mass Education Movement, and the Shantung Provincial Government. The purpose of the Council was stated to be 'a correlated community programme of rural reconstruction through which controlled field facilities and services for applied training and research in the social sciences may be made available to its constituent institutions and to provide personnel of high quality to the various enterprises for social reconstruction in China which now are in so great need of trained workers'. The Council functioned through a Rural Institute which carried on instruction and research in the applied social sciences of civil administration, economics, social medicine, education, agriculture, and engineering. The Council was given political control by

Government of the first administrative area of Shantung province possessing approximately ten million population. The Institute as the joint representative of the Council, universities, and the Government possessed the authority to operate the constituted community facilities through power to nominate its personnel to the official Government posts of the area. The universities' departments as such lost their individual identity in the field and functioned solely through the Institute as their co-ordinating agency. Faculty members resided in the field. Within this area the Council through its Institute designated one subdivision of five lakhs of population as its intensive experimental-demonstration field. The Institute consisted of two divisions—the community service division responsible for the routine administration of the area, composed of the heads of instructional departments together with the chiefs of the sections or bureau of Government, whereby teachers from the universities were concurrently appointed as Government officers. The educational-research division was composed of the heads of departments of instruction, and it was this second division which dealt with all matters relating to the educational and scientific policy of the Institute and whereby its representatives on the community service division was able to control and modify governmental administration in terms of its educational and scientific needs. Planning was done in the first instance by the Institute for subsequent approval by the Council and finally by the Provincial Government. The annual budget of the Institute, apart from routine civil administration expenses, was approximately four lakhs of Chinese dollars.

The Council and its Institute were interlinked by means of either its Council or Institute representatives serving on various boards and committees of National Government and advising the latter's policy on the one hand, while Government in turn was represented on the Council and was able to guide Institute policy in terms of the realities of governmental administration. A Rural Reconstruction Committee of the National Economic Council of the Government was established at Nanking to co-ordinate the different fields of government and corresponding to these represented in the Council's Institute.

The colleges of the participating universities drew up syllabi for their departments to take advantage of such a controlled community and requiring the residence in the field for several months of the undergraduate during the last year of instruction. Students were given a brief horizontal introduction to the several co-ordinated fields of social function before 'clerking' vertically in their specific subject. Special facilities were also designed to permit of a limited number of graduate students in each of the social fields. However, any international consideration of China requires the bearing in mind of certain facts relating to the time when a modern Government was established.

Although the Revolution took place in 1911, it was 1927 before the Nanking Government inaugurated civil administration in the modern sense. The chief cause for the non-implementation of the 1911 Revolution was the absence of technical personnel. The first Government university was established as late as 1905, the first permanent Government medical college in 1912 and other technical colleges even later. Consequently for successful rural reconstruction next to solving the problem of proven methodology, it was considered necessary to establish provincial institutes of public administration to provide personnel of a vocational level. It was to train the teachers for the latter that the University Council Institute set as its instructional task because it was obvious that reconstruction would continue in name only until provided with modern social servants competent to initiate and to supervise the utilization of modern knowledge in the daily lives of the people. Also by 1937, reconstruction in China had reached a stage where an acute problem had arisen to protect the movement from being discredited through unsuccessful results of hurriedly created provincial bureaux lacking the essentials here described, particularly methodology and personnel. At this point it becomes necessary, in order to interpret the Council in its true perspective to comprehend both the background of sociological thought common to the constituent members of the Council, as well as the general social-economic level of rural China. The following representation of the philosophy must be understood as one's own recollection of the numerous references which were in circulation between the various senior members of the Council and the innumerable hours of evening discussions that occurred in the quiet rural atmosphere of originally Tingsien, and later Tsining, the seat of the Institute in Shantung.

PHILOSOPHY AND ECONOMIC LEVEL.

Historians and scientists agree that society is in a major transitional epoch corresponding in its revolutionary character to the two major ones previously experienced by mankind, viz. the period of the preliterate culture to the dawn of history when society was founded and the ancient civilizations were established. This second period continued until the present transformation of society began 300 years ago with the European renaissance. Social reconstruction to be intelligent or rational implies planning. Planning is obviously inadequate unless designed in relation to the eventual social scheme as a whole. The trend of the present transitional period of social organization can be defined only in terms of the past and knowledge of differences in the present resulting from new factors which have arisen. Social thinkers previous to the present century expressed ideas on society which increasingly are now becoming accepted

fact. Thus Rousseau¹ defines the Social Contract of Society as : 'That form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate; and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone and remain as free as before'. John Stuart Mill² in 'On Liberty' clearly foresaw what is today the world's crisis when he defined the biological basis which social law must evolve towards in respect to individual freedom of liberty: 'Whenever in short there is a definite damage or a definite risk of damage either to an individual or to the public the case is taken out of the province of liberty and placed in that of morality or law'. Herbert Spencer³ in his 'The Data of Ethics' defined the conflict between collective and individual cultures long before the present crisis arose, proving the truth of his diagnosis: 'But here we are met by a fact which forbids us thus to put in the foreground the welfare of citizens, individually considered, and requires us to put in the foreground the welfare of the society as a whole. The life of the social organism must, as an end, rank above the lives of its units. These two ends are not harmonious at the onset; and, though the tendency is toward harmonization of them, they are still partially conflicting. As fast as the social state establishes itself, the preservation of the society becomes a means of preserving its units. Living together arose because, on the average, it proved more advantageous to each than living apart; and this implies that maintenance of combination is maintenance of the conditions to more satisfactory living than the combined persons would otherwise have. Hence, social self-preservation becomes a proximate aim taking precedence of the ultimate aim, individual self-preservation. This subordination of personal to social welfare is, however, contingent; it depends on the presence of antagonistic societies. So long as the existence of a community is endangered by the actions of communities around, it must remain true that the interests of individuals must be sacrificed to the interests of the community, as far as is needful for the community's salvation. But if this is manifest, it is, by implication, manifest, that when social antagonisms cease, this need for sacrifice of private claims to public claims ceases also; or rather, there cease to be any public claims at variance with private claims. All along, furtherance of the individual lives has been the ultimate end; if this ultimate end has been postponed to the proximate end of preserving the community's life, it has been so only because this proximate end was instrumental to the ultimate end. When the aggregate is no longer in danger, the final object of pursuit, the welfare of the units, no longer needing to be postponed, becomes the immediate object of pursuit'.

¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, 'The Social Contract and Discourses', p. 14.

² John Stuart Mill, 'On Liberty', p. 48, 1913.

³ Herbert Spencer, 'The Data of Ethics', pp. 133-134, 1879.

Today, it is universally acknowledged that the determining force which shapes society is Economics. The essential factor determining Economics is 'Energy'. Machine energy is synonymous with the Industrial Revolution has been clearly analyzed by Stuart Chase in 'Technocracy: An Interpretation'. Chase advances the conception of energy magnitudes being the condition governing political and social institutions. The present emerging third stage was preceded by two earlier stages. Primitive communities had worked primarily by virtue only of the food eaten by their members converted into physical power of human muscle. The chief engine was the human being and his available energy determined the standard of living of the community and its social institutions. This power of the human engine is measurable by its food intake and is equivalent to 2,000 kilogram calories *per capita* per day and this was the sole energy during the first period of man. The second period originated with the early civilizations when the domestication of animals and crude water power was added to man's energy, thereby doubling the magnitude to 4,000 kilogram calories *per capita* per day. This second period extended for approximately 7,000 years until the invention of the steam engine in 1775. Since that time the machine age, developed with the utilization of coal, electricity, and oil, has stepped up capacity in such a country as the United States to 160,000 kilogram calories *per capita* per day.

It is the lag of eighteenth century economic and political institutions behind this twentieth century power that has become the basic world problem. Reconstruction to overtake this lag in the application of scientific knowledge to human welfare is confronted by two problems: the material one of the lag itself and the larger social one of instituting the necessary collectivism while safeguarding the maximum degree of individual freedom commensurate with the welfare of the group as a whole.

Social reconstruction to be successful requires technical knowledge and the most efficient form of organization for the application of that knowledge. It is axiomatic that the form of administration is determined by political organization and that in turn derives from the *per capita* energy production of the country and the economic philosophy. The organization in democracies has been determined by capitalism. Capitalism as a system was first defined after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and then passed through the three periods of Industrial, Monopoly, and Finance Capitalism, corresponding roughly to stages in the progress of science particularly with reference to its development of power and transportation, because these two are the new major factors.

Industrial capitalism resulted in the form of social administration designated as democracy but has never attained to the substance. The latter is defined as 'the form of government which asserts the worth and validity of the individual

man and that the aim of society is to secure to him the maximum of responsible freedom'. This definition means that society itself must consciously and responsibly aim at social justice which will ensure the closest possible approximation to equality of opportunity for each member to lead the 'good life'. Consideration of rural reconstruction in the restricted sense of this paper implies the enumeration of the unsocial biological results that have arisen in older industrialized countries and which planning should aim to avoid in countries now becoming industrialized. Such an enumeration includes the problems of population, human migration, race, health, urbanization, rural economic crises, cultural lag, social pathology, including diversification of social classes and groups, and poverty. No successful scheme of rural reconstruction can be formulated without knowledge of, and conscious consideration to obviate, these problems that inevitably follow in the wake of uncontrolled industrialization, economic development, and unplanned democratization. It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to go beyond the hope that officials submitting plans of reconstruction designed to overtake social-economic lag in rural communities possess the knowledge of, and have given the necessary consideration to, the foregoing pre-requisites of historical perspective. Major economic factors arising from scientific progress and their resultant problems when uncontrolled must constitute the background of any thinking, if reconstruction is to claim planned technical competency and is to prove successful.

In addition, the administrator must have the equally necessary knowledge of and consideration for the social fields in which application has to be made. Society in the course of evolution has gradually differentiated, or is in process of differentiating, certain major functions listed below:—

1. Education.
2. Protection of Life, Property, and Natural Resources.
3. Production of Goods and Services. Distribution of the Returns of Production.
4. Consumption of Goods and Services.
5. Communication and Transportation.
6. Recreational Use of Leisure.
7. Expression of Religious Impulses.
8. Expression of Aesthetic Impulses.
9. Integration of the Individual (Service to Society).
10. Extension of Freedom (Political Education).
11. Extension of Knowledge and Adaptation to Invention.

The first seven have been clearly differentiated while the last four are sufficiently recognizable to be thus classified. Certain of these major functions in turn have become so well established that they now have developed subdivisions which are themselves autonomous social administrations, as, for

instance, Public Health under Protection, and Industry or Agriculture under Production, etc. Consequently, individuals responsible for planning reconstruction in the sense of overtaking the lag in utilization of knowledge should presumably possess technical information of the extent the organization and administration of each has developed in progressive countries, particularly with respect to their latest trends in order that their experience is available to obviate introduction of wrong methods of organization and administration in the backward community under consideration. Furthermore, the complexity and vastness of modern social-economic organization implies that the social architects in charge of reconstruction must possess comparable knowledge of *principles* requisite for successful organization and administration of each technical field for which establishment is being undertaken; and, without which the structure planned for is as much doomed to collapse as would be the building of a skyscraper or ocean liner by architects proceeding merely along the lines of neolithic rural-cum-empirical knowledge. An example may be taken from the field of public health.

Public health is organized community effort to provide individuals of the community with the greatest degree of utilization of medical knowledge for the three objectives of maintenance of health, the prevention of diseases, and the cure of disease. The organization to attain these objectives effectively together constitute public health administration. Experience has postulated that efficient administration is proportionate to adherence of the following six principles:—

- (i) The necessity for the administration of the different health functions being undertaken for the whole community by a single governing body and not for different sections of the community by several governing agencies, with necessary co-ordination between inter-related sections; in other words, there should be 'centralized direction and decentralized activity'. The administration must provide for technical supervision and periodic appraisal of the efficiency of the organization.
- (ii) Successful administrative procedure results only from scientific investigation and demonstration of organizational methodology in the measures whereby knowledge can be applied in practice to groups of population. The proper training of the necessary personnel in applying the methodology is an important requirement.
- (iii) Successful administrative procedure must be based upon sound financial considerations and practicable economic budgeting suited to the area and the population. Where cash purchase of health reform

is difficult, the available cash may be utilized for technical guidance and supervision and the citizens may offer trained voluntary labour (= payment in kind), which is the largest item in cash purchase of medical protection.

- (iv) Successful community utilization of knowledge for public health reform and medical protection requires a certain level of politico-economic progress and education. Health of the people is eventually achieved through the people being themselves possessed of adequate education in, and practice of, health knowledge.
- (v) The securing of co-ordination between the related spheres of social services, owing to their mutual interdependence.
- (vi) In order to ensure better working and to avoid mistakes in local effort, *the whole design* of a public health planning must be before the mind from the beginning. Any effort, however small and localized, can confer benefit, if it is designed in relation to the scheme as a whole.

These principles may aptly be termed the normal functions of that organ of society designated public health, and dis-functioning of any one or more must produce social pathology resulting in the symptomology of increased morbidity and excess mortality. The second is the one most observably violated in Bengal, where, for instance, the specific mortality for the past decade from such an entirely controllable a disease as smallpox has been 43 per 100,000 as compared with 0.07 and 0.02 for the Philippines and Java, which formerly had the same high rate as Bengal. Consequently, it behoves that reconstruction relating to medical protection to be successful must be planned in terms of these principles rather than be undertaken empirically and so be doomed to inadequate and disappointing results. Similar competency to plan in terms of principles for *each* social field must be the qualification of any director of reconstruction, who is in this respect comparable to the chief of a general staff who would not presume for an instant to undertake, himself, the planning or the operation in any single field but solely discharges the function of co-ordinating into a whole scheme the technical principles and resultant details from the several differentiated technical fields.

It has been stated, apart from the immediate problem of overtaking the social lag in as backward a community as China, i.e. catching up on the present, that immediate planning had to be undertaken in terms of larger world trends, i.e. in terms of the future, to obviate the necessity later on for reconstructing the organization then being established. The principles govern-

ing and determining the whole eventual social design were not new. For instance, one of the major social results of technological developments since the middle of the nineteenth century was the bringing into prominence of classes who formerly were largely voiceless. 'Democratization of society' ran parallel with the ever-growing interdependence of individual activities upon one another to constitute a large whole of efficient social function. Technological advances transformed individualistic into a herd society, in which individual competition was replaced by group co-operation. The resultant subordination of the individual was compensated by the improved economic and cultural levels necessarily obtainable only through group action and therefore planning. The impact of science and industrialization upon *laissez-faire* agricultural civilizations increasingly created individual insecurities, thereby resulting in herd impulses towards salvation by organized security. This produced expediency palliatives through various forms of social welfare and new deals inaugurated especially during the past half a century. One of the results is the transition from recording history in terms of the past to the development of a sociology attempting to shape history out of the emergent forces of the social process now going on and so avoiding the necessity for future palliatives. This recent trend is important as marking the first period when man is collectively setting up goals and organizing himself and society towards scientific attainment of these goals through planning and planned thinking.

Planning requires grasping the complex of events from a number of key positions, from each of which the whole design has to be kept in mind in undertaking individual steps. It is only through this approach that concrete social events previously thought to be accidental can be seen to be the result of principles working throughout the society and that their occurrence can be predicted. Mannheim designates these forces as 'the principia media'; and the importance of understanding these forces for social reconstruction arises from the fact that society cannot be rationalized as a factory, because its complex and various living characteristics if not understood will upset the plan. Consequently, planning is the application of foresight to human affairs, so that social progress increasingly proceeds towards a unity regulated through differentiated knowledge of the major social functions. The problem involved is twofold, because in addition to reorganization of society, there must be the freeing and full development of individual man through a new education. The chain of events constitutes a cycle beginning with Galileo and Copernicus and extending through Arkwright and Watts to the changing ideas about man from Rousseau and Herbert Spencer to the contemporary encyclopaedists. The lag of social techniques must overtake mechanical inventions and technological

improvements. This demands the achievement of a dynamic equilibrium that must solve the problem of security of the group as a whole. This can be accomplished only through adequate social techniques co-ordinated towards a general defined objective. Such planning would produce a rational mastery of the irrational forces of uncontrolled industrialization. The fundamental basis must be education whereby human beings become influenced towards desiring the greatest good of the society as a whole. Numerous educational experiments are being made, especially in the past two decades, directed towards this aim. In turn, social techniques require a new type of personnel for administration which is resulting in the civil servant developing into the social servant. In brief, science and increasing industrialization imposes the necessity for functional rationalization of social organization towards objective ends. A planned economy implies definite social goals to avoid being a contradiction in terms. This requires a planned social strategy to co-ordinate all fields of human endeavour through organizing social action towards the optimum good of the greatest number. The foregoing has been re-postulated and summarized by Mannheim in 'Man and Society' from which much of the summary viewpoints has been borrowed. This review of the sociological thought of the constituent members of the Council may seem unduly lengthy. It, however, must be fully comprehended to understand the underlying philosophy and aims of the Council and of the goal of rural reconstruction. The description in 1910 of a model T Ford in itself might have proved an interesting new phenomenon in transportation but without comprehension of the underlying principle of the internal combustion engine the description could not foretell either the 1940 Mercury or the Spitfire, which a knowledge of the principles of the crude 1910 engine would permit envisaging.

'LAND UTILIZATION IN CHINA', edited by J. Lossing Buck (1937), is a basic study of agricultural and population problems from which further social-economic details are obtained but a summary picture of rural China is as follows. The land under cultivation is twenty-seven per cent. Agricultural development is difficult in consequence of fragmentary holdings. Land-owners consist of forty-four per cent of the agricultural population; twenty-three per cent are part-owners; and thirty-three per cent tenants. The medium size of farm area is 3.3 acres. Taxation varies widely from locality to locality but may be said to be 5.2 Chinese dollars per acre. Illiteracy exists amongst sixty-nine per cent of males and ninety-nine per cent of females. The death rate per 1,000 of population is 27 and the birth rate 38.3. Thirty-nine per cent of farmers are in debt. The *per capita* income for rural areas is 80 Chinese dollars per annum, including the value of all the product supplied by the farm.

SUSPENDED ACTIVITIES.

While the China Incident of 1937 disrupted the Council's work almost at its inception in terms of materialization of the eventual plan conceived along the broad principles enumerated above, it may be of interest to report the immediate specific programme in mind when war was declared. The Council had accepted the three necessary factors in social planning, viz. population, natural resources, and the technical arts, with the objective of correlation of these three factors in terms of the principles referred to. These in turn resulted in the postulation of the three initial problems that must be successfully solved in social application, namely, competent personnel, successful methodology, and the problem of organization including finance. The first two were considered the production aspect of rural social planning while the third was the marketing of what has been produced for the benefit of the community. Thus, the universities constituted the factories of methods and personnel and the Institute field the testing laboratory for marketing. The Council considered that the determining one of the three above factors of social planning was that of power, and that consequently an area whose size and boundaries had been decided entirely by a pre-machine age conditions would not permit the solution of the eventual problem in mind. This problem is internationally similar in nature and has probably been best defined with respect to the Tennessee Valley Authority and described below. When the China Incident arose, the Council was actually in process of proceeding along the following lines to implement its responsibilities of social planning along neo-technical lines.

The Council through the National Economic Council was considering a survey of the natural self-contained power units of the country similar in scope to that undertaken by Roosevelt for the United States and whose report has predicted the eventual redistribution of political boundaries of that country's 48 States in terms of seven natural power provinces. It was expected that the completion of such a survey in China would then permit the North China Council to remove its Institute to one of the eventual units for its development on a planned social-economic basis. There seemed every likelihood that there would be no difficulty in securing the large capital which would have been required to develop the power of that area and that must constitute the starting point of a really planned and largely self-contained community. The war naturally suspended development along these lines.

Any conclusion of possible international value from the efforts towards rural reconstruction in China described above would seem to be the extension of university interests to community problems and recognition of responsibility for its colleges

in the social fields to undertake research in determining methods for the efficient utilization of knowledge for the betterment of human welfare and training in these methods. In this connection it is of interest to note the trend of thought in the United States in connection with the experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority already referred to. This experiment is probably the single greatest effort outside of the totalitarian States to develop co-ordination between control of national resources and their more efficient utilization for human welfare through the social organization of society; embracing as it does an area covering part or all of seven States with a population of ten million. The present Director of the Authority, Dr. Morgan, has postulated (1938) that, 'Unless the appropriate fields of universities can be brought into a more realistic relationship with the problems of our democracy, there will be no basis for assurance as to the future. For if this is not done, there is little reason to believe that the basic conflict of ideals in our capitalistic democracy can be resolved sufficiently to preserve public confidence in democratic institutions as a way of life'.

Dr. Morgan's reason for his conclusions was derived from the experience of the Authority which resolved the multiplicity of local reconstruction problems under four heads:

1. Land.
2. Economic.
3. Social.
4. Political or Governmental.

Thus, under 'Land' are included conservation and utilization of natural resources, the problems of flood control, soil poverty, farm tenancy as well as the conflict between agriculture as a way of living and agriculture as a commercial or industrial undertaking, in addition to the problem of agricultural surpluses. 'Economic' includes the effects of local, national, and international markets on problems of plant food supply, the imbalance of population with the centralization of industry, etc. The 'Social' problem includes housing, collective bargaining, technology and unemployment, farm tenancy, etc. The 'Political' problems raise the questions as to whether governmental units should be based upon political or economic considerations; how to make legislation responsive to public needs; the whole subject of taxation, etc. Analysis of any single major problem revealed its inter-relationship to others of equal magnitude. Analysis of the etiology and the previous effort at solution of these problems indicated their hitherto unrelated channels and consequent failure of solution, thereby perpetuating the fallacious public notion that our evils are unrelated to their causes. The inter-association of the various phases and relationships of these problems are summarized in the analysis in the appendix.

The approach to solve these problems revealed three great needs that had to be met and which revealed that the single greatest problem should be Education, viz. the university, because these three needs proved to be personnel trained in reconstruction, a better informed public understanding of what a successful programme involved, and technical and scientific research capable of being related and translated into solutions of regional and national problems. This extended social responsibility, scope of universities implied not only research into the problems listed, but a *translation programme* whereby a system of education should be developed in order that courses of study should include exercises, laboratory and field demonstrations, in the social-economic problems of today, adequate to accommodate instruction from Kindergarten to Graduate and Adult Education. The problems in the more economically backward China led to the same general conclusions.

It may be of interest to conclude by summarizing some of the interesting war developments of the Council groups following the necessary flight of its Institute from Shantung to Kweichow and later to Szechuen.

WAR DEVELOPMENTS.

There is not time to give the credit due to the indomitable spirit of the faculties and students of the numerous institutions which had to flee into Free China, often after overland marches of over a thousand miles on foot. The chief effect on the Council was that the geographical separation of universities from the Institute precluded the latter from continuing its university functions. The Institute staff remained largely intact and it was reconstituted in 1938 in the Tingfan subdivision of Kweichow province as a vocational training institute to serve provincial reconstruction needs. In the meantime, the Mass Education Association had removed its headquarters from Hopei to Hunan province, where it was given the responsibility by the National Government of organizing a provincial public-administration training institute of a vocational nature for a complete war reorganization of the administration of the province, which was expected to be the front-line after the fall of Hankow. Developments forced the evacuation of the movement to Szechuen province. Here, in early 1940 the movement under Mr. Yen in collaboration with the Council Institute established a National College for Rural Reconstruction. This is in effect an institute for training of three categories of personnel in public administration, which was made possible by the removal of the Institute's resources from Kweichow to Szechuen. The newly constituted college was provided with Tachu, the tenth prefectural area of the province, as its community field and immediately inaugurated post-entry training of two types: an A type for senior adminis-

trators consisting of mature men, many of whom had received their training abroad and had held administrative posts in China. The second, B type, was for young graduates to constitute junior personnel. In addition, it is expected that opportunity would afford in 1941 for reaffiliation with universities who had located themselves in the province, in order to renew undergraduate training. The reconstituted institute, in its training-research programme, retains the six departments which were established in Shantung. Its non-routine-administration budget, however, has had to be reduced to approximately Rs.2½ lakhs per annum.

One of the most significant war reconstruction developments of the Government has been Industrial Co-operation. China's modern industry had become established only near the treaty ports and this was the area occupied by the Japanese within the first 12 months of the China Incident. Free China could only remain free provided in addition to war supplies she could assure a minimum of essential consumer goods. Circumstances of transport and of particularly finance would have made import almost prohibitive. Fortunately the imagination and foresight of a half a dozen private individuals were able to bring together the two essentials required for the establishment of industrial co-operation, namely, tools and trained workers. A significant quantity of the former were evacuated to the interior from the coast by Herculean effort. There were hundreds of mechanics of various categories among the thousands of refugees and these were registered and assigned to specific functions. Initially the movement got under way through private funds collected by the small handful of enthusiasts whose demonstration was sufficient to 'prime the pump' in obtaining Government support. In less than three years, some 1,700 societies with 23,000 members have become established with a monthly production of eight million Chinese dollars. The dependants of these members number 200,000. The products come under ten main categories and are meeting an important part of the nation's military and industrial needs. It is expected that the eventual establishment of 30,000 of these co-operatives will provide an economic base which would make China relatively independent of most of the essential items hitherto imported.

Many of these industrial co-operatives have formed also supply and marketing departments. The movement has been fortunate to enlist foreign expert advice on technical matters and some degree of research. These emergency societies will undoubtedly lead to a future national federation after the war. Groups of them have already formed Unions, the various departments of which are linking up with Farmers' Societies for the purchase of raw materials, and it is hoped that this will result in the permanent establishment of numerous Consumers' Societies, and bring about the completion of the co-operative circle, with

the pre-war credit and marketing societies. Another ancillary activity, although possibly as significant as the establishment of industrial co-operation itself is its development of education. The Chinese co-operative law decrees that five per cent of the profits must be utilized for a common good fund. The industrial co-operatives are providing ten per cent for schemes of education and welfare. This education is remarkable in that it emphasizes manual skill and science as well as literary and social activities in the group. There has been an additional problem to solve in meeting the necessity, particularly under the war-time conditions, to train staff for the rapidly expanding industrial co-operation movement and which has been initiated under almost insuperable difficulties in seven regional institutes, where organized courses for 10-12 weeks are given as preliminary to 'post-entry' training in the co-operatives themselves.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA.

Rural reconstruction to overcome the lag between Medievalism and the utilization of modern knowledge cannot be successful if dependent entirely upon cash purchase. The latter on account of low economic conditions and inadequate purchasing power must be limited largely to providing the training of self-help workers and their supervision together with necessary additional technical functions which cannot be provided through voluntary effort. The recognition of this principle came early in the Chinese experience as it has here also in India. But in China there are two fundamental differences—that supervision through cash purchase is functional and specific rather than general and non-specific as in India and that training of voluntary workers is chiefly through drills while lectures are limited entirely to demonstration as the reconstruction worker can be trained successfully only by action and never through talk. The former difference requires amplification. The specific problem of reconstruction is postulated as follows: Knowledge of better seeds, of improved animal husbandry, of successful methods of co-operation, of control of causes of excess mortality due to gastro-intestinal disease, malaria, smallpox, etc., is available, but the problem is development of methods which will bring the knowledge within the practice of the individual villager. It would seem that the trend in India, referring to Bengal particularly, is to select trainees from groups of villagers in each *thana* who will each be provided with a smattering of knowledge in all fields during the period of a few weeks in camp and upon return to their respective villages will be responsible for initiating new practices in these fields into the daily lives of the villagers. Supervision of these peripheral and voluntary workers comes through the Circle Officer, who possibly may contact each trainee once a month or at longer intervals. This

Circle Officer himself is a general administrator, who has not had technical training in any specific field. Consequently, while possessing an intelligent realization of the problems involved he must refer technical matters for solution to the duly constituted authority somewhere between him and the Divisional Centre with all the delays attendant in India upon instituting a new file and securing action. However, the most serious defect is the absence of proved methodology in which the trainee can be drilled. This methodology for the purpose in view must be one that under technical supervision has been shown to be practicable of undertaking by voluntary 'self-help' effort. It is insufficient, for instance, to tell the trainee that gastro-intestinal disease is due to soil-pollution and contaminated water to be controlled by sanitary night-soil disposal and safe water. He must, himself, be given repetitive opportunity to dig latrines and wells. And these and other drill measures must have been previously standardized for local conditions.

The Chinese methodology was developed along functional lines as being more effective under rural circumstances. Experience proved that a voluntary village worker with the limitations of his own education and the technical background providable in a brief period could not effectively undertake self-help development in more than one field; and, he could even then do this only if provided with constant technical supervision. The result of experience led to the following unit scheme of organization based upon an area and population that in India would be a subdivision. Administering this is encountered the first 'general' administrator, under whom were functional divisions designed to bring the necessary technical supervision to the voluntary village worker at frequent intervals. In turn, the village workers were designated by each one or two villages (approximately 200-300 families) for training in each major field provided at the subdivisional centre and as stated the training was entirely drill. Supervision and technical services were organized in terms of the particular administrative needs of each field. For instance, the maximum number that could be handled by the unit of the primary health centre was found to be 20,000 population in a radius of 3-5 miles, whereas the primary peripheral units of agriculture and of co-operation were 4-5 times this area and population. There is no time to describe the detailed administration of even one field. But the following summary of the public health may illustrate the principle in question. Self-help in the village was represented by three individuals: the voluntary health worker, the school teacher, and the 'dai'. Each received a period of drill at the secondary subdivisional centre in previously defined standardized routines. The technical staff at each primary health centre consisted of what in India would be designated a Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a Visitor, and a Dresser-compounder. These had received drill

training at a district base. The primary centre personnel discharged their curative functions in the mornings to the patients largely referred from the village health workers and in the afternoons rotated through the 15 or 20 villages to undertake supervisory technical functions chiefly preventive. The primary centre staff returned to the subdivisional secondary centre over the week-ends for 'post-entry' training. In the meantime the 'D.P.H.' type of personnel at the secondary subdivisional centre spent part of the week supervising the primary centres. Similarly, the village workers, as circumstances demanded, attended the primary centres for conferences, and once a year returned to the secondary centre generally during New Year's. The cost of such a health administration was approximately 15 Chinese cents per annum or between 2-3 annas *per capita*, taking the purchasing power of the rupee as equivalent to the Chinese dollar.

The mechanism of rural reconstruction as eventually stabilized was to take the subdivision (hsien) as the unit of operation and to set-up the secondary centre at the subdivisional headquarters. This included technical personnel and facilities for each of the social fields. Mass education was the vehicle through which other reconstruction activities were built around. Experience proved that little value could result from education of adults after the age of 30 years and consequently mass education was limited to adolescents and young-adults. The products of education were constituted into a self-governing village association who selected individual members to be sent to the secondary centres for training in the separate fields and then upon completion of training were made responsible for the extension of activities in that field within the village. As has already been indicated, in each field the voluntary workers were provided with standardized plans which were supervised from the primary technical centre of each administration. It was considered that the initial stage of reconstruction was passed when the village in question had reached the level of constituting its own primary school, the teachers for which, regardless of previous conventional training, were given additional instruction at the Normal School at the secondary centre. Stabilization of reconstruction required the period necessary until the products of these schools could take their place in the community. The pedagogic motive within the school was one whereby the pupils reduplicated various activities of community life in their school syllabus particularly in agriculture, co-operation, health, and civics.

The characteristics consequently of Chinese reconstruction are:—

- (a) Specifically trained voluntary self-help in the villages for each major social function to be reconstructed.

- (b) Weekly supervision of voluntary workers in each field by specialized technical officers.
- (c) Administration organized by specialized function from the secondary subdivisional centre through to primary centres in the villages. The first generalized officer met with was the one administering a subdivision.
- (d) The development of administrative methodology is the responsibility of universities who themselves control large units of population for the purpose of determining practical means of applying basic knowledge for the welfare of the individuals in the community. The university is naturally also responsible for training the senior administrative officers in each major field of application of knowledge. The junior personnel are trained locally at the district base while the village workers receive their training at the subdivisional secondary centre.

The equipment and methodology of activities from the subdivisional base to the village were standardized.

The primary function of reconstruction in China was to initiate and to co-ordinate interested and duly constituted organizations and institutions to the joint solution of social-economic problems of the villages. Reconstruction administration did not include the responsibility either of solving the technical problems, which were considered to be a responsibility of institutions, or of administering activities that was the responsibility of duly constituted technical administrations. This policy seems significantly different on both counts from that developing in India, where reconstruction *qua* reconstruction not only itself attempts to develop the methodology to solve the social-economic problems but is even undertaking administration duplicating duly constituted administration. This policy is wholly untenable and will have to be revised if reconstruction in India is to produce significant results.

This foregoing difference in the two policies of organization and administration in China and India may be summarized as flexible technical judgment versus rule of thumb orthodoxy. There can never be a doubt as to which is the more resultful when it is a question of fixed programme of files and procedures against deeper technical discipline based upon strategy and planning.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**STUDIES IN THE PURANIC RECORDS ON HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS.** By R. C. HAZRA, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Published by the University of Dacca, Bulletin No. XX, 1940, pp. 367.

This work was approved as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree by the University of Dacca in 1936. In it the author has made a careful study of those chapters of the purāṇas that deal with Hindu rites and customs. His aim is to describe the vicissitudes of Hindu socio-religious life during different historical periods in the past. Dr. Hazra's book is divided into three sections. In the first, the chronology of the relevant puranic chapters has been considered ; in the second, the different stages of development of Hindu religious rites have been discussed and the third section consists of an appendix giving a list of references to puranic texts quoted by the authors of the smṛti books. The preparation of this list must have involved a tremendous amount of labour on the part of the author. These passages form the source material of Dr. Hazra's book. This section will prove to be extremely useful to future scholars working on this or on some allied problem. Dr. Hazra has tried to determine the chronology of the puranic chapters that deal with social order and religious practice by correlating their contents to the various works on smṛti. For the dates of the smṛti works he has generally relied on the findings of Mr. P. V. Kane as described in the latter's *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. I.

Dr. Hazra deserves the highest praise for the diligent care he has taken in collating the original puranic texts with the quotations found in the smṛtis but it is to be regretted that he has not been able to do full justice to his own material. One naturally expects that a scholar who deals with topics discussed by the purāṇas should have a fairly accurate conception of the nature of these books. This is a question of fundamental importance. Dr. Hazra's notion of the purāṇas is open to serious criticism. He has failed to recognize the distinction between the purāṇa and the mahāpurāṇa although the topics discussed respectively by these two classes of books have been definitely stated in more than one place by the authors of the purāṇas themselves and are known to Dr. Hazra. These passages will enable any one to see that the purāṇas in their pure form do not exist as separate books at present. They have been merged in the mahāpurāṇas. It is, however, quite easy for anybody interested in the subject to separate the pure puranic portion, by the five well-known characteristics of sarga, pratisarga, varṇśa,

manvantara and varṁśānucarita, from the other materials, viz., descriptions of religious rites, etc., forming the rest of the topics of the mahāpurāṇa. It seems further that the author has no clear notion of the five topics of the purāṇa and the relations they bear to one another. One should know exactly why these five topics are grouped together in the purāṇas before one can confidently assert that he has understood the full value of the puranic material.

The author has uncritically followed the European scholars in translating 'pratisarga' as 're-creation' and 'manvantara' as 'cosmic cycle'. As a matter of fact 'pratisarga' as a topic of the purāṇas means 'dissolution of the creation' and not 're-creation' or 'secondary creation'. The dissolution of the universe has been described in Vāyu, Chapter 102, under the heading 'pratyāhāra'. 'Pratyāhāra' is the same as 'pratisarga' as will be seen from the use of the latter term in the same chapter in slokas, 46, 53, 131, 132, 133 and 135. If the author had taken pains to read the topics considered under 'manvantara' he would have immediately seen that this term is a technical one indicating time scales. The ancient purāṇakāras have described in connection with manvantara the time scales they employed for various purposes and their methods of indicating chronology. In fact it is clearly stated in Vāyu, I. 79, that manvantara deals with the knowledge or information about time. The term manvantara has also been used to denote the period of one manu. There are fourteen manu periods in each 'kalpa' cycle which has been conceived on two scales, viz., 'human' and 'divine'. It is the 'divine' kalpa only that may be called a cosmic cycle.

The author is under the impression that the sources of the five different topics discussed in the purāṇas are to be traced to tales, anecdotes, songs, lores, etc. (see p. 4). In support of this view he has quoted a sloka from the purāṇas. This sloka with slight variants is to be found in Viṣṇu, Vāyu, etc. The Viṣṇu sloka is as follows:—

ākhyānaiś cāpyupākhyānair gāthābhiḥ kalpaśudhibhiḥ  
purāṇasaṁhitāṁ cakre purāṇārthaviśāradāḥ.

—Viṣ., III. 6, 16.

The author has taken this śloka to mean that tales, anecdotes, etc., 'were used by Vyasa in compiling the original purāṇa' (pp. 4, 5). The correct meaning of the śloka is that Vyasa compiled a purāṇasaṁhitā (a puranic collection and not an original purāṇa) and added to it the material derived from tales, lores, etc., or in other words he converted the purāṇas into a mahāpurāṇa. The third case inflexion in the words 'ākhyānaiḥ', etc., in the śloka does not signify 'by means of' but 'together with' ākhyāna, etc. (see Śrīdharabhāṣya on the śloka). Having failed to distinguish between the true nature of the puranic and that of the non-puranic materials in the mahāpurāṇa it was easy

for the author to assert that 'the present purāṇas have practically turned into smṛti codes' (p. 5). According to the purāṇakāras the puranic material proper was collected not from tales and traditions but from personal observations of reliable persons known as sūtas (Vāyu, I. 31-32, 4. 8, 99. 213; Matsya, 164. 16-18; Brahmāṇḍa, 1. 21). That the purāṇas contain records of past events is to be seen also from Vāyu, I. 201, and Matsya, 53. 71 ślokaś.

Besides the five puranic topics the mahāpurāṇas deal with visarga or secondary creation, means of livelihood, the incarnation of God for the purpose of maintaining religious and social order, the manifestations of prakṛti and the supreme Brahma. The descriptions of various religious rites and customs prevalent at different times thus form the legitimate subject-matter of the mahāpurāṇas. The mahāpurāṇas have been classified under three heads according as they give prominence to Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, not for any sectarian purpose but as specialized records of beliefs and customs with reference to the three aspects of the Godhead. It is certainly true that devotees of particular sects have utilized different mahāpurāṇas for the furtherance of their own faith.

The author is under the impression that the determination of the date of composition of a puranic chapter will enable him to fix the chronology of the socio-religious events discussed in the chapter. The mahāpurāṇas, according to their own statement, have been repeatedly redacted at different periods, and ancient materials have found place in comparatively recent writings. For instance, in the third book, eighth chapter of Viṣṇupurāṇa, Maitreya asks Parāśara a certain socio-religious question. Parāśara replies that in ancient times King Sagara asked this very question of Ourva and that he will repeat Ourva's teachings to Sagara in answer to Maitreya's question. The presumption is that in this chapter an ancient tradition has been preserved, and it will be very hazardous to assert that the date of composition of this chapter denotes the time when the customs described therein were prevalent. Our author has taken no pains to avoid this fallacy. It is unjustifiable to assume, as the author has done, that the descriptions of the Kali age refer especially to the disorganization of the society in the post-Buddhistic period. As a matter of fact the original Kali and the Kalki traditions refer to a much earlier period. The puranic Kali age started at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira and according to the Kalkipurāṇa the exploits of Kalki were events of the past. It says Kalki married the daughter of king Bṛhadratha, took king Viśākhayūpa as his ally and killed king Suddhodana and all mlecchas, yavanas and other heretics and restored dharma on this earth. (Kalki, 1. 4. 30; 2. 1. 25; 2. 3. 76; 2. 7. 28.) The names of these kings are to be found in the puranic dynastic lists and they had flourished long before Buddha.



The author believes that the purāṇa texts were written as a whole at some time or other and therefore whatever was added later should be considered as interpolation. Had the author appreciated the true nature of the purāṇas he would have seen that it was the aim of the purāṇakāras as honest recorders of events to keep the purāṇas up to date by the addition of fresh material. In some cases the names of the successive redactors have been mentioned in the purāṇas themselves. Unfortunately the sources that fed the purāṇas dried up some time after the Andhras and the later efforts to keep the purāṇas living were of a sporadic nature. The mention of such comparatively recent events as the reign of Queen Victoria in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa by some unknown redactor is thus quite in keeping with the spirit of the purāṇas. Therefore, the question of chronology of any particular chapter of any purāṇa is to be considered an useful problem only so long as it helps us to find the chronology of the events and customs described therein.

Wherever Dr. Hazra has found a similarity of language in the description of events or a similarity of events themselves in two different purāṇas he has jumped to the conclusion that the one must have borrowed from the other. Dr. Hazra forgets the possibility of a common source, such as a prevalent tradition or the descriptions given by the sūtas from whom the purāṇakāras, according to their own statements, got their materials. Dr. Hazra writes: 'Many myths and legends, which are found in a concise and older form in the Viṣṇu-p. appear in the Bhāgavata in a much enlarged and elaborate version.... In the Bhāgavata there are stories which are not found in the Viṣṇu..... From all this it appears that the Viṣṇu-p. is older than the Bhāgavata' (p. 22). It is needless to point out the logical fallacy that underlies such deductions from negative premises but unfortunately this is a favourite style of argument of the author.

Wherever in any purāṇa Dr. Hazra has been unable to trace a connection between a previous description and an immediately succeeding one he has supposed that interpolations have occurred. I quote a typical example. 'Again, in Mat. 50, 68-71 (Vā. 99, 260-263; the Vāyu differs in readings in several places) the sages, wishing to hear of the future, put to Sūta several questions about (1) future kings—their names and the periods of their reigns, and (2) the future ages—their characteristic signs, their merits and defects, and the happiness and miseries of the people during these ages. Consequently Sūta, promising to narrate to them the future Kali age, the future Manvantaras and the future kingships, begins with the future kings and answers all the questions in Mat. 50 (verses 77 to the end = Vā. 99, 270-280a) and 271-273 (= Vā. 99, 281, to the end). About the future Manvantaras, which Sūta himself wants to narrate nothing is said in the Matsya-p. whereas in the Vāyu these are dealt

with in the following chapter (i.e. chapter 100). From these disagreements between the two purāṇas it follows that the Matsya-p. borrowed only those chapters from the Vāyu which it found necessary without caring for the lines containing references to other chapters of the Vāyu' (pp. 29-30). In the first place it is not correct to say that Matsya-purāṇa has not dealt with future manvantaras. In Chapter 51 which follows the one containing the sūtas' promise we do find a description of the future manvantaras as promised by the sūta. Then again in Chapter 9 also of the Matsya-purāṇa future manvantaras have been described. Dr. Hazra would have us believe that the interpolators must have been very foolish people as they even failed to efface the lines containing tell-tale references.

In another place the author writes: 'thus the unknown interpolator creates an opportunity for himself to insert some of the chapters of the Kūrma-p. In doing so he has tried to efface the Śaiva stamp which those chapters bear. Thus in a few places the names of Śiva have been replaced conveniently by those of Viṣṇu, while in many other places the names of the god have been retained intact' (p. 111).

It seems that according to our learned author it was not only the interpolators that showed a curious admixture of foolishness and carelessness but also the smṛti authors showed similar traits. He writes: 'The few cases, in which the verses quoted by Hemādri from the Bhaviṣya-p., are found in the Uttara Parvan, must be due to the confusion between the titles "Bhaviṣya" and "Bhaviṣyottara"' (p. 170). According to the author although some of the smṛti writers knew the apocryphal character of the present Brabma-purāṇa still they quoted from it. They were foolish enough to believe in the authoritativeness of the upapurāṇas and to give them the same importance as the mahāpurāṇas as sources of dharma (pp. 146, 151). The attitude, seen in some modern scholars, of considering purāṇakāras and other ancient authors as foolish and careless persons incapable of even simple calculations, indulging in all sorts of exaggerations for the purpose of deceiving people and unable to guard themselves against inconsistencies which even a child would detect, is indeed curious.

In Part II of his book the author, in trying to give a description of the Hindu society and the different stages in the development of puranic rites and customs, has depended generally on non-puranic sources; he has merely reflected the well-known views of the European scholars. The author's wrong ideas of the nature of the purāṇas and his unfamiliarity with the broad principles of the Hindu religion and of the relations existing among the vedas, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, have landed him in a pitfall in many places. European scholars have been familiar with the history of an almost continuous enmity between the Church and the State in their own country and they have

naturally assumed from the record of a few quarrels between a Brāhmaṇa priest and Kṣatriya ruler that in India also there must have been a similar eternal opposition between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas; their personal attitude towards the caste system and towards the supremacy enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas in certain affairs of life made them readily believe in the anti-thesis, brahminical and non-brahminical, which they have ridden to death. It is a pity that some Indian scholars should allow themselves to be dominated by such views.

The absence of critical insight on the part of the author has resulted in his making contradictory statements at several places. He writes on p. 252, 'From what has been said above it is clear that in the Purāṇas the Brāhmins adopt every possible means to make the people bounteous to themselves. They are not, however, satisfied with this even. They become so greedy for gifts that they call upon the administrative power of the king to force the people to be charitable to themselves in normal times as well as in famines . . . The avaricious character of the gift-seeking Brāhmins seems also to be indicated by the stories of fatal quarrels over the possessions of gifts'. In p. 255, however, the author draws quite a different picture. 'In spite of all their preachings for gifts, the Brāhmins seem never to have ignored the ideal of simplicity and asceticism. They formulate that a Brāhman should live a simple life in which excess of wealth should have no place. He should not be greedy, nor should he be anxious for the acceptance of gifts, because greed of money causes degradation. He should accept from others only the amount which will give him a bare subsistence . . . they are to spend it for the maintenance of their dependents, for the worship of gods, for entertaining guests, for performing sacrifices and for making gifts, but never for enjoyment.'

Inferences, deductions and interpretations are not the author's strong points but the book will be considered valuable for its appendix.

G. BOSE.

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**THE SANTAL INSURRECTION OF 1855-57.—BY KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.** Published by the University of Calcutta, 1940.

Dr. Datta deserves our thanks for drawing attention to the little known Santal Insurrection. Historians are divided between those who can see a pattern in the sequence of events, and those to whom the pattern remains hidden. This story at least points a moral, that even the humblest subjects of a country are affected by changes in the government. Unlike the Sepoy mutiny, the Santal rising was not in its origin anti-British, nevertheless it was a result of the spread of British power in India. The extension of the reign of law and order gave more security to the propertied classes, and so far as the Santals were concerned, legalised the rapacity of the money lenders into whose clutches they were falling. The administration was inexperienced in the art of protecting special classes of people, and a widespread breakdown of authority resulted. All this has been well brought out by Dr. Datta, who also devotes most of his pages to an account of the outbreak and progress of the insurrection, and the measures taken to suppress it. He has assiduously searched record rooms in Bhagalpur and Dumka, and has also unearthed some contemporary manuscripts in Bengali and Hindi, which portray vividly the hysteria which prevailed in the bazaars of what is now the Santal Parganas in the rainy season of 1855. It is hard to escape a feeling, however, that the actual events of the insurrection, and government measures for suppressing it were of little significance in themselves. The occasional clashes between troops and the hordes of primitively armed rioters (for that is what they were in fact), hardly deserve to be treated seriously as military operations.

We confess to being disappointed with Chapter IV, entitled 'Sequel to the Insurrection'. Not only was the Government convinced of 'the necessity of adopting prompt measures to bring Santali areas under an effective administrative control', but the creation of a non-regulation district led to the possibility of Government regarding itself as the trustee of the Santal, and so setting up a system of administration suited to primitive people. How far this opportunity has been successfully used is another matter and one which we could scarcely expect to find debated in a history of the insurrection. There is not sufficient recognition of the fact that there are very considerable Santal areas outside the area in which the disturbances took place, in which the Santals continued to live for many decades under difficulties which were removed for their brethren in the Santal Parganas as a result of the insurrection. It is not entirely accurate to picture the direction of missionary activity to the aboriginals as one of the important results of the insurrection.

The Rev. James Phillips, of Midnapur, had by 1852 published 'An Introduction to the Santali Language'.

The student of Santal culture will be merely tantalized by this book. To take one example, from several that might be chosen, there is the twice repeated reference to the Santals making use of 'poisoned arrows'. What is the authority for this statement, and can it be trusted? So far as the reviewer is aware the art of poisoning the tips of arrows is unknown to the Santals of to-day, nor do they appear to have any tradition of such an accomplishment in the past. Have we here a clue to some little known and hitherto unsuspected trait in Santal culture, or is the statement based on evidence which cannot be (ethnologically) trusted? One could have wished for more treatment of those features of the rising which would throw light on the psychology of primitive mass movements. Perhaps the available records are too meagre to yield much result, but it is a pity that the invaluable narrative of Choṭraṇ Desmañjhi, a Santal, who as a boy of fourteen or fifteen took part in the rising, is apparently unknown to the author. (It is published only in Santali, at the Benagaria Mission Press.)

There are several appendices which considerably enhance the value of the book, and we are grateful too for the useful index.

W. J. CULSHAW.

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**ṚGVEDA: VOLUME I (AṢṬAKAS 1 AND 2, pp. 10+478). TRANSLATED INTO TELUGU BY SHRI B. MALLAYYA SĀSTRĪ. Published by the Vinayāshram, Guntur Dt., Andhra Desh. Price Rs.2-8.**

The long-awaited Telugu translation of Ṛgveda has come out for the first time from the nationalistic Vinayashram, one of whose fundamental aims is to publish in Telugu all the sacred books of the Orient.

This volume enables many a layman to have a peep into the ancient culture of Hindusthan. The original text is given with the *svara*, accompanied by a faithful rendering of Sāyana's immortal commentary. Here and there the translation affords some difficulty in *anvaya*, owing to the mixing up of the grammatical and the colloquial dialects, so common with the Sanskrit scholars of Andhra Desh. The language is lucid, despite its archaisms.

Naturally enough, being the first of its lot, a good number of unwanton things have crept into the text, which, we hope, will be remedied in the subsequent volumes. The omission of the *padapāṭha*, even in the first edition, causes much regret to the students of Vedic literature and culture. So far an edition of Ṛgveda without *padapāṭha* was considered to be above uncertainty, for it is the latter that makes many a *Rk* easy of understanding, despite a faithful translation. The complexity of the situation has been enhanced by the improper spacing given throughout. Curiously enough some mistakes have crept even into the text as in 1. 4. 3 अगहि for आगहि, 1. 4. 10 मदा नेत्यपारः for महान्त्यपारः, 1. 9. 1 महानभिष्टि for महान अभिष्टि, 1. 10. 5 निष्टिषे for निष्टिषे, and so on.

Lack of proper accentuation, as in 1. 12. 9, distinguishes some. When our ancestors handed down the text with proper *padapāṭha* and *svara*, from generation to generation with some belief in its sanctity, it would have been better if all errors were avoided at least in the *Rk* text. We hope these things will be properly taken care of in the subsequent editions.

Anyhow, the text is a valuable addition to the Āndhra Sārasvat, as it serves as an inspiring text for the educationists and the literary people to undertake some more editions of the Ṛgveda in the future. In the preface we are promised that the views of the modern interpreters and of some other ancient commentators, together with the Translator's views, will appear in the last volume, which, when it is published, will be a really noteworthy original contribution in the field of Vedic exegetics in Telugu.

P. S. SASTRI.



# INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS FOR THE SUBMISSION OF PAPERS FOR PUBLICATION IN THE JOURNAL AND MEMOIRS OF THE SOCIETY.

## PAPERS

1. All communications submitted to the Society for publication should be addressed to the General Secretary and not to any officer by name. They should be type-written on one side of the paper with sufficient margin on the sides, and in all respects must be absolutely in their final form for printing.

2. Papers must be accompanied by a brief abstract not exceeding 1,000 words, which shall indicate the subject of the paper and the nature of the advance in the existing knowledge on the subject.

3. Tables of contents (for long papers), references to the plates and literatures, etc., should be given in their proper places.

4. Quotations in Oriental languages should be in the original script, and wherever they are transliterated the System of Transliteration adopted by the Society must be followed (see instruction 15). The names of *genera* and *species* in the case of biological communications should be underlined to indicate that they are to be printed in italics.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

5. All drawings and photographic prints should be as clear as possible. They should be in a form immediately suitable for reproduction, preferably of a size to permit reduction to about two-thirds the linear dimensions of the original, and should be capable of reproduction by photographic processes.

6. Drawings and diagrams to be reproduced as line blocks should be made with fixed Indian ink, preferably on fine white Bristol board, free from folds or creases; smooth clean lines or sharp dots, but no washes or colours should be employed for shading. The positions of the illustrations that are to appear in the text must be clearly indicated in the margin of the paper; and explanations of the figures should be typed at the end of the main paper with the indication: *Explanation of text-figures*.

7. The maximum space allowable for illustrations in the *Journal* and the *Memoirs* are as follows:—

*Journal, text, 3½" × 6½"; Plates, 4½" × 7".*

*Memoirs, text, 6¼" × 9"; Plates, 7½" × 9½".*

These spaces include the usual figure numbering. Explanations of the plates to be printed on separate pages, facing the plates, must be typed on separate sheets.

## PROOFS

8. A proof of each paper will be sent to the author, on the address given on the MS.

9. No alteration or addition necessitating any considerable change of type may be made in the proofs. Should such alterations or additions be necessary, these must be added as footnotes duly dated and initialled. The cost of corrections made in the proofs should not exceed 20% of the printers' charges for the setting of the paper; any excess will be charged to the authors.

10. The proof must, if possible, be returned within one week of the date of receipt to the Society duly corrected.



## MISCELLANEOUS

11. Authors of papers published in the Society's *Journal* and *Memoirs* are entitled to receive *gratis* 30 copies of each paper, and as many more as they require on payment of the cost of printing, paper, and make up. Such requirements must be stated at the time of returning the proofs.

12. Papers by non-Members of the Society must be communicated through a Member, who shall satisfy himself that the paper is suitable for presentation to the Society, and is ready for the press.

13. No communications under consideration or accepted for the Society's publications may be published elsewhere without the express sanction of the Council.

14. To facilitate the compilation of indexes, each author is requested to return to the Society together with the proof, a brief index of the contents of the paper. These indexes will be edited and incorporated in the volume when completed.

15. The following systems of transliteration are henceforth to be followed (as far as practicable) in the publications of the Society, in quoting non-European words as such. In giving names of places, authors or books, which would occur in the course of the English text, a 'broad' transcription, following English values of the consonants and avoiding diacritical marks, is recommended.

## SANSKRIT

अ = a    आ = ā    इ = i    ई = ī    उ = u    ऊ = ū  
 ए = e    ओ = o    ऌ = ṛ    ॡ = ṝ    ए = e (or ē)    ऐ = ai (or ai)  
 औ = o (or ō)    औ = au (or au) (Prakrit अर अउ = aī, aū)  
 ऽ (Anusvāra) = ṁ    ः (Visarga) = ḥ    × (Jihvāmūliya) = ḫ  
 ॡ (Upadhmanīya) = φ

Sandhi Vowels may be indicated as â î û ê ô. Avagraha = '.  
 Accents in Vedic—Udatta á â etc. Svarita—â.

क ख ग घ ङ = k kh g gh ṅ (or ṇ)  
 च छ ज झ ञ = c ch j jh ṇ (or ṇ)  
 ट ठ ड ढ ण = ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ  
 त थ द ध न = t th d dh n  
 प फ ब भ म = p ph b bh m  
 य र ल व = y r l v (or w)  
 श ष स ह = ś ṣ s h  
 ङ ञ = ṅ ṇ

## HINDI (and other North Indian Speeches)

As for Sanskrit, only nasalised Vowels are to be indicated by a tilde mark (~) above the Vowel (e.g. अँ अॉ अँ अँ = ā ã ī ã).

etc.), and  $\text{क़ ढ़}$  are to be denoted optionally by either  $\text{d dh}$  or by  $\text{r rh}$ . Care should be taken in distinguishing  $\text{ब}$  and  $\text{व}$  ( $b$  and  $v$ )—the latter preferably may be written as  $w$  rather than  $v$ , specially in intervocal and final positions. The final silent  $-a$  may be optionally omitted : but in quoting Early Hindi, etc. the final  $a$  should be retained.  $\text{ळ ञ$  as in Rajasthani, Panjabi, etc. are to be indicated as in Vedic.

## BENGALI

The system for Sanskrit, with the provision for nasal Vowels and for  $\text{ড় ঢ}$  (=  $\text{ক্ৰ ড়}$ ) as in Hindi. For  $\text{ব}$  ( $\text{অন্তঃস্থ ব}$ ), in all *tatsama* or pure Sanskrit words,  $y$  should be employed, in Prakritic and semi-tatsama words,  $j$ ; subscribed  $\text{ব}$  (=  $\text{ব-ফলা}$ ) should be indicated by  $y$ . The difference between  $\text{বর্ণিত ব}$  (=  $b$ ) and  $\text{অন্তঃস্থ ব}$  (=  $v, w$ ) need not be indicated for Bengali— $b$  may be written for both : only subscribed  $\text{ব}$  ( $\text{ব-ফলা}$ ) is to be written as  $w$  (e.g. Skt. *Viśvāsa* = Bengali *Biśwās*). Final  $-a$  may be omitted optionally, but it should be retained for Early Bengali.

## ARABIC

In transcribing Arabic, according to the context either (i) the native Arab pronunciation (as current in the *Jazīratu-l-‘Arab*) or (ii) the Perso-Indian pronunciation may be followed.

(i) Arabic in native Arab Pronunciation—

أ (alif hamza) = ’; ب = b, ت = t, ث = th (or θ); ج = j (or ġ), ح = h, خ = kh (or x, or x); د = d, ذ = dh (or δ); ر = r, ز = z; س = s, ش = sh (or š); ص = s, ض = d; ط = t (or t), ظ = z (or z); ع = ’, غ = gh (or γ); ف = f, ق = q; ك = k; ل = l; م = m; ن = n; و = w, ū; ه = h; ي = y, ī.

ـَـ respectively = a, i, u (or ē, ē optionally in place of i, u), ا = a, i, u; آ = ā; إ = i; ū = ū; ع = ay (or ai); و = aw (or au); tanwīn = <sup>un, an, in</sup> above line; ه = h. (Note: عبد الحق = ‘Abdu-l-Ḥaqq, or ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, not ‘Abd-ul-Ḥaqq.)

ة = t (or h, or th).

(ii) Arabic in Perso-Indian Pronunciation, in the case of the following letters—

ث = ṡ, ذ = ḏ, ض = ṣ, ط = ṭ.

## PERSIAN

As for Arabic in Perso-Indian Pronunciation, with the following special Persian letters added :

پ = p, چ = ch (or c, or ċ), ژ = zh (or ž), گ = g.

و may be indicated for Persian by v rather than w.

For Early Modern Persian, and Indian pronunciation of Persian, the *majhūl* sounds of و and و (= ē, ō) may be employed side by side with the *ma'rūf* sounds (= ī, ū).

و = au, ai. Nasalisation (*nūn-i-ghunna*) may be indicated by *tilde* mark (˜) on the top of the Vowel, as in the case of Hindi, etc.

*Hā-i-mukhtaṭfī* can be represented optionally as ah or a.

The *Izāfat* is to be written as -i- (or -ā- optionally).

## URDU

As for Persian, only و = w, rather than v. See also the directions for Hindi. The special Urdu letters in the Perso-Arabic alphabet for Urdu are to be transcribed as in Hindi, e.g. ث = ṭ, ذ = ḏ, ض = ṣ (or ṣ).

## TAMIL

In transcribing Old Tamil, the modern pronunciation should not be followed—an exact transliteration will be enough for the purpose. This is in case of the consonants, which for Old Tamil should be indicated as below :—

|                                  |                                        |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| க = k (never g, even medially) ; | ங = ṅ (or ŋ)                           |
| ச = c (never ś, or j) ;          | ஞ = ṇ (or ɲ)                           |
| ட = ṭ (never ḍ, even medially) ; | ண = ṇ ;                                |
| த = t (never d, or th) ;         | ந = n ;                                |
| ப = p (never b, or v) ;          | ம = m ;                                |
| ய ர ல் வ = y, r, l, v ;          | ள் = ḷ ; ன் = n' ; ற = r' (ன்ற = n'r', |
| not ndr ; ற்ற = r'r', not tt) ;  | ழ = ṣ (or ḷ) ; ஃ ( <i>āytam</i> ) = ḥ. |

Long ē and Long ō are to be distinguished from the corresponding short vowels by the *macron* or length mark—the short e and short o being left unmarked.

## TIBETAN

|             |    |     |         |   |        |
|-------------|----|-----|---------|---|--------|
| Vowels—     | a  | i   | u       | e | o      |
| Consonants— | k  | kh  | g       | ñ | (or ŋ) |
|             | c  | ch  | j       | ñ | (or ɲ) |
|             | t  | th  | d       | n |        |
|             | p  | ph  | b       | m |        |
|             | ts | tsh | dz      | w |        |
|             | ž  | z   | '(or ɣ) |   |        |
|             | y  | r   | l       | š | s h    |

Silent letters need not be attempted to be indicated in transcription, but if necessary, the modern pronunciation may be denoted by some consistent system of phonetic transcription within brackets after the transliterated Tibetan (or *vice versa*).

## CHINESE

Usually the North Mandarin Pronunciation should be represented, in Wade's system, with tones denoted by numerals. As far as necessary or practicable, the original Chinese character and the reconstructed pronunciation of it in Ancient Chinese should be given within brackets.



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## The Life and Works of Amír Ḥasan Dihlaví.

By M. I. BORAH.

(Communicated by Dr. Bains Prashad.)

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### I. THE LIFE OF ḤASAN.

*Name and Parentage.*—One of the most important Indo-Persian poets of the late seventh and early eighth centuries of the Hijra, whose works are read and admired even beyond the boundaries of India, is Amír Ḥasan Dihlaví. His full name is Amír Najm u'd-Dín Ḥasan Dihlaví, son of Khwāja 'Alá'u'd-Dín Sistání, often known as 'Alá'-i-Sanjari (?).<sup>1</sup> The poet adopted Hasan as his *Takhallus* or poetical name. As he was born and brought up at Dihli (Delhi) he is known as Ḥasan-i-Dihlaví. We know very little about his parentage except the fact mentioned by some biographers that he was born of a noble family of Delhi.<sup>2</sup> The members of this family, it seems, were immigrants to India from Sistán as the appellation Sistání added to his father's name indicates.

The title of Amír has been borne by two of the Indo-Persian poets, Ḥasan and his contemporary Khusraw. With regard to Khusraw we have historical evidence which says that the rank of Amír was conferred upon him by Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Firúz-Sháh Khaljī.<sup>3</sup> But there is no such testimony either external or internal to show that Hasan was ever raised to such a position by any of the ruling princes or kings. Most of the historians and biographers say that he was a *nadím* or a courtier at the court of several kings and princes but none of them says that he was ever made an Amír. The biographers

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, p. 359; C.P.B., Vol. I, p. 196. Sanjari, I think, is an error of the copyists for Sijzi, i.e. an inhabitant of Sijistan or Sistán.

<sup>2</sup> K.A., Add. 18542, f. 65a; D.T.S., p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Firishta, Vol. I, p. 156.

further do not all use the title of Amír before his name. Some use the word Khvāja, some Shaykh and Mír,<sup>1</sup> and a small number Amír. But in the case of Khusraw, almost all the biographers regularly call him Amír. From this difference of treatment made by the biographers in the use of this appellation, and the absence of other evidence, we can reasonably say that the title of Amír was not officially conferred upon him. It was probably accorded to him by the people as a mark of respect generally shown towards the sons of the nobles and the Saiyids. Ḥasan belonged to a family of Saiyid, as we know from one of his odes where he addresses himself as Saiyid Ḥasan.<sup>2</sup> It is a custom in India to address the son of a Saiyid as 'Mír Šāhib' which is an abbreviation of Amír Šāhib. Therefore it is apparent that his designation of Amír was a mere dignity or a title of rank usually applied to the descendants of the Prophet.

*The date of his birth and death.*—Although the biographers are quite silent about the date of the birth of our poet, we have internal evidence at our disposal from which we can conclusively deduce the year in which he was born. In the preface to his *Díván* he says that he had completed its compilation when he was sixty-three years of age.<sup>3</sup> But the date of the compilation, which is to be found only in the two existing prefaces attached to the copies of his *Díván* at the India Office and the Bankipore libraries, has been variously given. According to the India office copy it was completed on Sunday the twentieth of *Zi'l-Qa'da*, A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315),<sup>4</sup> and the Bankipore copy gives the date as Sunday, *Rabī' I.*, A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314).<sup>5</sup> Of these two dates the Bankipore date seems to be the more reliable. The poet says that this collection was completed during the reign of 'Alá' u'd-Dīn Khaljī who was of the same age as himself.<sup>6</sup> 'Alá' u'd-Dīn died on the eighth of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315).<sup>7</sup> The date assigned to the compilation of the *Díván* in the India Office library copy would show that it was completed one month after the death of 'Alá' u'd-Dīn, whereas the poet says that it was already complete during the Sultan's lifetime. Consequently we can accept the Bankipore date as authentic, and thus place the date of the poet's birth in the year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), during the reign of Sultan Násir u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd.

All the biographers, except Taqí Káshí, agree that the poet died at Deogír or Dawlatábád. But Taqí Káshí says that he

<sup>1</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 201. The *Majma'* calls him a Shaykh, probably in the sense of a pious man, not as a class as understood in India.

<sup>2</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 108 (b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 1a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2b.

<sup>5</sup> C.P.B., p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 1.

<sup>7</sup> B.N., Add. 21,104, f. 383.—

تاریخ هر دو شاه ز شوال دو چهار تاریخ عام بازده هفتصد از شمار

died at Delhi, twenty years after the death of Amír Khusraw and that he was buried at the foot of the tomb of his spiritual guide Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá.<sup>1</sup> But no other writer corroborates his statement. If his tomb had been at Delhi, it would immediately have attracted popular reverence and have become a place of pilgrimage as is the case with the tombs of Shaykh Nizám-u'd-Dín Awliyá and Amír Khusraw. Badáúní on the other hand definitely says that he died at Dawlatábád 'where his tomb is well known and is visited as a sacred shrine'.<sup>2</sup>

The statement of Badáúní has been corroborated by the *Mir'át-u'l-Abrár*, a biography of saints written in the eleventh century A.H., which says<sup>3</sup> :—

'He was buried at Deogir or Dawlatábád, near the sepulchre of Shaykh Burhán u'd-Dín Gharíb.<sup>4</sup> His tomb is a place of pilgrimage to the people of that country, who call him Ḥasan Shír or Ḥasan the Lion, because no one can stay near his tomb at night. If any one, through ignorance and foolishness, stays for a night at his grave, he sees the vision of a lion and falls into a swoon.' We can therefore take the statement of Badáúní as correct and accept Dawlatábád as the place of his death and burial.

We have no conclusive evidence as to the exact date of his death. The dates given by the biographers vary from A.H. 707 to A.H. 769, (A.D. 1307-67). I shall therefore, first of all, give the dates which have been assigned by different writers and then try to ascertain, as closely as possible, what the correct date is. The following dates have been given by the under-mentioned authorities:

Mírzá Bídil gives the following chronogram:

حسن دهلوی بمزرع دهر تخم نیکی و نیکنامی کشت  
هاتف بانگ زد ای سائل (؟) سال تاریخ فوت اوست بهشت

'Hasan Dihlaví in the meadow of the world,  
Sowed the seed of goodness and fame;  
The invisible speaker cried aloud, "O, enquirer!"  
The date of his death is (*Bihisht*) Paradise.'

The numerical value of the letters B.H.Sh.T. of the word *Bihisht* = 2+5+300+400 = 707 = A.D. 1307.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K.A.Z.A., I.O.L., No. 667, f. 541a.

<sup>2</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> M.A., Or. 1756, f. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Shaykh Burhán u'd-Dín Gharíb was one of the devoted disciples of Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín. He was deputed by his spiritual guide to preach Islam at Burhánpúr and Dawlatábád. S.A., Or. 224, f. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Bayáz*, Add. 16, 803, f. 435.



*Mir'at u'l-Khayāl*,<sup>1</sup> A.H. 707 = A.D. 1307.

*Kalimāt u'sh-shu'arā*,<sup>2</sup> A.H. 707 = A.D. 1307.

<sup>3</sup> *Khulāṣat u'l-Afkār*, A.H. 738 = A.D. 1337.

<sup>4</sup> *Taqī-Kāshī*, A.H. 745 = A.D. 1344.

<sup>5</sup> *Tazkira-i-Husaynī*, A.H. 769 = A.D. 1367.

Badā'ūnī<sup>6</sup> and Firishta<sup>7</sup> say that he died at Dawlatābād in the year of the transfer of the capital by Muḥammad Tughlaq from Delhi to Dawlatābād.

We cannot accept the year 707 A.H. as the date of his death. This was the year when he commenced the writing of his prose book known as *Favā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, in the completion of which he spent fifteen years, from A.H. 707 to 722.<sup>8</sup> This was the most fruitful and active period of his life, during which he also compiled his *Divān*.<sup>9</sup> We are therefore quite certain that he lived until A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322). We have also evidence that he survived his spiritual guide Nizām u'd-Dīn Awliyā and his contemporary Amīr Khusraw, and he is said to have written a chronogram giving the date of Khusraw's death.<sup>10</sup> Amīr Khusraw died in A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325): It is therefore evident that Ḥasan died some time after this year. The other dates given by the biographers are not corroborated either by direct or circumstantial evidence. Therefore, in the absence of any conclusive evidence, we can rely on the statement of Badā'ūnī and Firishta which seems to be the most probable and place the date of his death some time after the transfer of the Indian capital from Delhi to Deogīr or Dawlatābād.

The transference of the capital from Delhi to Dawlatābād by Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq was actuated not by his peculiar whims or caprices as some historians believe, but by a sincere desire to make the centre of his dominion in a more central place, from which he could reign with greater ease and vigilance.<sup>11</sup> With this end in view he took this step after the rebellion of Gurshāsp, the governor of the principality of Sāgar in the Deccan.<sup>12</sup> This rebellion occurred in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327),<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or. 231, f. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 470, f. 155. This MS. reads as 807, but I think it is the copyist's error who wrote eight instead of seven.

<sup>3</sup> Add. 18, 542, f. 65.

<sup>4</sup> I.O.L., No. 667, f. 541.

<sup>5</sup> Or. 229, f. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I, p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I, p. 262.

<sup>8</sup> Or. 1806, f. 132.

<sup>9</sup> D.H., I.O.L., No. 1223, f. 2b.

<sup>10</sup> My.K., Or. 3537, f. 141.

<sup>11</sup> Baranī, p. 473; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 242.

<sup>12</sup> Firishta, Vol. I, p. 241. Badā'ūnī calls him the Inspector-General of the forces.

<sup>13</sup> Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 226; Firishta has not given the date of this rebellion and the transference of the capital from Delhi to Deogīr. He

and this is the year when the Sultan decreed the transference of the capital. The royal decree had compelled the officers of the court and all those connected with the business of the State to move immediately to the new Capital; but the people were left to their own will, although encouragement was given and persuasion was attempted and various facilities were provided for their voluntary transfer.<sup>1</sup> But two years after this decree, i.e. in A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328) when the Sultan was returning from his war against Tarmashírín,<sup>2</sup> the Mongol invader of India, he ordered the transference of the entire population of Delhi to Dawlatábád.<sup>3</sup> This second decree was issued more as a punitive than as an administrative measure. According to Ibn Baṭṭa, the Sultan took this vindictive step as a measure against some of the inhabitants of Delhi who wrote anonymous letters reproaching him for the removal of the court.<sup>4</sup> The indiscreet act of a few made the entire population of Delhi suffer the awful consequences of this monstrous decree. It was probably during this year that Ḥasan migrated to Dawlatábád. He would not have left Delhi, his birthplace and the shrine of his spiritual guide Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá unless he had been forced to do so; his death followed in the same year, probably hastened by his inability to withstand the climate of the Deccan at such an advanced age.

*His childhood and youth.*—Of the childhood and early education of our poet very little is known beyond the fact that he began to compose poetry from the age of thirteen, which we know from an incidental reference in his prose preface attached to the *Diván*.<sup>5</sup> Nothing has ever been said as to whether he was put under any tutor for his education and training. He makes, of course, occasional references in his *Diván*, to his indebtedness to the great Persian poets Sa'dí and Shaykh Abú-Sa'íd in whose footsteps he followed.<sup>6</sup> But there was no opportunity for him

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gives in detail the causes of the transfer of the capital and narrates the whole history abruptly after his account of the Sultan's expedition to Himáchal which was led in A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337-38). This has led Briggs in his *Mahomedan Power in India* to suppose A.H. 738 to be the date of the transfer of the capital from Delhi. But the text does not show any chronological relation of the one with the other. The Himáchal expedition was led eleven years after the transfer of the capital (*vide* Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 229).

<sup>1</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Identified with the Chaghatá'í, 'Alá'u'd-Dín-Tarmashírín who reigned in Transoxiana from 1322-1330 or 34; *vide* C.H.I., Vol. III, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 228; Firishta also mentions of this second decree; (Vol. I, p. 243). Baraní gives no date of this important event.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Baṭṭa, Vol. II, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 1.

در سیزده سالگی . . . نظمی از كورة تفكر حاصل می آمد

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 75a, 107a, 137b.

to meet either of them. It seems, therefore, he must have received a sound education at home, as was the custom among the noble families of those days; and with this to start with, he must have devoted himself to the study of great minds, and thus developed the poetic genius which was innate in him.

We find Hasan in the prime of his youth working in a baker's shop, where Amír Khusraw, his contemporary, first met him. The amiable nature and elegant disposition, which he displayed in a short conversation with Khusraw, led to the growth of their mutual admiration and friendship. It was on the same day that he was introduced to Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá, the greatest saint of his time. The occasion of this meeting is described in the following way<sup>1</sup>:—

'One day Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá was passing through the market-place with some of his companions, among whom was Amír Khusraw then in the prime of his youth. Khvāja Hasan, the poet, who was extremely handsome and a perfect master of excellence, was sitting at the counter of a baker's shop. When Amír Khusraw saw him he found him to be a person of elegant, graceful and attractive nature. He became enamoured of him and he went to the shop and asked him, "How do you sell your bread?" Hasan replied, "I put the bread on one scale of the balance and ask the customer to put his money on the other, when the money overweighs, I allow the customer to go". Amír Khusraw said, "If the customer has no money what would you do?" He replied, "I accept his grief and supplication in place of gold". Amír Khusraw became astonished at this reply of Hasan. Then he reported the matter to the Shaykh. Khvāja Hasan, also being enamoured of him, left his business on that very day. Although he had not become a disciple of the Shaykh at that time, he began to frequent his monastery and busied himself in the acquisition of knowledge.' From this time, as the story goes, there developed a great friendship between Khusraw and Hasan.

*Earliest Association with Royal Courts.*—The exact date and occasion of his entry into the royal court is not known. The only reference we come across is in the *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád*,<sup>2</sup> where he says that he accompanied Sultán Ghiyás u'd-Dín Balban in his campaign against Tughril the rebellious Governor of Bengal at Lakhnawti. This rebellion was made in A.H. 673<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1279), so it appears that he came into contact with the court some time before this.

<sup>1</sup> Firishta, Vol. II, p. 754.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 1806, f. 69a. He says that in this campaign he passed all his days with Shams-i-Dabir, the Secretary of Bughra Khán, the Governor of Bengal after Tughrul.

<sup>3</sup> Firishta, Vol. I, p. 138.

He did not stay long at Lakhnawtí. He returned to Delhi with the King, and in A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280) he was invited by prince Muḥammad Sulṭán, the eldest son of Balban, to his court at Multán.<sup>1</sup> This prince held Amír Ḥasan and his contemporary Khusraw in very high esteem and conferred upon them the offices of the *Davát-Dár*<sup>2</sup> and *Maṣḥaf-Dár*,<sup>3</sup> respectively, and included them in the circle of his boon companions. Both these poets were in his service for a period of about five years till his death in A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285)<sup>4</sup> in a battle fought against the Mongol horde under the command of Aítimír Khán.

Prince Muḥammad, known as Qá'án Malik or Khán-i-Shahíd,<sup>5</sup> was a great patron of letters. The profuse generosity which he showed towards the men of learning and the encouragement which he gave to the advancement of knowledge made him very popular among his subjects and attracted men of letters to his court. In his zeal for fame he twice sent for Sa'dí of Shíráz to come to Multán. On both of these occasions he sent to the poet the expenses of the journey and promised to build a monastery for him and devote the revenue from several villages to its maintenance. But Sa'dí refused this offer, and excused his inability to comply with the request on account of his old age and sent to the prince some *Ghazals* written in his own hand.<sup>6</sup> It is said that the prince himself prepared a *Bayáz*, or anthology, containing twenty thousand selected couplets from the works of the best Persian poets, which has been highly praised by Ḥasan and Khusraw as an excellent specimen of judicious selection. After the death of the prince it was given by Balban to Amír 'Alí Jáma-dár, who in turn bequeathed it to Amír Khusraw.<sup>7</sup>

A very interesting account of the Court and character of Prince Muḥammad, with special reference to his benevolent treatment of Amír Ḥasan and other men of letters has been given by Ziyá Baraní. He says<sup>8</sup> :—

'The court of Muḥammad Sultan was full of men of talent and profound scholars. His *nadíms* or boon companions used

<sup>1</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Keeper of the Royal Inkstand', a rank of high honour.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Keeper of the Imperial *Qur'án*', a rank of high honour.

<sup>4</sup> Baraní, p. 109. The *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* is wrong in stating that they served the prince for a period of three years only. (*Vide* Add. 1725, f. 104.)

<sup>5</sup> Qá'án Malik is the title given to him by Balban on the occasion of his appointment to the governorship of Multán. (*Vide* Baraní, p. 66.) He is known as Khán-i-Shahíd or 'the martyr prince' after his death in the battle fought against the Mongols.

<sup>6</sup> Baraní, p. 68. Dawlat-Sháh is wrong in stating that Sa'dí came to India to see Khusraw (T.D.S., p. 239).

<sup>7</sup> *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 137.

<sup>8</sup> Baraní, pp. 66-7.

to recite the *Diváns* of Saná'í and Kháqání, and the merits of the poems of these writers were discussed before him by the wise men of his court. Amír Ḥasan and Amír Khusraw were in his service for a period of five years at Multán and used to receive gifts and allowances from him as courtiers. The wisdom, which this prince possessed, had led him on various occasions to recognize the merits and talents of these two poets. He held them in higher esteem than any of his courtiers. He was so pleased with their prose and verse that he made both of them his intimate associates, and he used to show greater favour and bestow more gifts and robes of honour on them than on any of his *nadíms*. And I, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Firúz-Sháhí*, have often heard about Khán-i-Shahíd from Amír Khusraw and Amír Hasan, that a prince so polite and courteous was seldom to be found among the princes. If he was required to sit on the government-seat for the whole of the day and night, he would not deviate an inch from the formalities of decorum. We never saw him in a cross-legged position. We never heard him uttering any obscene or rude words either at drinking parties or in other assemblies. He drank so moderately that he would never get intoxicated or lose his senses . . . . . The same historian remarks in another place that he had very often heard Amír Ḥasan and Khusraw saying, 'Had we and other scholars been fortunate enough, then the Khán-i-Shahíd would have lived and ascended the throne of Balban. He would have drowned all the scholars and artists of the age in gold; but we artists have no luck and Fate does not look on us with the eye of Justice.' <sup>1</sup>

These are the glowing tributes paid to the prince by the contemporary historian and the poets of his court. His death was a severe blow not only to the old King Balban, who held him as dear as his life, but also to the development of Indo-Persian literature. His succession to the throne of Delhi would have created a healthy intellectual atmosphere in the court and opened a new era of culture and learning. His death was mourned equally by the court and the people.<sup>2</sup> Amír Khusraw wrote two elegies describing the events of his death which were taken up by the common people who 'for about a month used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house'.<sup>3</sup> On this occasion Hasan wrote in prose the following *Margiya* (a lament), which gives not only a vivid description of the battle the prince fought, but also of the deep affection and loyalty the poet bore towards him.

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<sup>1</sup> Baraní, pp. 68-9.

<sup>2</sup> Baraní, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 137.

*The Marṣiya* <sup>1</sup>.—‘It is an old story that although the tyrannous sky ties for a while the knot of concord and makes the covenant of mutual friendship, it turns away; and although the discordant time adopts the path of concord for a while and makes the covenant of fidelity yet it breaks away. The impudent sky, whose pupil of manliness is vitiated by the mote of meanness, although like a drunken man, bestows a gift without any idea of generosity, yet at the end takes it back like children, without any betrayal of dishonest conduct. The customs and usages of the oppressive time are of this nature. Whether by experience or by rumour we see and hear, whoever it sees rising like the moon, it desires to blacken his perfect face with the mark of injury. Whoever it sees rising like a cloud, it strives to shatter its substance into pieces on the horizon. In this garden of grief and this orchard of amazement, as no rose is without a thorn, so no heart is free from the thorn of anguish. Alas! for many a newly sprung verdure that has been turned pale by the calamity of the wind of autumn. Alas! for many a newly sprung plant that has been laid low on the ground by the hurricane of time.....’

‘One of the instances of this parable is the death of the late prince Qá‘án-Malik Ghází on Friday, the last day of the month of *Zí‘l-Hijja* 683, A.H. (A.D. 1285)<sup>2</sup> when the moon like kindness in the heart of an infidel was nowhere visible, the sun in the company of the army of Islam appeared with its striking sword. The great prince, who was the sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his forehead and with a strong determination for the holy war firmly fixed in his enlightened mind placed his auspicious feet in the stirrups.

‘It was represented to his judgment, the solver of all difficulties, that Aitimúr<sup>3</sup> had arrived with his whole army at a

<sup>1</sup> The earliest authority where this *Marṣiya* is to be found is the *Ta‘ríkh-i-Mubárah-Sháhi* (Or. 1673, ff. 354–58). Of the later historians, Niḡám u‘d-Dín and Badáúní also reproduce it. It seems their authority is the T.M.S., cf. also Ranking’s translation of this *Marṣiya* in his *Badáúní*, Vol. I. I have pointed out in my footnotes where I have differed from Ranking’s interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Baraní says this battle was fought in A.H. 684 (*vide* p. 109). Khusraw in his elegy says ‘the battle was fought on Friday, the last day of the month of *Zí‘l-Hijja*, the end of the year 683 and beginning of 684.

جمہ بود و سلخ ذی حجہ کہ بود آن کارزار آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار  
Khusraw and Hasan give us the exact date of this battle whereas Baraní puts simply the year. The correct date of this battle is Friday, the 29th of *Zí‘l-Hijja*, A.H. 683 = 8th March, A.D. 1285. Prof. Habib is wrong in assigning the date of this battle to a hot April day in A.H. 687 (*vide* his *Amír Khusraw*, pp. 15–20). The *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* says the battle was fought on the third of *Zí‘l-Hijja*, probably it is due to the copyist’s error

who transcribed the word سلخ as سوم (*vide* T.A., p. 98).

<sup>3</sup> The name of the Mongol General.

distance of three *farsangs*. At daybreak he ordered his army to march from that place, and having faced the infidels at a distance of one *farsang* from them he selected the place of battle on the bank of the river Laháur (Lahore) on the outskirts of Bágh-i-Sabz. As there was a large marsh<sup>1</sup> adjoining the river, he fortified the place very strongly and arranged that when the infidels should advance both the waters would be in the rear of the army so that neither would his soldiers be able to fly from the battle nor could any mishap arise through the enemies on the rear of his army.

'In truth, that precaution was due to the extreme vigilance and skill of that world-conquering Khán. But when evil luck befalleth, the string of all affairs gets loose and the thread of all arrangements becomes disorganized.....

'It happened that on that day the moon and the sun, who bear close resemblance to Kings, were suspended in the 'sign of the Fish. Mars, whose red face is due to the blood of the nobles of the state, has drawn the arrow of meanness and the dart of insolence from the quiver of that zone against the Orion-girdled Khán who was like Leo in the zone of the watery house of bloodshed and destruction, and the proofs of mischiefs and disorders were evident, and the command and significance of the verse, "When Fate comes the plain becomes narrow", became impressed in the pages of record.

'In short, it was midday, when the horseman of the sky had reached the region of noon and that world illuminating

<sup>1</sup> There are different readings as to the name of this place. According to Badáúni it is a big village adjoining the river (متصل آب دیہی بزرگ بود) Vol. I, p. 132). The *Ta'rikh-i-Mubarak-Sháhi* reads as متصل آب دھندی بزرگ بود (or 1673, f. 355). The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* reads as متصل آب دھندی بزرگ بود (Add. 6543, f. 44). If we accept Badáúni's text we cannot explain the significance of the two sheets of water mentioned in the next line which formed the rear of the army. Ranking explains the term در آب (Dúáb) as the rivers Rávi and Satlaj. But these two rivers are so far apart from each other that it was not possible to utilize them as a strategic defence in this particular area. So if we take Dúáb in its literal sense, the sense becomes more clear. I prefer the texts of the other two histories and read the word as دھند (*Dhandh*) meaning a 'swamp'. The word *Dhandh* in the Panjábí language means a lake, a depression in the ground that fills with water in the rainy seasons, etc. Here I think the author has used this word in the sense of a marsh and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* explains the term by adding the Persian word کولاب (*Kúláb* = pond or reservoir) after the word *Dhandh*.

king was on his wane, suddenly a dust<sup>1</sup> arose from the side of the infidels. The Khán-i-Ghází immediately rode on his horse and gave orders that the entire army with its rank and file, according to the verse "Kill the polythists, all of them" formed in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> After arranging the right and left wings of the army, his august person stood in the centre just like the moon in the midst of the stars. The infidel Tátárs (may confusion and dismay be on them) crossed the river Laháur and opposed the army of Islam. These people, wild and desert born, have put the feathers of the owl on their inauspicious heads, while the warriors of Islam consisting of the Turkish and Khaljí Maliks and the nobles of Hindustán and the entire army in the prayer-place of battle (for the reason that the Prophet has compared *Jihád*<sup>3</sup> to that of prayer, saying "We return from lesser war to the greater")<sup>4</sup>, raised their hands by shouting "God is great". In the first attack a large number of the Mongol cavalry were put to the sword. The lances of the Maliks of the state pierced the limbs of the enemy in such a way that each one of them began to spurt blood, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, became so interlaced in the persons of the Tátárs that no space was left. Every time, the lion-hearted lord, the wielder of the sword, made his attack from the centre of the army with a sword as pure as his faith, you would say that in that field of battle, the sword was trembling at the heroic conduct of the prince; and transforming itself into a tongue was saying to him, "To-day leave the suppression of this disaster and the destruction of those infidels to the servants of the state. Do not take this personal risk, because the sword is two-edged and the sword of death is not a respecter of persons in its work. No one knows what will happen to whom through the decree of the powerful Fate. I close my eye against that fateful eye."<sup>5</sup>

'During the time he was performing the rites of the holy war and the ceremonies of battle in the field of endeavour, each

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<sup>1</sup> Badáúní's text says گرومی meaning a band of people. The T.M.S. writes as کردی از سمت آن کفره پدید آمد. This reading seems to be correct and makes the sense more clear.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander the Great is believed to have built a very strong wall against the incursions of the wild races of Northern Asia to which many of the Persian writers refer. This wall is also known as the wall of Gog and Magog.

<sup>3</sup> The holy war.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Śūfís there are two *Jiháds*: (i) *Al-Jihád u'l-Akbar* or the greater warfare, which is against one's lust, (ii) *Al-Jihád u'l-Aṣghar* or the lesser warfare directed against infidels. (H.D.I.)

<sup>5</sup> عين الكمال 'Ayn u'l-Kamál. The evil effect of some eyes which is supposed to kill people by their piercing glance.



of the weapons began to speak in the following way. The lance said: "O, prince! Withdraw thy hand from me; the tongue of my point, on account of constant fighting and slaying has become blunt; I have not the strength to pierce the enemy. God forbid, that when I charge, an unfortunate movement may appear from me." The arrow said: "O, thou! The knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the nodes, do not advance to meet this danger; for I, myself throw dust on my hand in advancing to this dangerous spot. God forbid, that the narrow-eyed Turk of the sky, who is in the fifth House, should shoot an arrow of error by way of tyranny and ruin from his bow of malice from the place of ambush at the door of the eighth House." And the lasso said: "To-day the string of planning should not be left out of the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted within myself at this hasty war and this rash conflict. Wait for a while; because Islam and the Muslims are like a rope fastened to the tent of your bounty. O, God! Do not allow so much space to the custom of noose-throwing with these people."

'In short, that prince, the defender of faith and destroyer of infidelity, from noon till evening, with the main body of his army, carried on the battle with great vigour against that band of heathens. The uproar of the victors and the clamour of the lovers of battle had deafened the ears of the earth and the sky. The fiery tongues which sprung up from the heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords did not err a single letter in executing the order of the angel of Death, all uttered the verse, "A day when man will flee from his brother".<sup>1</sup> The surface of the earth was full of blood like old men who had lost their sons, and the face of the sky was covered with dust like the heads of sons who had lost their fathers.

'In the very midst of this conflict and calamity, suddenly an arrow from the quiver of Fate had struck the wing of that royal falcon of the field of holy war. And the bird of his soul had flown from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise, "Verily we belong to God and unto Him do we return".<sup>2</sup>

'At that moment the prop of the religion of Islam broke like the broken heart of an orphan, and the rampart of the faith of Islam had fallen low like the tomb of the poor. The strength which the state had, passed away and the radiance which Islam possessed had disappeared. It was just at the time of sunset that the moon of the life of that prince, whose fortune was on the wane, sank in the west of extinction.

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<sup>1</sup> Qur'an, Sura LXXX, 34. يَوْمَ يَفِرُّ الْمَرْءُ مِنْ أَخِيهِ

<sup>2</sup> The Qur'anic verse uttered by a Muslim at the death of a person.

'The sky, after the manner of mourners had put on a blue garment and began to shed black tears over its cheeks; Saturn in accordance with the rules of fidelity and the customs of mourning had blackened its garment, and began to weep over the condition of the people of Hindustán, at his death. Jupiter, in grief for that dust-soiled body and blood-stained mantle, began to tear his garment and throw his turban in the dust. The heart of Mars, on account of his death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his life became stiff and black like the curls of a Negro, and being sorely grieved at this event brought forth his heart's blood. The Fish (sign pisces) began to tremble like a ram in the clutches of the butcher. The Sun, out of shame, as to why it did not strive for the prevention of this calamity and disaster, did not appear but sank below the earth. When Venus saw the sufferings of the heavenly bodies at the clutches of Time, she played her tambourine more vehemently, changed the tone of the drum and began to sing in a different tune; and instead of playing her instrument she began to weep over the death of that magnanimous prince. Mercury, who in wars and conquests used to record like a scribe the deeds of victory, on that occasion of tyranny blackened his face with the ink of his ink-pot, and clothed himself with a garment of papers made of the pages of his record. The resplendant moon, in the shape of a crescent with a bowed stature, in that land of resurrection, was striking her head against the door and wall of the horizon and observed the rites of condolence.

'May God the Great and Exalted raise the holy and pure soul of that warrior prince to a lofty position and high station, and bestow on him His eternal beauty, greatness and glory! May every kindness and favour which he showed to this poor and forlorn one, be the cause of increasing his dignity and the remover of his faults, Amen! O Lord of the Worlds!'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of this *Margiya* has been questioned by Ranking in a note appended to his translation of Badáúní (Vol. I, p. 188, Note 5). He says 'Ziyá-u'd-Dín Baraní attributes this lament to Amír Khusraw. Firishta also states that Amír Khusraw escaped when the prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mír Khusraw. The Ḥasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A), (B) may have its origin in a copyist's error.' The conclusion drawn by this learned scholar is based on a wrong and incomplete translation of a passage of Baraní by Sir Charles Elliot, which says 'Amír Khusraw was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of the prince.....' (vide Elliot, Vol. III, p. 122). But neither Baraní nor Khusraw himself makes any reference as to his writing a prose *Margiya*. On the other hand Baraní definitely says that Khusraw wrote two poems (p. 110):—

امیر خسرو در آن حرب اسیر مثل شده بود و بنوعی از دست ایشان رهائی یافت

و او در مرثیه خان شهید دو شعر گفته است .

*Intimate friendship with Khusraw.*—Here in the court of Khán-i-Shahíd the love and friendship between Hasan and Khusraw had developed to such an extent that their calumniators began to ascribe to them gross misconduct.<sup>1</sup> This calumny was reported to the prince. The prince had forbidden Hasan to associate with Khusraw, but he did not comply with his demand and continued to associate with Khusraw as before. The matter was again reported to the prince. This time, the prince was annoyed at Hasan's disobedience and ordered him to be flogged. But to the utter surprise of the prince and the courtiers he immediately ran to Khusraw's house. The prince then summoned Khusraw and Hasan and demanded an explanation of their alleged misconduct. Khusraw explained their connection to be based on the idea of divine love purged from all earthly impurities, and said, 'Duality has disappeared from us'. Then bringing out his hand he displayed to the prince the marks of the strokes impressed in his own hand, exactly in the place where Hasan received them and said 'The proof of real friendship is in the hand'.<sup>2</sup> The prince was silenced by this reply and Khusraw recited the following quatrain<sup>3</sup>:—

'Love came and ran through my veins like blood,  
It had emptied my self and filled it with the Friend,  
The limbs of my body, the Friend possessed,  
All is He, nothing of me is left.'

We cannot believe in the miraculous transmission of the punishment of Hasan to Khusraw as it is described by their biographers. It is quite probable that Khusraw's love for Hasan was so deep and sincere that he could not bear the punishment Hasan suffered on his account, and consequently he might have inflicted on himself as a proof of real love and sympathy, the same amount of injury as was received by Hasan. But,

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'In that battle Amír Khusraw was made a prisoner by the Mughals, and obtained his freedom by some device and he has written two poems in lament of Khán-i-Shahíd.' Firishta says nothing about the *Margiya*. He mentions:

امیر خسرو دران مرکه حاضر بود اسیر منل گشته و بآن نوع که در خضر خانی

و دیولدی رانی ثبت افتاده رهائی یافت و دهل شتافت \*

(Vol. I, p. 144). 'Amír Khusraw was present in that battle. He became a captive of the Mughals and obtained his freedom in the way as it is described in his *Divaldí Rání* and *Khizr Khání*.' From these facts it appears that this *Margiya* is a genuine work of Hasan and is rightly attributed to him by the historians of India.

<sup>1</sup> They were accused of belonging to a heretical sect of Súfís known as *Malámatis* who practise some reprehensible acts opposed to orthodox opinion (*vide* Firishta, Vol. II, p. 755).

<sup>2</sup> M.Us., Or. 208, f. 99; Firishta, Vol. II, p. 755.

<sup>3</sup> M.Us., Or. 208, f. 99.

however, there is a certain amount of truth in the story. Ḥasan has probably referred to this incident in the following poem <sup>1</sup>:—

‘As the demonstration of excellence was perfected by  
thy beauteous down,  
The private affliction of ours became public enow,  
The seed I sowed in thy hope is cast to the dust,  
The cauldron I boiled in thy love, putrid became.  
My reason, which placed the saddle on the bay-horse  
of Time,  
Subdued at last by the whip for the love it bore to  
thee.  
He who declares not lawful the creed of thy love,  
May his blood be lawful and unlawful his dear life.  
O, Khvāja! Be firm in the street of rectitude,  
(For) None can achieve fame in the lane of love.  
Maḥmúd Ghaznaví, the lord of thousand slaves  
Bridled by love became the slave of a slave.<sup>2</sup>  
O Ḥasan! Die in love so that perfection thou mayest  
attain,  
Have you not heard? He who dies perfection attains.’

This type of love which we find between Ḥasan and Khusraw was not uncommon among the Ṣufi poets. To a superficial observer it may be quite a grotesque and reprehensible action. But the idea of such love was quite different among them. It was platonic, something holy and pure, free from passionate desire. They adored beauty for its own sake on the principle that ‘Beauty is truth, truth beauty’. Once Sa’dí the great Persian poet heard of the exquisite personal charms of the son of Khvāja Humám u’d-Dín, a man of great distinction and poetical talent at Tabriz, he travelled to that city for the sole purpose of gratifying his eyes by the sight of his beauty.<sup>3</sup> Sir Gore Ouseley remarks: <sup>4</sup> ‘Sa’dí was a great admirer of beautiful youths, like all other Ṣufis, we may hope, who profess the most ardent, but platonic affection for individuals of their own sex, famous for beauty and talent, declaring it to be less selfish than the love of man to woman, and that they pay the most perfect adoration to the Creator, by thus disinterestedly loving and admiring His handiwork.’ The words quoted here may equally well be applied to Khusraw and Ḥasan. Our poet expresses this idea in the following verses of one of his poems <sup>5</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 123b.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Sultan Maḥmúd’s love for his favourite slave Ayáz.

<sup>3</sup> M.U.s., Or. 208, f. 95.

<sup>4</sup> N.P., p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 184b.

شمعست رخت یا مه نی هر دو خطا دیدم  
 در وصف نمی آید روی که ترا دیدم  
 من در تو نظر کردم تو در سخن بنده  
 تو صنعت من دیدی من صنع خدا دیدم

'Is thy face a lamp or a moon? No I am wrong in both,  
 Beyond description is thy face that I see;  
 I look at thee and thou at my verse  
 Thou admirest my art and I the handiwork of God.'

In similar way Háfiz also describes the pure nature of love he practised <sup>1</sup>:—

منم که شهرة شهرم به عشق ورزیدن  
 منم که دیده نیالوده ام به بد دیدن

'That one, am I who am renowned for love-playing  
 Not that one am I who have stained my eyes with  
 illseeing.'

The friendship between these two poets seems to have been of a permanent nature and we find complimentary references made by each to the other. In one of the discourses of Nizámu'd-Dín Awliyá compiled by Amír Khusraw under the title of *Ráhát-u'l-Muhibbín* <sup>2</sup> he calls Hasan 'my brother'. In the *Dibácha-i-Ghurra't u'l-Kaml* where Khusraw condemns the jealousy of his contemporaries and calls them men of very low merits, he pays a high tribute to the writings of Hasan in the following words:—

'If any one praises the meaningless verses of Mu'izzí for the beauty of their style and diction, he ought to study the style and diction of Saiyid Hasan, Nizámí and Zahir, so that he may be acquainted with them and become a discerning judge.'<sup>3</sup> Hasan always refers to Khusraw in the most affectionate terms. He calls him his brother.<sup>4</sup> He also, like Khusraw,

<sup>1</sup> D.H.B., No. 461.

<sup>2</sup> R.M., or 1756, f. 175. This book contains the utterances of the Awliyá made during the year 689-90 A.H. The name of the author does not appear on the title page, but from the preface attached to it, it is evident that the author is Khusraw, who says that this book was compiled after the compilation of his former edition known as *Afzal-u'l-Fawá'id* and calls the author as Khusraw Láchín.

<sup>3</sup> G.K., Add. 23, 549, f. 196.

<sup>4</sup> D.H., Bodl (Ousley, 122), f. 287.

complains of the jealousy of some of his contemporaries, as the following verses show:—

۱ از سخن دزدی نیارد شد کسی صاحب سخن  
دیو اگر انگشتی دزد سلیمان کی شود  
اهل در داند در افشاندن و درج معرفت  
آنکه او گل دزد باشد او در افشان کی شود  
از فضول (؟) حاسدان فضل حسن مخفی نماند  
آفتاب اندر پر خفاش پنهان کی شود

‘None can become a master of poetry by pilfering (others) verses,  
How can the devil become Solomon by stealing his ring?  
The possessor of pearl knows how to scatter pearls and (to use) the casket of knowledge,  
He who is a pilferer of clay, how can he become a scatterer of pearls?  
The virtues of Ḥasan will not be concealed by the detraction of his enemies,  
How can the sun be concealed under the wing of the bat?’

But on the other hand he pays a high compliment to Khusraw in the following verses:—

۲ خسرو از راه کرم بپذیرد آنچه من بنده حسن میگویم  
سخنم چون سخن خسرو نیست سخن اینست که من میگویم

‘Khusraw accepts by way of kindness  
Whatever the humble Ḥasan says.  
My poetry is not like the poetry of Khusraw,  
This that I say is true.’

Some of the biographers<sup>3</sup> say that Ḥasan was a pupil of Khusraw and that he used to imitate the style of the latter.

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 111.

<sup>2</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 227. Dr. Mirza in his *Life and Works of Amir Khusraw* (p. 49) holds that these verses are a sarcastic allusion to Khusraw. But in view of internal and external evidences in our possession regarding the most intimate friendship between these two poets, I think, these verses were written as a compliment to Khusraw and not as sarcasm.

<sup>3</sup> T.D.S., p. 247; K.A., Add. 18, 542, f. 65a; Taqī Kāshī, I.O.L. 667, f. 540b.

But in none of the works of these two poets do we find any reference which gives evidence for this statement. On the other hand Ḥasan asserts that he had followed the ideas of Sa'di and tried to plant them on Indian soil. In one of his *Ghazals* he says:—

<sup>1</sup> حسن گلی ز گلستان سعدی آوردست  
که اهل معنی گلچین آن گلستانند

‘Ḥasan has brought a rose from the (*Gulistán*) rose-garden of Sa'di,  
Because the mystics are the gatherers of the rose of that (*Gulistán*) rose-garden.’

In another place he says <sup>2</sup>:—

در خم معنی حسن را شیوه نوریخت عشق  
شیره از خمخانه مستی که در شیراز بود

‘In the goblet of spirituality Ḥasan has filled a fresh elegance of love,  
With the grape-juice from the tavern of intoxication of Shíráz.’

In a similar way Khusraw also says that he had followed Sa'di in his *Ghazals* and Nizámí in *Magnaví*.<sup>3</sup> It seems from their statements that both of them followed the same school of thought in their lyrical poetry and it is for this reason that we find the similarity of ideas between these two poets, which led some biographers to conclude that one is the pupil of the other.

*Hasan at the court of Jalál u'd-Dín-Firúz.*—After the death of Khán-i-Shahíd we do not hear of Hasan's active association with the court until the accession of Sultán Jalál u'd-Dín Firúz Sháh Khaljí in A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290).<sup>4</sup> This was probably

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 107a. There is a pun upon the word *Gulistán*, the book of Sa'di and a rose garden which cannot be preserved in translation.

<sup>2</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 137.

<sup>3</sup> G.K., Add. 21, 104, f. 163a.

<sup>4</sup> Barani places the date of his accession in A.H. 688 (p. 175). But Khusraw gives the exact date and year to be Tuesday, the 3rd of Jamád II, 689 (Mif., F., Add. 21, 104, f. 874a).

جاد دومین را سومین روز سوم ساعت ز روز عالم افروز  
بگاہ چاشت با فیروزی فال ز هجرت ششم و هشتاد و نه سال

Badáúní follows Khusraw while Nizám u'd-Dín retains the date of Barani.

because he was a man of retiring disposition and elected to lead the life of a passive spectator during the turmoil which followed the death of Balban. When Jalál u'd-Dín established his power firmly he joined the circle of the scholars of the court and became one of the recipients of royal favours.<sup>1</sup>

The scholars, contemporary with our poet at the court of this monarch, were Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqí, Amír Khusraw, Muwayyid-Jajaramí, Mu'yíd Dívána, Amír Arslán, Ikhtiyár u'd-Dín Bághí, Báqí Khaṭīb, Sa'd-Mantiqí and Mughis Hansaví. Each of them is said to be a poet of high order and an accomplished master in history.<sup>2</sup> A *Ghazal* written in nineteen different metres is ascribed to the last named. But the works of these scholars, with the exception of Khusraw have not come down to us. Besides the persons mentioned above, Khusraw adds the names of Mawláná Shiháb-u'd-Dín, Qází Siráj, Táji u'd-Dín Záhid and 'Alá'u'd-Dín-'Alí Sháh who reflected credit upon the assemblies of the court with their poetical compositions and philosophical discussions.<sup>3</sup>

Sultán Jalál u'd-Dín was not only a patron of learned men but also he possessed himself a certain amount of poetic genius. Amír Khusraw pays him a very high compliment for his judicious appreciation of men of talent and says that none of the monarchs of his age had his intelligence or literary taste.<sup>4</sup> Badáúní has ascribed to him three quatrains, one of these was composed as an inscription for a pavilion he built at Gawálior. It runs thus:—

ما را که قدم بر سر گردون ساید<sup>5</sup>  
 از توده گِل چه قدر ما افزاید  
 این سنگ شکسته زان نهادم درست  
 باشد که دل شکسته آساید

'I whose foot spurns the head of heaven  
 How can a heap of clay augment my dignity?  
 I laid right this broken stone in order that  
 Perchance some broken heart may take comfort.'

*Accession of 'Alá'u'd-Dín.*—In the year 695 A.H. (A.D. 1296)<sup>6</sup> was perpetrated one of the most heinous crimes that

<sup>1</sup> Firishta, Vol. I, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> G.K., Add. 21, 104, f. 184b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 179b.

<sup>5</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> Baraní, p. 223.



has ever been recorded in the annals of India. It was the murder of Sultán Jalál u'd-Dín by his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alá'u'd-Dín. After the return of 'Alá'u'd-Dín from his Deccan campaign with enormous wealth he persuaded the King through his brother Ulugh Khán to visit him unarmed in his camp at Kara on the bank of the Ganges. The counsellors of the King, suspecting some treacherous design on the part of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, warned him not to risk taking such a step. But the King had such love for 'Alá'u'd-Dín and such great confidence in him that he did not listen to their advice, but went to meet his nephew under the delusive impression of his fidelity on the 17th of *Ramzán*,<sup>1</sup> just as a father goes to see his son. When he landed at the camp, 'Alá'u'd-Dín came forward with some of his nobles and all made their obeisance. The Sultan was highly pleased at his behaviour and began to give him paternal admonitions in the following words:—'You are always dearer to me than my own sons. What fear led you to make me come here during the fast? None can come between you and me. These strangers who are now flocking around you for your gold will run away as soon as they see you with no gold. But my affection and love for you will not diminish even if the whole world turns against you'.<sup>2</sup> Having finished these words the King held 'Alá'u'd-Dín's hand, and wanted to go to his special boat. At this juncture an assassin, named Maḥmūd-Sálim, at the signal of 'Alá'u'd-Dín attacked the Sultan, and wounded him severely. The King had just strength enough to run towards his boat, crying: 'Oh, ungrateful 'Alá'u'd-Dín! what have you done?'<sup>3</sup> And as he was attempting to save himself, another assassin named Ikhtiyár u'd-Dín Húd came and severed his head from his body. It is surprising to find that neither Amír Ḥasan nor Khusráw makes any mention of this tragic event. Probably, both of them being the poets of his court and recipients of 'Alá'u'd-Dín's gold deliberately connived at this incident and praised their patron for his valour and statesmanship. Baraní describes this as one of the most atrocious deeds that has ever been perpetrated since the creation of the world.<sup>4</sup>

After the murder of Jalál u'd-Dín, 'Alá'u'd-Dín proclaimed himself King in his camp. Aḥmad Chap, one of the generals of the late King, did not submit to the usurper, but returned to Delhi with his army. The widow of Firúz raised her younger son, Qadr Khán, to the throne under the title of Sultan Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhīm at Delhi.<sup>5</sup> But this young prince could not

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, pp. 231-35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> Ḥasan must have been in his court for some time as we find two poems written in honour of Sháh Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhīm (D.H., I.O.L., f. 201).

consolidate his power, whereas 'Alá'u'd-Dín by his profuse distribution of gold began to gain the support of the nobles and a few months after the murder of Fírúz he entered Delhi at the head of his army and ascended the throne at the end of the year 695 A.D. (A.D. 1296) at the 'Red Palace' of Balban.<sup>1</sup>

'Alá'u'd-Dín was a very presumptuous and ambitious man. He was not satisfied with the kingly crown of Delhi but wanted to equal Alexander in his world conquest and the Prophet Muhammad in his spiritual domain.<sup>2</sup> He was, however, discouraged by his supporters in his ambition to be accepted as a Prophet but he was undaunted in his desire to achieve the fame of Alexander. Although he could not execute his plan of world conquests beyond the limits of India, yet he assumed the title of Alexander II. In many of the *Qasidas* of Amír Hasan he is addressed as *Sikandar-i-Sání*<sup>3</sup> (Alexander II). This fact has also been corroborated by the evidence of some of the coins and inscriptions of his time. His gold coins struck in 709 A.H. (A.D. 1309) bear the following inscription.<sup>4</sup>

Circular areas:—Alexander II, the right hand of the Caliphate, the supporter of the commander of the faithful.

The legend occupying the full face of the coin:—Sultan 'Alá'u'd-dunyá-u'd-Dín Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Sháh al-Sultan.

Margin:—This coin was struck at Delhi in the year 709.

*Hasan at the court of 'Alá'u'd-Dín.*—After the death of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín, Ḥasan transferred himself to the service of Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljí. He was first introduced to the court by Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín Ulugh-Khán and he refers to this incident in the following verses of a short poem addressed to him.<sup>5</sup>

ما از ژرف دریای خطرناک  
تو آوردی برون چون گوهر پاک  
پس اندر صدر دولت راهدادی  
محل دست بوس شاه دادی

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, pp. 246-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-271.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., ff. 23, 26, 36, 40a, 42a, 43a, 51b.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas's 'The Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi', pp. 168-174. Ḥasan also addresses him as Yamin-u'l-Khiláfat, or the Right hand of the Caliphate, in the following verses:—

توئی بر خلافت بحق دست یاب      بین الخلافت از آن شد خطاب

(D.H., I.O.L., f. 246).

<sup>5</sup> D.H., Bdl. (Ousley, 122), f. 280.

ز سلطان گنجم آوردی و تشریف  
 عطای خود به آنجا کردی تضعیف  
 سر بختم تو بگرفتی ز خفتن<sup>1</sup>  
 من این را کی توانم شکر گفتن

'From the depth of a perilous sea  
 You have brought me out like a pure pearl;  
 Then you have introduced me to the court,  
 You gave me the honour of kissing the hand of the  
 King;  
 You have brought me wealth and honour from the King,  
 (And) doubled it by gifts of your own,  
 You have raised my fortune from its sleep,  
 How can I offer thanks to you for all these things?'

Here at the court of this king we find Ḥasan at his best; and this is the most fruitful period of his life, when he completes his *Divān* and attains great fame as an eminent poet. Ziyā Baranī, the contemporary historian of our poet, says: 'Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī was a unique figure among the poets of the time of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn'.<sup>2</sup>

*Promotion of learning during 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's reign.*—The reign of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn from A.H. 695–715 (A.D. 1295–1315) is one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-Persian literature. Delhi, under 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, possessed one of the most brilliant bands of savants, the like of which we fail to find even in the court of his successors, the great Mughals. The activities of these scholars were not confined to any particular system of learning but were diffused over various branches of mundane and spiritual sciences. Baranī<sup>3</sup> mentions the names of forty-six scholars of great repute who have devoted their time and energy to the development of traditional and rational sciences; and large numbers of students used to flock round them to receive instruction in these branches of learning. The same historian remarks in another place that each of these men could compete with any of the learned scholars of Bukhārā, Samarqand, Baghdād, Egypt, Khívā, Damascus, Tabríz, Ispahán, Ray and Iconium. Besides these scholars, so highly spoken of by the historian, there were other men of talent who turned their attention towards the development of the science of

<sup>1</sup> This verse in the MS. is written as سر بختم بر کردی ز آن حسن. But it does not conform to the metre so I have adopted the above reading.

<sup>2</sup> Baranī, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

*Qir'at* (reading of the Qur'án), the arts of preaching, poetry, History, and the sciences of Medicine, Astronomy, Astrology and Necromancy, so that we find during this period an all-round development of Indo-Persian culture.

Of the Readers of the *Qur'án*, Mawláná Jamál u'd-Dín Shátbí, Mawláná 'Alá'u'd-Dín, and Khwája Zakí, a nephew of Hasan of Basra, obtained very great reputation throughout the length and breadth of the country. The most noteworthy preachers of the time were Mawláná 'Imád u'd-Dín Husám Darvish, Mawláná Ziyá u'd-Dín Sannámí, Mawláná Karím u'd-Dín and Badr u'd-Dín of Oudh. They used to deliver weekly lectures on religious and spiritual subjects to large congregations. The efforts of these scholars had brought about a change in the mental outlook of the people of the capital and contributed a great deal for their moral advancement.

'There were poets', says Baraní, 'in the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, such as never existed before or after'.<sup>1</sup> Besides Hasan and Khusraw, who headed the list, there were other men of high poetic talent, such as Šadr u'd-Dín 'Alí, Fakhr u'd-Dín Qawwás, Ḥamíd u'd-Dín Rájah, Mawláná 'Árif, 'Ubaíd Ḥakím, Shiháb Anšári, and Šadr Bustí, who adorned the court of Delhi. Each of these poets was in receipt of allowances from the state and each one of them is said to have left us a *Diván*.<sup>2</sup>

Of the historians at the Court of 'Alá'u'd-Dín there were two men noted for their proficiency in this branch of learning. One is Amír Arslán-Kuláhi and the other Kabír u'd-Dín, son of Táj u'd-Dín 'Iráqí.<sup>3</sup> Amír Arslan had such a wonderful memory that when 'Alá'u'd-Dín asked him any question on the history of the past kings he could enlighten him on these points without any reference to the texts. Kabír u'd-Dín was held in great esteem by the Sultán, and was appointed to the post of the Chief Judge of the Imperial Army.<sup>4</sup> He wrote a history of the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín describing in detail all the conquests and achievements of his sovereign. Baraní has used it as one of his sources for the *Ta'rikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi*. But he complains that this history is rather a eulogium than a mere statement of fact. All the defects of 'Alá'u'd-Dín's administration have been deliberately suppressed and his achievements and character have been extolled beyond limit. We cannot blame this historian for his one-sided view, as he had to present every part of this history to the Emperor for his approval, so that he had to guard against writing anything which would incur the displeasure of the monarch.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

The science of Medicine was studied equally with other branches of learning. A large number of skilful physicians grew up at the capital and people of different castes and creeds—the Brahmins, Jāts and the Muslims—took keen interest in the development of this science. Among the physicians of Delhi, Mawláná Badr u'd-Din-Damashqí occupied the highest position. He not only attended to his patients but often used to give instruction to other physicians of the city. His proficiency in his profession was so high that he could diagnose any disease by examining the pulse of the patient and could say whether a particular ailment was curable or not. There was also another group of scholars who devoted their time and energies to the development of the sciences of Astronomy and Astrology. The services of this group were equally appreciated by the king as well as by the nobility. The chief of the astronomers of the Court was Mawláná Sharaf u'd-Dín who was granted a substantial allowance and the income from several villages, by the Sultán.<sup>1</sup>

The Persian spoken and written in India during this period was much purer than that found during the later Mughal days. The early emigrants retained the purity of their tongue, which their successors failed to do. The following interesting account of the Indo-Persian language has been given by Amír Khusraw: <sup>2</sup>

'The singers of the land of Hindustán, particularly the emigrants who have settled at Delhi, surpass all the scholars of the world in their attainments. Therefore no Arab, Khurásání, Turk, Indian, nor any other who comes to the Muslim cities of India and spends his whole life in places like Delhi, Multán and Lakhnawtí, and not in places like Gujarat, Málwa and Deogír, the land of Hindu idolatry, suffers deterioration in his own language. Assuredly he speaks according to the standard of his own country. For example, if he is an Arab, he is the master of his own language only, and he cannot lay a proper claim to the language of others; his broken speech is a proof of his foreign origin. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually lives and mixes with the inhabitants of Delhi, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurásání, 'Iráqí, Shírází or a Turk, however intelligent he may be, commits blunders in the Indian language, even if he burns many a midnight candle and claims eloquence in an assembly, yet at the end he stumbles and breaks down. But the Munshis (secretaries) born and brought up in Indian cities and particularly at Delhi, with but little practice, can speak and understand the spoken language (of others) and also obtain a command over prose and verse; they can adopt the style of every country they visit. And it has been fully proved from experience, that many

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, p. 363-64.

<sup>2</sup> G.K., Add. 21,104, f. 155.

of our people who have never been to Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in the Arabic language such as has not been achieved by the scholars of Arabia themselves who take lessons from the flow of their language. The Arabs, in spite of being eloquent in their own tongue, have not ability to learn our Persian correctly.

'I have seen many a Tázik<sup>1</sup> and Turk who learn Turkish with industry and erudition in India; and they speak in such a way that the eloquent men of this tribe who come from their original home are astonished at it. In the case of the Persian language, which has been derived from the Persians, there is no other correct style than the style of Transoxiana, which is the same as that of Hindustán. Because the Khurásánís pronounce the word چه (cha) as چی (chí) and some of them read کجا (kujá) as کجو (kajú) but in writing they write چه (cha) not چی (chí) and کجا (kujá) not کجو (kajú). The correct pronunciation is that denoted by the spelling. There are many words like these which are pronounced in one way but wrong if written so. But the Persian speech prevalent in India, from the bank of the Indus to the coast of the Indian ocean is everywhere the same.' It is evident from this account that the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of the Transoxiana.<sup>2</sup>

After describing the state of science and literature during 'Alá'u'd-Dín's reign, Baraní complains that the Sultán did not show proper consideration for the merit of the scholars of his time. If these scholars had remained at the Court of Maḥmúd or Sanjar each of them would have been rewarded with the

<sup>1</sup> The word Tájik or Tázik is used by different writers in different senses. The early Armonian writers applied it to the Arabs. Modern Armenians have imposed it on the Turks and the Turkish empire and even on Muslims in general. Prof. Nöldeke has suggested that Tájik (better Táchik) and Tází are the same word, the former being merely the older form. *Chik* means 'belonging to' and in this case 'belonging to the tribe of Tai'. In modern Persian *Chik* becomes *Zi*. D'ohsson says, 'The Mongols gave the name of Tájik, or Tázik to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of "Turk"'. The first served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian or Arab origin mattered not.' (Vide Ross and Elias's Introduction to *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidí* pp. 85, 87, 90-91.) I think Khusráw has used this term in the sense of Persian speaking Turkestaní.

<sup>2</sup> It is after Sikandar Lodí's accession to the throne in A.D. 1489 that the Hindus began to study Persian to qualify themselves for employment in the government offices, since then we find an increasing difference in the style of India and Persia proper. (Firishhta, Vol I, p. 344):—

و کافران بخواندن و نوشتن خط فارسی که تا آن زمان در میان ایشان معمول نبود پرداختند

income of a principality. But in spite of this alleged indifference of the king, we find his reign to be one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-Persian scholarship. Baranî calls it one of the wonderful phenomena of his time, which he fails to explain, and he has rather exaggerated the king's indifference. It is of course true that the king did not squander money on men of letters as some of the oriental potentates do, but we cannot say that he was entirely without generosity to them. His bounty was regulated by a consideration of the economy of the state and consequently he paid the poets of his court what he considered to be most reasonable. Khusraw, in describing the character of the king, refers to the principle of moderation that always governed his actions, in the following words:<sup>1</sup>

'The characteristics of his august nature are in accord with the canons of wisdom; his anger is like a pleasant fire that cooks, but which does not burn the world; his mercy is like that of a fresh breeze that raises no dust; his disposition is like water that pleases, but does not drown; and his generosity is like a mine that produces wealth but destroys it not.'

The development of art and literature during 'Alâ'u'd-Din's reign, may be ascribed chiefly to two causes: first, to a strong and stable central government<sup>2</sup> and a general peace and prosperity in the country, which led to the growth of a leisured class that could devote its time to the promotion of learning; and secondly, to the gradual increase in the number of emigrants from Irân to India; these emigrants by this time had made India their permanent home and, living under a more settled and peaceful government, could transmit their heritage to Indo-Persian culture. A very interesting account of the general peace and prosperity of the country has been left to us by Amîr Khusraw, a study of which gives us a true picture of the age. I am quoting below a few of its passages:—<sup>3</sup>

'How excellent! The carpet of peace and tranquillity is spread over the whole domain, for from the forts of Delhi to the courtyard of Khurâsân, a carpet of ruby-coloured satin has been laid with the blood of the red-faced chinese, so that every rebellion and disturbance have fallen low.

'In one direction the mountain-like army of Chingîz-Khân has been driven beyond the Oxus by the hurricane of his Majesty; and in the other direction not only have the powerful *Râis* of India, who with their thousands of elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks, been forced to surrender their elephants and their wealth, but some of them who still held their heads

<sup>1</sup> I.K., Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the administrative regulations and the strength of the Government, see Baranî, pp. 304-326; and C.H.I., Vol. III, Ch. V.

<sup>3</sup> I.K., Vol. I, pp. 16-22.

up were crushed in such a way that their heads were thrown like oilcans under the elephant's feet.....

'In affairs relating to the spread of justice and welfare of the people, his bright intellect has formulated such laws as could never be seen in the mirror of Alexander's imagination or in the cup of Jamshíd. For the purpose of cheapening corn, which is the heaven of one's sustenance, he made such regulations by his balanced judgment, that if for years the wandering cloud does not rain, the hot-tempered wind does not blow, the red-faced earth does not grow any verdure, and the scorching sun fails to ripen the crops, he can feed the entire people from the royal granaries..... And other necessities of the people, even if they be red-sulphur or white ruby, have been rendered by him easily available and cheaper than yellow amber and red-grape-stone. And money which is the elixir of desire and the treasure house of cherished objects, has been made so cheap by his elephant-loads of gifts and charities, that the dearness of the price of a thing is never felt by any person, so that complete peace and prosperity prevail in his dominions.....

'The administration of his justice is always bringing good fortune upon his subjects. Owing to the general peace and prosperity during his auspicious reign, the weapons of war are lying idle in every direction..... The dagger of the believer, which was cleaner than the heart of a Sunni, has become rusted like the iron heart of a pagan..... The roads are more secure than the veil of chastity worn by virtuous ladies. The districts are free from anxieties like contented children in the lap of a kind mother..... The dawn of the King's fortune has nothing to do but to bestow favour over the world, and the canopy of his evening has no other work but the distribution of peaceful sleep among the children of Adam.....'

In a similar way Hasan also refers to the general peace and prosperity of the country in some of his poems addressed to 'Alá'u'd-Dín. In one place he says:—

حشم از جاهش افزوده خدم از جودش آسوده

ستم در عهدش آواره جهان از عدلش آبادان

'His grandeur augments the retinue, his generosity satisfies the servants,

His reign has banished oppression, the world abounds with his justice.'



In another place he says :—

ای بزمان دولت گرگ مربع رمه<sup>1</sup>  
وی بضمان رحمت ماه رفوگر کتان

‘O, thou! In thy reign the wolf is the guardian of the flock,

Under thy protection the moon is the mender of linen.’

*Intimate Association of Hasan with Nizām u'd-Dīn Awliyā.*—During the reign of ‘Alā’u'd-Dīn, we find Hasan in closer association with Shaykh Nizām u'd-Dīn Awliyā. Although he came in contact with the Shaykh at a time much earlier than this, his acquaintance with him was casual rather than intimate. The incident which brought about a change in Hasan’s life and caused him to be one of the most favoured disciples of the Shaykh has been described by Mawlānā Shihāb u'd-Dīn Imām, a contemporary divine, in the following way:—<sup>2</sup>

‘One day the Shaykh went to visit the shrine of Khvāja Qutb u'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār-Kākī at old Delhi. I myself and Mawlānā Burhān u'd-Dīn Gharīb were in the company of His Holiness. After visiting the shrine, we happened to pass by the tank known as Hawz-i-Shamsī, in order to visit the tombs of some other saints. At this place, Khvāja Hasan the poet, the son of ‘Alā’-i-Sanjari (Sijzi), who had been known to the Shaykh for some time past, was engaged in drinking wine in the company of his friends. When he saw the Shaykh, he came forward and recited the following verses:—

سالها باشد که ما هم صحبتیم      گر به صحبتها اثر بودی بکجاست  
زهدتان فسق از دل ما کم نکرد      فسق ماها بهتر از زهد شماست

‘Many a year have we passed in thy company  
If companionship has any influence, where is it?  
Thy virtue removed not vices from our minds,  
Our vices are better than thy virtues.’

‘When the Shaykh heard this, he replied: “Companionship has its influence, if God wills, it will be effective one day.” This remark of the Shaykh produced such an impression on his mind that he immediately fell at the feet of the Shaykh and made a confession of all his sins and became a staunch disciple of the Shaykh along with all his companions.’ A reference to his

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 44b.

<sup>2</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 153a.

penitence at an advanced age has been made by the poet in one of his Qitās where he says:

ای حسن توبه آنکهی کردی که ترا قوت گناه نماند<sup>1</sup>

'O, Ḥasan! thou hast made penitence at a time  
When no strength was left in thee to commit sin.'

He was initiated into the circle of discipleship of the Shaykh in A.H. 707 (A.D. 1308) when he was fifty-six years of age.<sup>2</sup> The date of this initiation has been given by him in the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, where he says:<sup>3</sup> 'On Sunday the third of Sha'bán A.H. 707 (A.D. 1308) this humble sinner, Ḥasan 'Alá'-i (*Sijzi*) the builder of this edifice and the compiler of these mysteries, obtained the felicity of kissing the feet of that King of heavenly dignity and of divine wisdom on this very day, by the splendour of the glance of that incomparable chief of the saints of illuminated soul, he (Hasan) obtained purification from the contamination of the four elements; and his head was adorned with the four cornered cap<sup>4</sup> of the Saviour of Saints.' On this occasion the poet composed a *Ghazal* in which he says:

حسن امروز سر اندر قدم شیخ آورد

خنک آن بنده مقبل که بدین شاه رسید

'Hasan placed his head to-day, at the feet of the Shaykh,  
Happy is that fortunate slave who reached this King.'

Since this time we find Ḥasan a constant visitor at the monastery of the Shaykh except for a period of eight months in the year 716-17 A.H. (A.D. 1316-17), when he was absent from Delhi and went to Deogír with the imperial army.<sup>6</sup> During

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 227a.

<sup>2</sup> Some authorities differ as to his age at this time, e.g., The Ency. Isl. says: 'At the age of 53 he became a *Muríd* of Nizám.' The Arabic History of Gujarát (p. 858) and the *Safinat u'l-'Arifin* (Or. 213, f. 22b) say that he became a *Muríd* at the age of 73. But the statement of Ḥasan quoted above shows that all these authorities are wrong in their inference.

<sup>3</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A special type of cap worn by the *Súfis* of the Chishtiya order in India to which the Shaykh belongs.

<sup>5</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 137b.

<sup>6</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 91. This is an expedition led by Quṭb u'd-Dín Mubárák-Sháh against Harpál Dev of Deogír who rebelled against the Imperial authority. The date of the expedition is variously given. Baraní (p. 389) says it was in A.H. 718 (A.D. 1318). Amír Khusráw says (*Nuh Sipsíhr*, Add. 21, 104, f. 675a . . . .), it was in the year of the accession of Quṭb u'd-Dín to the throne in A.H. 716 (A.D. 1316). Ḥasan says that he returned from this expedition on Thursday the 12th of Muḥarram A.H. 717 (28th March, 1317), after spending eight months in the camp. According to this account the expedition must have been led sometime

the period of his intimate association with the Shaykh, he compiled his prose book known as the *Favá' id u'l-Fu' dd*, consisting of the utterances of the Awliyá made in different evening assemblies, which will be discussed in a later chapter. The compilation of this book was considered a mark of special distinction, conferred upon Hasan by his spiritual guide, which aroused the jealousy of his friends. Even Amír Khusraw often used to say: 'Would that the honour and distinction of compiling this book had fallen on me and that all my works were attributed to Khvāja Hasan.'<sup>1</sup> The poet was very highly esteemed by the Shaykh, and often poems composed by him were sung by the *Qawwáls* or mystic singers at the assembly of *Samá'* (ecstatic dance), at the monastery, in which Hasan and his friends used to join.<sup>2</sup> The *Siyarū'l 'Arifin* gives an interesting description of the assembly of *Samá'* and the part played by our poet in these words:—<sup>3</sup>

'Whenever the King of the saints wished to listen to an ecstatic song Khvāja Khusraw would begin by reciting a *Ghazal*. Amír Hasan would sit on the right of Khvāja Khusraw and Mubashshir on the left. The above mentioned Mubashshir was a slave purchased by the Shaykh, who had in his elegant voice something of the melody of David. Khvāja Khusraw and Khvāja Hasan were unique in the art of music and unequalled for their sweetness of voice. There were two hundred *Qawwáls* in the service of His Holiness, who could bring down the birds of the air by their song, and there was also a large number of men of perfection and Śūfis of high station. When Khvāja Khusraw would recite a *Ghazal*, Khvāja Hasan and Mubashshir would immediately sing in unison the couplet of which His Holiness would show his approval and then His Holiness would come into a state of ecstasy and listen to the *Samá'*.'

Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín was a man of very strong character, never to be tempted by material gain, in spite of the hard times he had so often to face. There were occasions when he had to go without food and suffer penury and distress, yet he would not condescend to beg any favour from the kings or the nobles of the court, but relied entirely upon God. He would of course accept what was offered to him without being asked for and spend it on the poor. His whole life was dedicated to the service of humanity and all his actions were governed by a spirit of universal love for mankind in general. These traits of the Shaykh greatly influenced Hasan's life. He tried to follow

in Jamád I, A.H. 716 (July, 1316). This being the testimony of a person who accompanied the campaign seems to be more reliable than those of others.

<sup>1</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 154a.

<sup>2</sup> M.G., Or. 4610, f. 101.

<sup>3</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 139b-40a.

in the footsteps of his spiritual guide; and whenever he was faced with any problem of daily life which he was unable to solve or had some doubts as to the righteousness of a certain course of action he proposed to take, he would ask the direction of the Shaykh and do it accordingly. Once when the poet was offered a gift by a friend of his, he did not know what to do, and so came to the Shaykh and asked the following question:—<sup>1</sup> 'This slave has never asked nor did expect anything from any person at any time of his life, but if a person shows kindness and offers a gift what should be done?' The Shaykh replied, 'It should be accepted.' Then he acted accordingly. Ziya Baraní in describing the character of our poet says: 'For the observance of the rules of contentment, for the purity of his faith, and for the happiness he feels without any material comfort, and for the outward separation and the inward solitude from the attachment of the world, I seldom saw a man like him. He was such an amiable, pleasant, ingenious, polite and cultured man that nowhere else could I get that amount of pleasure and comfort which I used to enjoy in his company.'<sup>2</sup> These characteristics attributed to him by the historian are more or less a replica of the common traits of his spiritual guide, impressed upon him during the course of his long association with him.

The relation of the Shaykh with the reigning monarchs of his time was cordial except with Sultán Qutb-u'd-Dín Mubarak-Sháh and Ghiyás u'd-Dín Tughlaq. It seems that both these sovereigns suspected him of having taken part in political intrigues against them. No direct charge could be brought against him, but the frequent visits of the nobles and some of the princes to his monastery led these kings to look upon him with some concern, especially as there are instances of holy men taking part in conspiracies during the reign of their predecessors, particularly at Multán and Delhi, where Bahá u'd-Dín-Za Kariya<sup>3</sup> and Sídí Mawla<sup>4</sup> were connected with dastardly plots against Sultán Náṣir u'd-Dín Qabacha and Jalál u'd-Dín Khaljī respectively.

The unfavourable attitude of Qutb u'd-Dín Khaljī towards the Shaykh arose out of the conspiracy organized by his cousin Malik Asád u'd-Dín Yaghrish Khán who wanted to deprive the King of his throne. The plot was, however, disclosed to the

<sup>1</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Baraní, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 119. The plot against Qabacha has been mentioned by Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá in one of his discourses where he says that Bahá u'd-Dín Zakariyá and the Qázi of Multán were involved in the conspiracy. The plot was discovered by the sultán; the Qázi was hanged but Bahá u'd-Dín managed to get himself extricated from the charge of the crime.

<sup>4</sup> Baraní, pp. 208-12.

Sultan by one of the conspirators and he seized Asád u'd-Dín and put him to death with all his family and confederates. The Sultan was not satisfied with the death of the conspirators but he sent an officer to Gawálior to put to death Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán and Shiháb u'd-Dín, the sons of 'Alá' u'd-Dín Khaljí, who had already been blinded by his previous orders. Thus he put an end to all his rivals to the throne.<sup>1</sup> As Khizr Khán was one of the most devoted disciples of the Shaykh, the King thought that he was implicated in the plot against him in order to place his disciple on the throne; and from that time he began to bear grudge against him. He tried to lower the Shaykh in the estimation of the people, ordered his officers not to visit his monastery, and, as a sign of open hostility, he invited Shaykh u'l-Islam Rukn u'd-Dín of Multán to Delhi, and set up another saint named Shaykh Záda-Jám as a rival of Nizám u'd-Dín at Delhi. He went so far as to declare a reward of one thousand gold *tankas* to any man who would bring him the head of the Awliyá.<sup>2</sup>

At this time Hasan was sent by the Awliyá to Shaykh Ziyá u'd-Dín Rúmi, the spiritual director of Quṭb u'd-Dín, with a message asking him to request the Sultan to cease his persecutions. But Hasan could not deliver the message to him as Shaykh Rúmi was confined to bed with an attack of colic. He died of this illness a few days after Hasan's arrival, and his death put an end to any hope which Nizám u'd-Dín had of his intercession.<sup>3</sup> The King was obdurate in his determination to humiliate the Awliyá and he ordered him to attend the court in person and make obeisance at the beginning of every month. The Shaykh refused to comply with this order, and the King intended to use this refusal as a pretext for wreaking vengeance upon him. But before the day fixed for his attendance at the court, the murder of the Sultan by the Barwar rebels saved the Shaykh from this personal humiliation.

After the murder of Quṭb u'd-Dín when Khusraw Khán usurped the throne, he distributed gold to different saints in order to get their moral support; some of them accepted his offers and some refused. A sum of five hundred thousand *tankas* was given to Nizám u'd-Dín, which he accepted and distributed among the poor.<sup>4</sup> When Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín

<sup>1</sup> Baraní, pp. 393-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Or. 215, f. 154a. The question may be raised why the saint being a man of strong moral character and always professing to be free from worldly temptation, accepted the ill-gotten money from Khusraw Khán. The principle on which he acts on such occasions may be gathered from his views on 'Income and expenditure', expressed in one of the discourses of the *Faḡá'id u'l-Fu'ád* where he says: 'A man should not beg of anything; neither should he speak out nor think in his mind that so-and-so would give him a certain thing. But if a thing is offered to

Tughlaq had overpowered Khusraw Khán and ascended the throne he wished to recover all the money distributed by the usurper. All the Shaykhs but Nizám u'd-Dín, who retained the money in safe custody to return it to its lawful owner, complied with the demand of the Sultan. But Nizám u'd-Dín, having spent the whole amount on the poor could not do so. He replied: 'It was a public property which had gone to the deserving ones. I have not spent a single farthing of it on my account.'<sup>1</sup> This incident had brought about a strained relationship between the King and the Shaykh. The King, at the instigation of some of his enemies, brought a charge of heresy against him for performing *Samá'* (ecstatic dance) accompanied by music, which is against the canon of orthodoxy. He was brought before an assembly of the doctors of divinity, where he was asked to explain his conduct. After some discussions, the Sultan was convinced of the legality of *Samá'* and he was allowed to go free.<sup>2</sup> But the King did not forgive him for his inability to return the money received from Khusraw Khán to the public treasury, and this strained feeling grew more tense when Prince Muḥammad Jawna became a great admirer and disciple of the Shaykh. It is narrated by Ibn Baṭṭa how on one occasion the Shaykh in a state of ecstasy said to the Prince, 'We give you the Kingdom'.<sup>3</sup> These reports of the Prince's association with the Shaykh must have been carried to the Sultan and inflamed his wrath. While the Emperor was returning from his Bengal expedition, he issued an order asking the Shaykh to quit Delhi before his entry into the capital. The Shaykh is said to have replied to this message, '*(Ḥanúz Dīhlí Dúr ast)*' 'Delhi is still far off'.<sup>4</sup> It so happened that the King was killed by the collapse of a new pavilion built for his reception at Afghānpūr near Tughlaqābād, and he could not return to the capital.<sup>5</sup> The death of the King is popularly

him without being asked and hoped for, then it is lawful to him. A certain great man has said "I never ask for a thing nor do I entertain any hope from any one but whoever offers me a thing I accept it even if the donor be a Satan".' (F.F., Or. 1806, f. 23.)

<sup>1</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 154b.

<sup>2</sup> S. Aul., Or. 1746, ff. 132-33. Hasan also refers to the accusations made by the Shaykh's enemies for performing *Samá'* in A.H. 720, the year when Ghiyāṣ u'd-Dín Tughlaq ascended the throne. (F.F., Or. 1806, f. 125a.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Baṭṭa, Vol. II, p. 39. مَبْنَاكَ الْمَلِكُ

<sup>4</sup> A.H.G., p. 862.

<sup>5</sup> Baranī, p. 452. Some of the historians suspect that the fall of the pavilion was designed by Muḥammad Tughlaq. Badáúnī and Nizám u'd-Dín accuse Baranī for the suppression of this fact which he did not mention for fear of Firúz-Sháh's displeasure. But Ibn Baṭṭa (Vol. II, pp. 39-40) states on the authority of an eye-witness, Shaykh Rukn u'd-Dín, that the pavilion was constructed with materials of timber by Ahmad Ayáz, the Inspector of buildings, in such a way that it would collapse at any

ascribed to the displeasure of the saint and his reply on this occasion is still used as a proverb in India.<sup>1</sup> The Awliyá also died a short time before the death of Ghiyás u'd-Dín, on Wednesday, the 17th of *Rabí* II, A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325).<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá, we do not hear anything further of Hasan's activities. His biographers have nothing to say on this period of his life except that at the time of the transference of the capital from Delhi he was forced by Sultán Muḥammad Tughlaq to migrate to Dawlatábád, where he died. It is quite probable that during this period of his old age he was leading a life of devotion in complete seclusion from the troubles of the world. And as he led the life of a bachelor he left no issue to continue his lineage.<sup>3</sup> The only heritage he has left to the world consists of his melodious lyrics, of which the poet himself says:—

زر ذخیره ماند و سیم از هر کسی  
از حسن اوصاف خوبان یادگار

'Every person leaves behind him a store of silver and gold

Hasan leaves behind him the description of the lovely ones.'

## II. HIS WORKS.

*His extant works.*—According to Ziyá Baraní<sup>5</sup> Amír Hasan was the author of several Díváns and a number of Magnavís and other prose works. This statement has also been affirmed by several of the biographers and historians of the later period.<sup>6</sup>

moment if elephants were allowed to trot on one of its sides. The whole reception was arranged by the prince and as soon as the elephants were brought for display, the entire building fell on the King and thus compassed his death. This account of Ibn Baṭṭa confirms the suspicions of Badáúní and Nizám. Besides this we find that Ayáz was elevated from the position of an Inspector of buildings to that of the minister as soon as prince Muḥammad became king.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Habib in his *Life of Amír Khusraw* is inclined to disbelieve the story of the strained relationship between the Shaykh and the Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín. He calls it a later-day fabrication. But from the facts and the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭa stated above it appears that there were sufficient reasons for the existence of strained relationship between them.

The Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab (Vol. I, pp. 492-93) wrongly attributes this unhappy incident to Emperor Jalál u'd-Dín Khalji. It was not Nizám u'd-Dín but Sidi Mawla with whom Jalál u'd-Dín had some unpleasant relation. (*Vide* Baraní, pp. 208-212.)

<sup>2</sup> S.A., Or. 215, f. 158.

<sup>3</sup> S.Ar., Or. 213, f. 22b.

<sup>4</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 155b.

<sup>5</sup> Baraní, p. 360.

<sup>6</sup> *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 214; J.N.U., p. 712.

But none of them give definitely the exact number of his works. The extant works are, his *Díván* and the prose book known as the *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád*. He is also said to have written another prose work entitled *Siyar u'l-Awliyá* (lives of saints), and Taqí Káshí ascribes to him a commentary on some of the *Qasidas* of Kháqání.<sup>1</sup> The only *Díván* known to us was compiled by him when he was sixty years of age, and contains only that portion of his work that was written during the thirty years,<sup>2</sup> preceding 714 A.H. (A.D. 1314), the date of its completion. The works produced during a period of another twenty years of his life, except for a small piece of prose, *Marsiya*, written on the death of Khán-i-Shahid, the eldest son of Balban, have not come down to us. His extant works also fail to throw light on the nature of his earlier compositions. The *Díván* in its present form also might have been lost to us, since the poet himself says that he had no intention of collecting these poems until he was persuaded to undertake it by the insistence of his friends and associates.<sup>3</sup>

There are eighteen<sup>4</sup> known manuscripts of the *Díván* of Hasan, preserved in the various libraries of Europe and the East. Four are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; five in the library of the India Office; two in the British Museum, and one in each of the libraries of Manchester, St. Petersburg, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, Bankipore and Oudh. No attempt to publish the manuscripts has ever been made in the West, except that Nathaniel Bland has published ten select Ghazals of Hasan in his 'Century of Persian Ghazals' in A.D. 1851.<sup>5</sup> I give below a chronological table of these manuscripts in order to facilitate reference to various libraries and to give guidance in the compilation of a standard text on a scientific basis in the future.

<sup>1</sup> K.A.Z.A., I.O.L. No. 667, f. 541a.

<sup>2</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 2a. در عهد حیاتی آنچه مدت سی سال جمع شده بود دیوانی تمام شده است - اکنون اتفاق آن شده بود که اندرین سال از جواهر زواهر غیبی و لآلی لاریبی در سلک کلک آمده نثار اصحاب فضل و ارباب حکمت گردانیده اند - امید آنکه بعین عنایت نظر فرمایند . . . . .

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 2a. که اغلب حدود چند دوستان بود و بمدد همت منشیان که این مصنف ترتیب یافت اگر نه بنده را تکلیفات نباشد و اشعار شاعرین رسمی را مراعات نکند . . . . .

<sup>4</sup> To this we may add the five MSS. of Hyderabad brought to our notice after the completion of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> An edition of the *Díván* based on the five MSS. of Hyderabad has been lithographed at Hyderabad in 1933 A.D.



| No. | Catalogue mark of the MSS.                   | Date. |        |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|-------|--------|
|     |                                              | A.H.  | A.D.   |
| 1   | Elliot 121, Bodl. Lib., Oxford .. ..         | 839   | = 1435 |
| 2   | Ouseley 122, Bodl. Lib., Oxford .. ..        | 862   | = 1458 |
| 3   | Ryland Library Pers. MSS. 855, Manchester .. | 913   | = 1507 |
| 4   | Or. 10918, Br. Museum .. ..                  | 919   | = 1513 |
| 5   | Add. 24952, Br. Museum .. ..                 | 922   | = 1526 |
| 6   | J. Aumor, Cat. Pers. MSS. 66, Munich ..      | 941   | = 1534 |
| 7   | I.O.L., No. 1223 .. ..                       | 943   | = 1536 |
| 8   | Bankipore Public Library, No. 132 .. ..      | 1025  | = 1616 |
| 9   | Thurston 15, Bodl. Lib., Oxford .. ..        | 1033  | = 1623 |
| 10  | Berlin Cat. Pers. MSS. No. 836 .. ..         | 1056  | = 1646 |
| 11  | Elliot 57, Bodl. Lib., Oxford .. ..          | —     | —      |
| 12  | I.O.L., No. 1224 .. ..                       | —     | —      |
| 13  | I.O.L., No. 1225 .. ..                       | —     | —      |
| 14  | I.O.L., No. 1226 .. ..                       | —     | —      |
| 15  | I.O.L., No. 1227 .. ..                       | —     | —      |
| 16  | St. Petersburg Public Library, No. CD ..     | —     | —      |
| 17  | Gotha Pers. MSS. No. 43-44 .. ..             | —     | —      |
| 18  | Sprenger, Oudh Cat. No. 247 .. ..            | —     | —      |

Of all the MSS. referred to in the above table the Bodleian Library possesses two of the earliest copies yet discovered. But of these two, the earliest one is defective and incomplete.<sup>1</sup> The other copy,<sup>2</sup> which is about twenty-three years younger than the preceding one, contains the largest collection of verses that has ever been met with in any copy of the *Diván*. Besides the *Qasidas*, *Ghazals*, *Qit'as*, *Rubá'is* and a few short *Magnavis* found in almost all the existing copies, it has a romantic *Magnavi* called *Hikáyat-i-'Ashiq-i-Nágúri*, a pleasing love-poem which will be discussed later. Among the other MSS., the British Museum, India Office and the Bankipore copies contain the largest collection of poems, corresponding almost to the Bodleian copy with a slight variation in the order of arrangement.

*Contents of the Diván.*—A comparison of the available copies of the *Diván* shows that it consists of a little over ten thousand couplets containing *Qasidas*, *Ghazals*, *Qit'as*, *Rubá'is*, *Magnavis* and *Hikáyat*. Let us now consider the different forms of his poetry.

*Qasidas.*—In most versions the *Diván* opens with a *Qasida* in praise of God with the following initial verse:—

ای حاکم جهان و جهان داور حکیم  
محدث همه بدائع و تو مبدع قدیم

<sup>1</sup> Elliot 121, Bodl. Library.

<sup>2</sup> Ouseley 121, Bodl. Library.

‘O, Lord of the universe, and the wise Judge of the world,  
Everything is a creation and Thou art the eternal source.’

But the copy of the Bankipore *Divān* opens with a *Qaṣida* called *Khamṣin*, which is not to be found in other copies. It begins with the couplet <sup>1</sup>:—

ای بصفِ صنع تو پویان شده چرخ برین  
این کره جز داغ تسلیمت ندارد بر جبین

‘O, Thou, in the line of Thy handiwork revolves the crystalline sphere,  
This colt possesses on its brow nothing but a brand of submission to Thee.’

In this *Qaṣida* the poet gives three reasons for calling it a *Khamṣin*: it consists of fifty verses; it was composed in the fiftieth year of his age; and thirdly it contains the names of fifty holy men through whose intercession he supplicates for favour from God. After this *Qaṣida* begins the usual *Qaṣida* with the initial verse mentioned above corresponding with the copies mentioned in Rieu, p. 618, Sprenger Oudh Cat., p. 418; *Ēthe Bodl. Cat.* No. 780-81; I.O.L. No. 1223, and other catalogues.

There are about one hundred *Qaṣidas*,<sup>2</sup> one-fourth of which are devoted to the praise of God and the Prophet, and to moral and religious topics; the rest of the poems, with the exception of a very few, are written in honour of Sultan ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Khaljī, the reigning sovereign of the time, and the principal patron of the poet. Four *Qaṣidas* are addressed to Ulugh Khān, the brother of the Sultan, and one each to prince Khizr Khān and Sultan Rukn u’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh<sup>3</sup> respectively.

These poems deal mainly with the pomp and power of ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn and the achievements of his reign; in them the

<sup>1</sup> C.P.B., Vol. I, p. 197. I have not been able to procure a copy of this *Divān* in England, so I had to rely for all these informations on the description given in the catalogue of the Library. This copy was transcribed in A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 for Shaykh Farid Bukhārī, a general of Akbar. In the second hemistich of the couplet quoted above the word

ک is transcribed in the catalogue as ک. But the word ک gives no sense, so I read it as ک which I think is a better reading.

<sup>2</sup> The Hyderabad edition of the *Divān* of Ḥasan contains 161 *Qaṣidas*.

<sup>3</sup> Rukn u’d-Dīn Qadr Khān was the youngest son of Sultan Jalāl u’d-Dīn Khaljī who occupied the throne of Delhi for a short period of five months after the murder of Jalāl u’d-Dīn in 695 A.H. = 1295 A.D. (Baranī, p. 238).

monarch is given equal rank with Alexander the Great in his campaigns, and is extolled as a champion of orthodoxy in his efforts to suppress heresy. But one of the greatest defects of these poems, if I am allowed to say so, is that they are devoid of any chronological data. The poet speaks of contemporary events, but never assigns any date to them. The only dates that we come across are the dates of the composition of two of his poems, one in praise of God and the other in praise of the Prophet, which are assigned to A.H. 703<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1303), and A.H. 707<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1307) respectively. These dates do not throw any light on the historical events of his time, but simply points to a period of his life when he was engaged in composing these *Qasidas*. To a student of history his *Qasidas* are entirely disappointing.

The style of his *Qasidas* is rather simple and unadorned. The words used are always clear and intelligible to the reader. Although he sometimes aspired to attain the fame of Kháqání as he hints in the following verses in one of the *Qasidas* addressed to Ulugh Khán,

روزگار شه و خان غیرت خاقان آمد<sup>3</sup>

گفته بنده حسن غیرت خاقانی باد

‘The Kháqán is jealous of the fortune of the King and the Khán

May the poetry of Hasan excite jealousy of Kháqání,’

he has carefully avoided the use of obscure and ambiguous words for which Kháqání is notorious. He wrote one *Qasida* in reply to one of Kháqání’s poems known as

قصیده فی التزام العید فی کل بیت<sup>4</sup>

(*Qasida* in which the use of the word ‘*Id* has been made in every couplet). The head line of this poem runs:—

فی موسم العید باسم سلطان الاعظم فی مجابات سلطان الشعرا<sup>5</sup>

افضل الدين الخاقانی زید فیضه \*

‘On the occasion of ‘*Id*, dedicated to the great King, in answer to the King of poets Afzal u’d-Dín-al-Kháqání (may his excellence increase).’

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., 1223 f. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4b.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., Add. 24, 952, f. 28a.

<sup>4</sup> K.K., pp. 325-29.

<sup>5</sup> D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley 122), f. 57.

The poem opens with the verses:—

ساقیا می ده که مهر می کده بکشاد عید  
کرد جانها را بجام شادی افزا شاد عید

‘O, Sáqí, give wine because the ‘Íd has opened the seal  
of the tavern,  
The festival has made the souls happy with the joy-  
increasing cup.’

*Wherein Ḥasan differs from other Panegyrists.*—Ḥasan differs from most of the other Persian panegyrists in that he never employs mean and despicable methods to extort money, or has recourse to satire when panegyric fails. He was always satisfied with his lot and would give thanks to his patron for whatever reward he had received. Submission to the will of God was the main principle of his life as he declares in one of his *Qaṣidas*:—

در روزی چون آسمان دارد بر در عمر و زید چون گذرم<sup>1</sup>  
چه شکایت کنم ز دور فلک هر چه هست از قضا و از قدرم

‘When the door of my sustenance is in heaven,  
Why should I go to the door of ‘Amr and Zayd.  
What complaint shall I make against the revolution of  
the sky,  
Whatever befalls me is from Divine decree and will.’

The general trend of his poems shows that the art of *Qaṣida* writing did not appeal to his genius. It is probably due to this reason, more than to anything else, that the number of his *Qaṣidas*, in spite of his long service at the court of several Kings, is so small in comparison with the number of his lyrical poems. His dislike for this type of poem is also to a certain extent due to the influence of his spiritual guide who used to detest panegyrics and considered the use of high-sounding laudatory terms as an abuse of poetic genius.<sup>2</sup>

*Ghazals.*—There are nearly eight hundred *Ghazals* written by Ḥasan, each consisting of not less than five and not more than twelve couplets.<sup>3</sup> The reputation of the poet rests mainly on these poems and he is considered as one of the earliest masters of this form of poetry.

*Development of Ghazal before Ḥasan.*—The *Ghazal* or the love poems of Persia may be said to be an offshoot of the *Qaṣida*

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 6a.

<sup>2</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 126a.

<sup>3</sup> The Hyderabad edition of the *Diván* contains 809 *Ghazals*.

or panegyrics, which form the beginning of Persian poetry. The main differences between these two forms of verse are in the subject-matter and in the length of the poem. The subject of a *Ghazal* is generally erotic and mystical, and seldom exceeds a dozen couplets, whereas a *Qasida* may be a panegyric, or a satire, or it may be didactic, philosophical or religious, often extending to more than a hundred couplets. A *Qasida* generally begins with the description of a beautiful object or of the poet's beloved, which is technically called *Tashbīb* or Exordium, and then the poet introduces his *Mamdūh* (the object of praise) and enters into the *Madiha* or panegyric proper. The *Tashbīb* is the basic principle of a *Ghazal*. This element of the beautiful has been transferred to *Ghazal* and it became the chief feature of this form of poetry. In a *Qasida* the poet praises the liberality, the pomp, the power, and the justice of his patron, whereas in a *Ghazal* he describes the beauty, the coquetry, the oppression, and the tyranny of his beloved. In the early stage of its development there was no appreciable improvement; it lacked that enthusiasm and emotion which we find in the works of the later poets. For a long time in Persia the composition of *Qasidas* was considered to be the best accomplishment of a poet, and it was the only means of gaining favour and honour at the royal courts. Consequently, the poets had to devote all their attentions and energies to the composition of this form of poetry, and the writing of *Ghazal* was neglected.

It is with the growth of Šūfism that a distinct improvement was made in the composition of *Ghazal*. The element of love, being one of the fundamental principles of this system of mystic philosophy, had found its best vehicle of expression in the medium of lyric poetry. The *Divān-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*<sup>1</sup> of Mawlānā Jalāl u'd-Dīn-Rūmī is one of the best examples of mystic lyrics that has ever been written in Persian. Hakīm Sanā'ī, Awhadī-Marāghī, Farid u'd-Dīn 'Attār, and 'Irāqī, had also made their contribution towards the development of mystic poetry. But the *Ghazals* written by them were smaller than their other forms of poetry, and the love that they extolled was divine rather than human.

The Mongol invasion of Persia with the destruction of the Caliphate, which is considered as the great turning point in the history of Islamic civilization, brought about a great change in the sphere of Persian literature and culture. From this time we find a different trend of thought in Persian poetry. The enthusiasm which the poets displayed in the composition of *Qasidas* celebrating the power and conquests of Persian monarchs has received a great setback and we do not find eminent *Qasida* writers in the post-Mongol period worthy of being compared

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<sup>1</sup> An excellent selection of this *Divān* has been published with a translation by Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge.

to those of pre-Mongol days. The poetry produced during this period generally contained a certain mournful and melancholy strain, as if something of vital importance had been missing from the soul of the nation, which it always yearns to regain. The expression of this mental agony revealed itself in lyrical poetry, and produced some of the greatest masters of poetic art, of whom Persia has ever been able to boast. The *Ghazal* has received the greatest attention from the Persian singers and a remarkable development has since been made.

Sa'dí is the fore-runner of this movement. After him come Ḥasan, Khusraw, Salmán, Khvájú and Ḥáfiz, in whom the Persian *Ghazal* has reached its highest perfection. Each of these poets had been greatly influenced by Sa'dí and they recognized him as a great master of lyrical poetry, and Ḥáfiz has said:—

استاد غزل سعدی ست پیش همه کس اما<sup>1</sup>  
دارد سخن حافظ طرز و روشِ خواجو

‘Before all persons Sa'dí is the master of Ghazal but,  
The poetry of Ḥáfiz has the style and manner of  
Khvájú.’

*Influence of Sa'dí on Ḥasan.*—The *Ghazals* of Ḥasan were greatly influenced by the works of Sa'dí in their style and thought. It is due to this similarity of ideas and diction in these two poets that Ḥasan was called by his contemporaries the Sa'dí of Hindustán.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes we come across parallel passages conveying an idea common to both but expressed in different forms. I quote here a few of these verses:—

*Sa'dí*—

بدم گفتی و خرسندم عفاک الله نگو گفتی<sup>3</sup>  
سگم خواندی و خشنودم جزاک الله کرم کردی

‘Thou didst speak me ill and I am content: God pardon thee, thou didst speak well!

Thou didst call me a dog, and I acquiesced: God reward thee thou didst confer on me a favour!’

<sup>1</sup> S.N., Vol. V, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Baranî, p. 360. In one sense Ḥasan may be said to be a contemporary of Sa'dí, as the latter lived up to A.H. 691 = 1291, when Ḥasan was forty years old.

<sup>3</sup> *Tayyibát*, Bib. Ind., p. 469. The first verse of this couplet is also used by Ḥáfiz as a *Ta'mín* in one of his poems (*vide* D.H.B., Ode No. 8).

Hasan—

گر سگی کوی خودم خواند شی<sup>1</sup>  
والله آن شب روز بازار منست

'If for a night she calls me a dog of her lane  
By God that night would be my brisk market.'

Sa'di—

دوستان عیب کنندم که چرا دل بتو دادم<sup>2</sup>  
باید اول بتو گفتن که چنین خوب چراى

'My friends blame me for yielding my heart to thee,  
Thou shouldst be questioned first "Why art thou so  
lovely?"'

Hasan—

گفتی که حسن دلت چه ارزد<sup>3</sup>  
از غمزه بپرس من چه دانم

'Thou hast asked, "Hasan! what is the value of thy  
heart?"  
What do I know, ask thy amorous glance.'

*Influence of Jalál u'd-Din Rúmí.*—In the mystical odes of Hasan we find some influence of the works of Jalál u'd-Din Rúmí. The poet has not made any direct acknowledgment of his indebtedness to this great Persian mystic, but from a careful search we find some of the ideas of Rúmí to have been expressed by Hasan in a different form. I give here the following parallel passages:—

Rúmí—

سینه خواهم شرحه شرحه از فراق<sup>4</sup>  
تا بگویم شرح درد اشتیاق

'I want a heart torn to pieces by separation  
So that I may unfold (to it) the pain of love-desire.'

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 996.

<sup>2</sup> *Tayyibát*, Bib. Ind., p. 464. Most texts give منع instead of عیب in verse I of this couplet.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Magnaví*, G.M.S., Bk. I, p. 3.

*Hasan*:—

هر دل كه چون چراغ نى سوزد از فراق<sup>1</sup>  
او را چه روشن ست كه سوز فراق چيست

'The heart that is not burning like a lamp by separation  
How can it understand the burning (pangs) of severance'

*Rúmi*—

اگر تو عاشقِ عشقِ و عشقِ را جویا<sup>2</sup>  
بگیر خنجرِ تیز و ببر گُلویِ حیا

'If thou art Love's lover and seekest love  
Take a keen poniard and cut the throat of bashfulness.'

*Hasan*—

بتیغِ عشق شو کشته حسن وار<sup>3</sup>  
اگر خواهی بقایِ جاودانی

'Get thyself killed like Hasan, with the sword of Love  
If thou desirest eternal permanence.'

*Rúmi*—

گفت لیلی را خلیفه کآن توی<sup>4</sup>      کز تو مجنون شد پریشان و غوی  
از دگر خوبان تو افزون نیستی      گفت خامش چون تو مجنون نیستی

'The Caliph said to Laylá: "Art thou she  
By whom Majnún was distracted and led astray?  
Thou art not superior to other fair ones."  
"Be silent" she replied "Since thou art not Majnún".'

*Hasan*—

مدعی گفت بلیلی بطعن (؟)      رو كه چنان چابك و موزون نه  
لیلی ازین حرف بخندید و گفت      با تو چه گویم كه تو مجنون نه

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 90a.

<sup>2</sup> *Diván-i-Shamsi-Tabriz*, Ed. Nicholson, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 217b.

<sup>4</sup> *Magnaví*, G.M.S., Text, Book I, p. 26 and Nicholson's translation, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 208b.



'A boaster said to Laylá in reproach  
 "Go, thou art not so nimble and graceful"  
 Laylá laughed at this and said  
 "What shall I tell thee, since thou art not Majnún".'

*Influence of Hasan on his successors.*—Among the successors of Hasan in the field of Persian poetry, we find two who are imitators of his style. One is Kamál of Khujand<sup>1</sup> and the other Zamírí of Ispahán. The former is accused by some critics as a plagiarist of Hasan. Jámí says: 'Kamál imitates Hasan Dihlaví, but his poems contain more of mystical ideas than those of Hasan. On account of this imitation, he was called a plagiarist of Hasan.'<sup>2</sup> The charge of plagiarism made against him by his critics is rather too severe. A comparison of his *Diván*<sup>3</sup> with that of Hasan does not reveal any serious evidence to substantiate it. The style and language of Kamál shows clearly the influence of Hasan, but the two poets differ a great deal in their thoughts and ideas. Kamál is more of a mystic than Hasan. Zamírí,<sup>4</sup> whose full name is Kamál u'd-Dín Husayn, flourished in the court of Sháh Tahmásp (reigned A.H. 930-984 = 1524-76) the Šafaví King. He has composed a Divan consisting of Ghazals in imitation of Hasan under the title of Hasan

Ma'al (حسن مآل). The author of the *Makhzan u'l-Ghará'ib* and the *Ātish-Kadah* speak very highly of his abilities as a poet of original and imitative composition. He is also said to have been highly proficient in the art of necromancy.

*Influence of Hasan on Háfiz.*—In the poetry of Háfiz also we find some influence of Hasan; but Háfiz has made no direct acknowledgment of any indebtedness to Hasan. On the other hand, he says that his poetry bears resemblance to the style and diction of Khvájú of Kirmán. The only reference that he

<sup>1</sup> His full name is Kamál u'd-Dín b. Mas'úd. He was a great saint and a mystic poet of the latter part of the eighth century of the Hijra. The Jalá'irí Sultan Husayn bin Uways (776-784 = 1374-82) showed him much favour and built for him a monastery. He is said to have died in A.H. 803 = A.D. 1400-1. (Vide J.N.U., pp. 712-13, L.H.P., Vol. III, pp. 320-30.)

<sup>2</sup> *Baháristán*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Add. 19,496.

<sup>4</sup> This poet was a prolific writer. He is the author of six *Muğnawís*, viz. *Názva-Niyáz*, *Hasnat u'l-Akhhár*, *Vámiq-va-'Asrá*, *Laylá-Majnún*, *Bahár-va-Khazán* and *Iskandar-Námah*, and of seven *Diváns* of Ghazals, viz. '*Ishq-i-Bízavál*, *Kanz u'l-Aqwál*, *Surat-i-Hál-i-Safína-i-Iqbál*, *Šaiqal-i-Malál*, '*Uzr-i-Maqal*, *Quds-i-Khivál*; four other *Diváns* in imitation of Sa'di's *Tayyibát*, *Badd'í*, *Khvátim*, and *Ghazliyyát*, viz. *Badd'á-u's-Shi'r*, *Saná-i-Táhirát*, *Niháyat-u's-Sihr*; and another *Diván* called '*Ayun u'l-Zulál*; and of thirteen similar *Diváns* in imitation of those of Bábbá Fighání, Jámí, Lisání, Sháhi of Sabzvár, Baná-i of Herát, Bábbá Sháhidí of Qum, Amír Humáyun, Mirza Sharaf Jahán of Qazvin, Kamál Khujandí, Amír Khusraw and Amír Hasan. (Vide M.G., Or. 4610, f. 259.)

makes of Indo-Persian poets is to be found in the following verses sent to Sultan Ghiyāṣ ud-Dín of Bengal:—

شكر شكن شوند همه طوطيان هند<sup>1</sup>  
زين قند پارسی كه به بنگاله ميرود

‘All the parrots of India become sugar-breakers  
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal.’

The word *Tuti-i-Hind* or the parrot of India may be applied only to two of the Indo-Persian poets—Ḥasan and his contemporary Khusraw. Jámí has referred to them in the same way in the following verses<sup>2</sup>:—

آن دو طوطی كه بنوخیزی شان بود در هند شكر ریزی شان  
عاقبت سخره افلاك شدند خامشان قفس خاك شدند

‘Those two parrots with tender growth,  
Who filled Hindustán with sugar,  
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky,  
And were silenced and imprisoned in the cage of earth.’

Hasan also styles himself a parrot of eloquence in one of his odes in the following verses<sup>3</sup>:—

مرا كه طوطی باغ بلاغت است لقب  
شدم ز مائده شكر شاه شكر چين

‘I, who possess the title of “the parrot of the garden of eloquence”  
Have become a pecker of sugar at the table of gratitude of the King.’

In another place he says<sup>4</sup>:—

كنون مبارك بادت هواي هندوستان  
كه طوطيان را آموختي شكر خوردن (؟)

‘Now may the atmosphere of India be auspicious to thee,  
As thou hast taught the parrots to peck sugar.’

<sup>1</sup> D.H.B., No. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 42b.

<sup>4</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 202.

The reference of Háfiz to the parrots of India indubitably shows that he was familiar with the works of these great Indo-Persian poets and particularly with the *Ghazals* of Hasan, which exerted a certain influence on his poetry. I quote below some of the parallel passages which are to be found in their *Diváns*:—

I. *Hasan* <sup>1</sup>—

رخ تو آفت شهر آمد و آشوب سپاه  
قصه ما و تو شهری و سپاهی دانست

'Thy face became the calamity of the city and torment  
of the army  
Our story became known to the citizen and the soldier.'

*Háfiz* <sup>2</sup>—

فغان کین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهر آشوب  
چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان ینما را

'Alas! these saucy dainty ones, sweet of work, the tor-  
ment of the city,  
Take patience from the heart just as the men of  
Turkistán take the tray of plunder.'

II. *Hasan*—

<sup>3</sup> بیا ساقی هنوز آهستگی چیست  
که اینک گل بخندید ابر بگرس

'Come Sáqí, what is this hesitation?  
Because the rose smiled and the cloud wept.'

*Háfiz*—

<sup>4</sup> خوشتر ز عیش و صحبت باغ و بهار چیست  
ساقی بکاست کو سبب انتظار چیست

'What is there more pleasant than the enjoyment of the  
garden and the spring,  
Where is the Sáqí? say what's the cause of waiting?'

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 79b.

<sup>2</sup> D.H.B., No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 89.

<sup>4</sup> D.H.B., No. 55.

III. *Hasan*—

اگر ساقی تو خواهی بود ما را<sup>1</sup>  
 که می گوید که می خوردن حرام است

'If thou becomest our Sâqí,  
 Who says that drinking is unlawful?'

*Háfiz*—

در مذهب ما باده حلال است و لیکن<sup>2</sup>  
 بی روی تو ای سرو گل اندام حرام است

'Wine is lawful in our creed but  
 Without thy face, O rose bodied cypress, it is unlawful.'

IV. *Hasan*—

روی که تراست مه ندارد نقصان بتو هیچ ره ندارد<sup>3</sup>  
 این کوكبه که هم تو داری خورشید نداشت مه ندارد

'The moon hath not a face like thee,  
 To thee there is no decline;  
 The splendour which thou hast  
 Neither the sun nor the moon doth possess.'

*Háfiz*—

روشنی طلعت تو ماه ندارد پیش تو گل رونق گیاه ندارد<sup>4</sup>  
 گوشه ابروی تست منزل جانم خوشتر ازین گوشه پادشاه ندارد

'The moon hath not the brightness of thy face,  
 In thy presence the rose hath not (even) the splendour  
 of the grass,  
 The corner of thy eyebrow is the dwelling of my soul,  
 The King hath not a happier corner than this.'

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 98a.<sup>2</sup> D.H.B., No. 34.<sup>3</sup> D.H. Add. 24952, f. 113.<sup>4</sup> D.H.B., No. 171.

V. *Hasan*—

<sup>1</sup> چه رویست آن که گوی نو بهار ست  
 غلط کردم بهشت روزگار ست  
 بنقد امروز با او در بهشتم  
 مرا با نسیه فردا چه کار ست

'What is that face? thou wouldst say that it is the new  
 spring,  
 I am wrong, it is the paradise of the world.  
 To-day in cash I am in paradise with her.  
 What use have I for the credit of the morrow.'

*Háfiz*—

<sup>2</sup> کنون که نمی دمد از بوستان نسیم بهشت  
 من و شراب فرح بخش و یار حور سرشت  
 .....  
 چمن حکایت اردی بهشت می گوید  
 نه عارفست که نسیه خرید و نقد بهست

'Now that the breeze of paradise bloweth from the rose  
 garden  
 I and the joygiving-wine and the Houri natured beloved  
 (are together)  
 The sword uttereth the tale of the month of spring  
 No gnostic is he who purchased a loan and let go the  
 cash.'

*Ghazals of Hasan quoted in different Anthologies.*—Besides the poetical extracts quoted by the biographers, we find that his *Ghazals* have been profusely quoted in a number of anthologies. A list of those, available in the libraries of Great Britain, is given below:

- (1) An anthology of mixed contents (A.H. 813) prepared for Jalāl u'd-Dīn Iskandar B.'Umar-Shaykh, a grandson of Tīmūr who ruled over Fars as a vassal of his uncle Shāh Rukh. Add. 27,261.

<sup>1</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 83.

<sup>2</sup> D.H.B., No. 60.

- (2) Anthology (10th century A.H.) belonging to a Turkish noble named Khálid Beg. Add. 7,824.
- (3) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.), Or. 1228.
- (4) Anonymous anthology (1200 A.H.). Add. 19,494.
- (5) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.). Add. 7,796.
- (6) Anthology (A.H. 1153) prepared by Mírza 'Abdu'l Qádir Bídil. Add. 16,803.

Besides these there are four other undated anthologies in the Berlin Library of Persian MSS. (Nos. 58, 83, 681, 685), which cite a number of his poems.

The poems cited in these anthologies correspond to the *Ghazals* contained in the Bodleian, the British Museum and the India Office copies of his *Diván*. These anthologies except that of Mírzá Bídil, do not add to our knowledge of his poems. Mírzá Bídil ascribes one *Mukhammas* or Fivesome poem to Ḥasan.<sup>1</sup> But it seems that this poem has been wrongly attributed to him. According to the rules of Persian prosody very often the basis of this type of poem is a *Ghazal* of some other poet, to each couplet of which three more '*miṣrā's*' or half verses are added to make a *Mukhammas*. Now this poem of doubtful authenticity is based on a *Ghazal* of Ḥáfiz which opens with the verse:

۲ تاب بنفشه میدهد طرّۀ مشکسای تو  
 پرده غنچه میدرد ۳ عارض دلکشای تو

Hasan being a predecessor of Ḥáfiz could not possibly have utilized his *Ghazal* as a basis of this *Mukhammas*. So Mírzá Bídil is fundamentally wrong in ascribing this poem to Ḥasan. It must have been written by some other person who was either a contemporary or successor of Ḥáfiz.

*Style of his Ghazals.*—The special features of Ḥasan's style consist in its simplicity and a natural flow of language, combined with sweet and harmonious rhythm. The metres employed are invariably short and attractive to the ear. The words he uses are generally concise and plain and belong to the every-day ordinary vocabulary of the people. The entire absence of obscure metaphors and far-fetched images has made his poems very popular among his contemporaries. Both contemporary and later-day critics are unanimous in praise of the beauty of his style and diction. I quote here the opinion of two of the critics of two different periods. One is Ziyá Baraní, who says

<sup>1</sup> *Bayáz*, Add. 16,803, ff. 375-76.

<sup>2</sup> D.H.B. No. 472.

<sup>3</sup> Some texts read as خنده

'He was an accomplished master in the simplicity of style and flow of diction, and as he has composed many a mystic ode in a flowing style, he is called the Sa'di of Hindustán.'<sup>1</sup> The other is Jámí, a great mystic poet and a biographer of the fifteenth century A.D., who speaks of Hasan's style in the following words:<sup>2</sup> 'His *Ghazals* have some distinctive features; he was very particular in the choice of metres and rhymes, which are the peculiar beauty of his poetry. This careful selection gives his poems a special colouring, so much indeed that they appear to be very simple, while actually they require much art and labour to compose. Therefore people have called his poetry easy but difficult to compose.'

*Are the Ghazals to be interpreted in Súfistic sense?*—It may be asked whether the odes of Hasan are to be taken in a literal or Súfistic sense. This question does not admit of a general answer. There are a number of odes which may be interpreted in a figurative or allegorical sense, and there are others which may be better understood and appreciated in a literal sense. The number of the latter class is considerably larger than the former. The poet, however, desires us to take the inner meaning of his verses and interpret his love as '*Ishq-i-Haqiqi* or love divine. He says:

طریق سهل میندار عشق بازی ما<sup>3</sup>  
حقیقت ست غم عاشق مجازی نیست

'Think not the way of our love's sport to be easy  
The pangs of love are divine, not profane.'

ای حسن ما ز اهل تحقیقیم گرچه ظاهر ز اهل تحقیریم<sup>4</sup>

'O Hasan! We belong to the people of Truth  
Although outwardly we are of the despised.'

There are poems, which reveal the poet's leaning towards the Súfistic doctrine of *Faná-Filláh* or the passing of the unreal into the real self in order that it may be re-united with the one infinite Being; these poems, of course, answer directly to the above claim made by the poet. But the erotic ideas which permeate most of his odes, outweigh the element of sufism displayed in others, and a comprehensive survey shows him as an erotic rather than a Súfí poet. It is, however, not to be supposed that the erotic poems of Hasan give expression to the cult of a

<sup>1</sup> Barani, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> *Baháristán*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> D.H., I.O.L., f. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 141.

reckless libertine for the gratification of sensual pleasure. They contain high and noble sentiments expressed with appropriate dignity of manner. The poet holds an ideal of beauty before his mental vision and tries to draw a picture of that ideal with the aid of his lively fancy and powerful imagination. The beauty of nature appeals to him most. He holds it up to great admiration and thereby admires the Creator, who is himself the supreme of Beauty.

*The Popularity of his Ghazals.*—The *Ghazals* of Hasan gained great popularity, not only among his contemporaries, but also among the poets of the succeeding generations. His achievement of considerable celebrity during his lifetime has been referred to by the poet himself in the following verses:

از نظم حسن دیدم شهری شده دیوانه<sup>1</sup>  
زیراکه نی بیند این طرز بدیوانها

'I find the city mad with Ḥasan's verse,  
For they find not such elegance in other *Diváns*.'

Besides the testimony of his contemporary scholars (to which I have already referred), we have other evidence from the writings of Persian poets and biographers which points clearly to the popularity of his poems even beyond the land of his birth. The popularity of his works may be best judged from a consideration of the opinions of the Persian critics and of the reception they obtained in Persia, a land where Indo-Persian poetry is seldom appreciated, unless it is of a very high order. Dawlat-Sháh in his *Memoirs of Persian poets* says,<sup>2</sup> 'The *Diván* of Khvāja Ḥasan is very highly admired in these days; and the men of learning and discernment attach an unlimited esteem to his poetry. As his poems are very well known to the high and the low, I am not going to quote here more than one of his *Ghazals*.' Taqí Káshí, another biographer of the tenth century of the Hijra, says,<sup>3</sup> 'His *Diván* is highly honoured and respected, and the men of understanding and good taste place great confidence in his poems. His verses enjoy a great reputation among the people.' We find such evidence of the popularity of his poems in Persia even during the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp (A.D. 930-34) the Šafaví King; and during the reign of this monarch, Zamíri, the court poet of the time, wrote a *Diván* in imitation of Ḥasan.

Among the Indo-Persian scholars of the later period his *Ghazals* enjoyed a very great amount of popularity, and they

<sup>1</sup> D.H., Add. 24,952, f. 38b.

<sup>2</sup> T.S.D., p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> K.A.Z.A., I.O.L., No. 667, f. 541a.



were placed on the same level as those of other great masters of the Persian lyric, Sa'dí, Khusraw and Háfiz. He was regarded as a past master of Persian songs and many a poet would have considered himself fortunate if he could have secured the blessing of his approbation. An instance of such a desire is found in one of the poems of Shaykh Násir u'd-Dín-Gharíb<sup>1</sup> of Delhi:

سرود عیش ز گفتار من کند مطرب<sup>2</sup>  
 ره سماع ز اشعار من زند قوال  
 اگر بفارس رود کاروان اشعارم  
 روان سعدی و حافظ کنند استقبال  
 و گریه هند برسد خسرو و حسن گویند  
 که ای غریب جهان مرجبا تعال تعال

'The minstrel would play the tune of joy with my lay,  
 The mystic-singer would dance in ecstasy with my  
 verse;

If the Caravan of my poetry were to travel to Persia  
 The souls of Sa'dí and Háfiz would greet it.

If it reached Hindustán, Khusraw and Hasan would  
 say

O, Gharíb of the World, Hail to thee! Come, come.'

*Character of his Ghazals.*—Hasan's *Ghazals* have a certain distinctive feature of their own. His poems are generally pervaded by an emotional frenzy and a burning enthusiasm which are not to be found to the same extent in the writings of his predecessor Sa'dí and his contemporary Khusraw. In the poems of Sa'dí and Khusraw, no doubt, there is an element of high emotion, but when we consider their work as a whole, this element appears very small among the tame and gentle expressions which preponderate in the majority of their poems. Hasan, as a lyric poet, excels them both by his greater enthusiasm and his deeper inspiration manifested in vigorous and impressive language. Another distinctive characteristic of his *Ghazal* is the presence of a single idea running through the whole poem. As a general rule every couplet in a *Ghazal* expresses a complete idea, independent of what has gone before or what comes after;

<sup>1</sup> Gharíb was the poetical name of Shaykh Násir u'd-Dín. He was a native of Khurásán, migrated to India during the reign of Humáyun. He is the author of a *Díván* in Persian. (*Vide Riyáz-u's-Shu'ará*, Add. 16,729, f. 318b; and Beale, p. 140.)

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous anthology, Add. 7796, f. 47.

but Hasan has often deviated from this convention and we find some of his poems with a single idea running throughout.<sup>1</sup>

### III. HIS MINOR POEMS.

*Qiṭ'a or fragments.*—The *Qiṭ'a* or Fragmentary poems of Hasan consists of twenty pieces. One of these is addressed to 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljī, and two other poems to Ulugh Khán. Of the rest, some describe the beauties and pleasure of spring, and some are devoted to moral topics and satire of the selfish devotees.

*Rubá'í.*—The *Rubá'í's* or quatrains written by Hasan are much fewer than his *Ghazals*. The earliest available manuscript<sup>2</sup> of his *Diván* contains 137 poems of this type and the contents of the later copies vary but none exceeds this number.

Of these poems, twenty-five are addressed to Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín, five to prince Khizr Khán, and the rest are devoted to prayer and love. The general trend of his love-quatrains, with a few exceptions is erotic rather than mystical.

*Maḡnaví.*—The *Maḡnaví* poems of Hasan are devoted to three distinct types of subjects—eulogistic, moral and romantic. All these poems, except the single romantic one, are short and disconnected pieces, written on different occasions, probably in his leisure hours which he wanted to employ in composition on lighter themes. These small poems do not reveal that amount of burning pathos and frenzy of feeling which we see in his *Ghazals* and the romantic *Maḡnaví*. They are purely descriptive and didactic.

The eulogistic *Maḡnaví* poems are devoted to the following topics:—

- (1) A general description of the power and might of Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín.
- (2) In commemoration of the suppression of a mutiny in A.H. 700.
- (3) Advent of the spring.
- (4) In praise of the Imperial sword.
- (5) On the birth of a prince.
- (6) On the occasion of proclaiming Khizr Khán as an heir-apparent.
- (7) The marriage of the prince.
- (8) In praise of Ulugh Khán.
- (9) In praise of Shaykh Niẓám u'd-Dín Awliyá.
- (10) Three other poems in praise of his learned companions.

<sup>1</sup> Khusraw has also written a number of such poems, which have been cited by Shibli. (*Vide* S.N., Vol. II, pp. 162-67.) For want of space none of these *Ghazals* could be included here.

<sup>2</sup> Bodl. MS. (Ouseley) 122.

Of the *Maḡnavī* poems on moral topics, the extant manuscript contains only seven. These poems are written after the model of Sa'di's *Bustān* in which the poet tells certain stories or relates some sayings of a great man and then moralizes on them according to his own light and judgment. Although the number of these poems is very small, they provide interesting reading and throw some light on the ascetic temperament of the poet.

*The Romantic Maḡnavī.*—The romantic *Maḡnavī* of Hasan, known as the '*Ishq-Námah*, or the *Hikāyat-i-'Ashiq-i-Nágúr*' (Book of love or the story of the lover of Nágúr<sup>1</sup>), is a short love-poem consisting of six hundred and six couplets. The whole book, as the poet himself says, was composed during a single night on Monday, the first of *Zú'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 700 (A.D. 1301).<sup>2</sup> The metre used here is the apocopated hexametre *Hajaz* (v . . . / v . . . / v . . .).

The poem is modelled on the romance of Laylá and Majnún of Nizámí of Ganja, which is one of the most popular love-stories in the East, and particularly in India. Khusraw, the contemporary of our poet, had also written on the same theme of romance, and he had composed five *Maḡnavís* of this type, collectively known as *Panj-Ganj* (Five Treasures), dealing with the same legends as those of Nizámí. But our poet did not follow his predecessors blindly. There is no doubt that he is indebted to Nizámí for the main idea of his poem, but he has selected a theme of his own. The old Persian legends, which had been worn threadbare by other writers, did not afford sufficient scope for his imagination. He wanted to discover a new field for his poetic interpretation, and he found it in the Hindu tales. So he selected one of the love stories of his homeland and struck out a new departure. The episode, he says, is not an invention of his imagination but a story well known in the country.<sup>3</sup>

نه از خود کردم این افسانه منظوم  
که مشهور است این قصه دران بوم

'This story was not weaved out of my own fancy,  
It is a story well known in that country.'

<sup>1</sup> Nágúr is the name of an old city of Eastern Rájputana, which now forms a part of Jodhpur State. (*Vide* Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVIII.)

<sup>2</sup> D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley, No. 122), f. 282

بکرم اندرین چند تفکر      سواد یکشبه بود این همه در  
بال هفصد این در شد نموده      دوشنبه غره ذوالحجه بوده

<sup>3</sup> D.H., Bodl., f. 282.

This was rather a bold step on his part to depict the ideal nature of love from the life-story of a young Hindu couple, which was not likely to be well received by the orthodox opinion of the time. The poet anticipated this danger before he began the book, so he replies to this possible charge of heresy in the concluding verses of his poem in the following way<sup>1</sup>:—

اشعار عاشق کاریست جانی ز کفر و دین برون است این معانی

‘The verse of love is a theme of the soul  
It soars beyond faith and infidelity.’

#### IV. · HIS PROSE WORKS.

The prose works of Hasan that have survived to us are the *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád*, and a short *Margiya* written on the death of Khán-i-Shahíd, the eldest son of Sultan Balban. Another work entitled *Siyar u'l-Awliyá*, or Lives of Saints, is said to have been written by him, but this book seems to have been lost.

*Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád*.—The *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád* is a collection of discourses of his spiritual guide Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá, made in a number of meetings from the year A.H. 707 to 722<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1308–1322). The custom of the Shaykh was to hold occasional assemblies of his disciples at which he used to discourse on various topics connected with religion, mysticism, and other matters relating to the life of devotees. Most of these discourses are illustrated by anecdotes, largely drawn from his personal experience and reminiscence. These discourses were carefully noted down by Hasan and finally published under the above title, with the approval of the Shaykh. At the completion of each chapter the author used to show it to his spiritual guide for his opinion, and we find that on each occasion he received high approbation for his faithful and systematic reproduction of all the sayings of the Shaykh.

In the opening chapter of the book the author gives the following account of the method of his collection and the reason why he called it *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád*<sup>3</sup>:—

‘These heavenly gems and indubitable ornaments have been collected from the treasure-house of instruction and the secret chamber of infallibility of the Master of rectitude, entitled “The mercy of the universe, the King of the poor and the helpless, Nizám u'l-Haqq-al Shar'al-Hudá-al-Dín” (May the mercy of God be upon him). Whatever has reached my ears either in the actual form or in its general significance from that lamp of divine assemblage, I have written down according to my simple

<sup>1</sup> D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley) 122, f. 282.

<sup>2</sup> The Encyclopædia of Islam is wrong in stating that these discourses were made from A.H. 717 to 722.

<sup>3</sup> F.F., Or. 1805, f. 2.

understanding; and as the minds of afflicted persons would derive benefit from this compendium, so I have named it *Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád* (The benefits of the soul).'

*The main divisions of the book.*—The book is divided into two separate parts. The first part consists of four chapters containing the discourses made during a period of twelve lunar years from the third of *Sha'bán* A.H. 707 to the twenty-third of *Rajab* A.H. 719<sup>1</sup> = A.D. 1307–1319. It was completed, as stated at the end of this part, on Tuesday the second of *Shawwál* A.H. 719<sup>2</sup> = A.D. 1319. Each of these four chapters is devoted to a fixed period of time: the first chapter contains the discourses made during A.H. 707–709 (A.D. 1307–1309) and consists of thirty-four discourses; the second from A.H. 709 to 712 (A.D. 1309–1312) and consists of thirty-seven discourses; the third from A.H. 712 to 714 (A.D. 1312–1314) and consists of seventeen discourses; the fourth from A.H. 714 to 719 (A.D. 1314–1319) consisting of sixty-seven discourses. The second part contains thirty-two discourses delivered during a period of three years from the twenty-first of *Sha'bán* A.H. 719 (A.D. 1319) to the nineteenth of *Sha'bán* A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322). This part was completed on the twentieth day of the month of the later year, as the author says in the following verses<sup>3</sup>:—

چون بهتصد فرود بپست و دو سال  
 بیستم روز از ماه شعبان  
 از اشارت خواجه جمع آمد  
 این بشارت ده فتوح جهان  
 شیخ ما چون محمد آمد نام  
 حسن اندر ثناء او حسان

'When twenty and two was added to seven hundred  
 On the twentieth day of the month of *Sha'bán*,  
 Was compiled at the command of the Khvāja  
 This giver of happy tidings of the conquest of the  
 world.  
 The fame of our Shaykh is like Muḥammad  
 And Ḥasan in his eulogy like Hassán.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 110. Rieu suggests this date to be the 5th of *Jamád II*, which is evidently wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111.

<sup>3</sup> F.F., Or. 1806, f. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Hassán-ibn-Şabit was one of the Arabian poets who espoused the cause of the Prophet. The family to which he belonged had the greatest

In the concluding paragraph of the second part,<sup>1</sup> the author said that he would present us with another volume of the discourses that would be made after the year 722 A.H. The Shaykh lived up to A.H. 725 and Ḥasan survived him a few years more but we are not in possession of information as to whether anything was written by him during the last days of his life.

## V. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

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skill in poetry, for it produced six persons, in succession, all of them poets. (Vide Ibn-i-Khallikán's Biographical Dictionary, ed. by De Slane, Vol. III, p. 347 and Vol. IV, p. 259.)

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**Futūhāt-i-Firūzshāhī.**

By N. B. Roy.

(Communicated by Dr. Baini Prashad.)

Sultān Firūzshāh Tughluq (752–790 A.H., 1351–1388 A.D.), one of the most enlightened rulers of the Tughluq dynasty, is described by Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakḥshī in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* as:—

این بادشاه عدالت پناه ضوابط عدل و احسان و قواعد امن  
و امان بسیار در میان خلق گذاشت<sup>1</sup>

The earlier part of the history of his reign was dealt with in fair detail by Diyā-uddīn Barnī in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*,<sup>2</sup> but after the death of this author, as no competent historian could carry on the work, the Sultān himself composed a pamphlet containing 'the *res gestae* of his reign, or, as he designates them his "victories", and had these engraved on the walls of the *Kūshk-i-Shikār*, on the dome of the *Kūshk-i-Nuzūl* and the minaret of the stone mansion at Firūzābād.<sup>3</sup> In another place of the same work (p. 20), however, 'Afif has remarked that the Sultān had caused to be inscribed the history on the lofty tower of the *Kūshk-i-Nuzūl* which was erected in front of the royal court. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad,<sup>4</sup> however, states that the history was inscribed on the eight sides of the dome of the Jāmi' Masjid.

Manuscripts of this historical work of Sultān Firūz, which served as one of the sources of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's *Tabaqāt* and Firishtah's History, are very rare. Sir Henry Elliot was unable to obtain any copy, but Professor Dowson was able to include an almost complete translation of it in Volume III of Elliot's *History* from a unique manuscript belonging to Mr. E. Thomas.<sup>5</sup> Apparently this is the manuscript which is listed

<sup>1</sup> B. De's edition of the text in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series, Vol. I, p. 238 (1927); see also the English translation of the work in the same series by the same author, Vol. I, p. 256 (1927).

<sup>2</sup> For details regarding this work, see Prashad, B., *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. IV (Letters), p. 785 (1938).

<sup>3</sup> Shams Sirāj 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, edited by Vilāyat Husain, p. 177 (1888–91).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, text, p. 239, English translation, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 374 (1871).

by Rieu<sup>1</sup> in the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (Or. 2039) and which is wrongly stated to have been transcribed for the use of Sir Henry Elliot from a manuscript dated 1139 A.H., under 'the supervision of Nayyir Rakhshān<sup>2</sup> (Diyā'uddīn Khān)'; this conclusion is based on a notice, dated Shāhjahānābād, July, 1853, at the end of the manuscript. The other known manuscript<sup>3</sup> of the work is in the collection of the 'Aligarh University and forms like the British Museum manuscript an appendix of a manuscript of 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*. According to the colophon it was copied by Diyā'uddīn at Mount Abu on 12th Shawwāl 1299 A.H. (27th August, 1882). The contents of the two manuscripts, so far as they can be judged from a study of the English translation of the British Museum manuscript and the copy of the 'Aligarh manuscript, are almost identical; both of them constitute an appendix to 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, and whereas the former was copied under the supervision of Nawwāb Diyā'uddīn Aḥmad Khān of Lohārū, the latter was apparently copied by the Nawwāb himself.

The question of the authorship of this work need not be discussed at length. The independent testimony of authors like 'Afif and Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad leaves no doubt about the Sultān having prepared an account of his accomplishments in a work entitled *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*; manuscripts of this work were current under this name in the sixteenth century; while the style of composition and the contents of the work fully confirm its authorship by Sultān Firūz.

Hodivala<sup>4</sup> recently suggested the probability of the existence of more than one recension of this work. He bases his conclusion on the inventory of the public works of Firūz and the reference to the administration of poison to him by his enemies detailed in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and which are not to be found in the English translation of the *Futūḥāt* by Dowson.<sup>5</sup> Against this view it may be urged that Nizāmuddīn<sup>6</sup> does not state definitely that he based his account entirely on the

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, C., *Cat. Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, III, p. 920 (1883).

<sup>2</sup> Nawwāb Diyā'uddīn Aḥmad Khān of Lohārū. He was a well-known scholar of Persian and Urdū and wrote under the pen names of *Nayyir* in Persian and *Rakhshān* in Urdū. According to Sī Rām, the author of *Khumkhāna'-i-Jāwīd* (Vol. III, p. 378, 1917), he helped Sir Henry Elliot materially in collecting information for his famous History. He died in 1302 A.H. (1884 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> A manuscript is stated to be in the collection of Khān Bahādur Zafar Ḥasan, but I have not been able to secure it for collation with the 'Aligarh manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Hodivala, S. H., *Studies in Indo-Islamic History*, p. 344 (1939).

<sup>5</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 374-388 (1871).

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, text, p. 241, translation, p. 260.

*Futūhāt*. In fact his statement<sup>1</sup> that 'whatever (information) could be obtained about the construction of buildings and his beneficent foundations, is detailed here', leaves little doubt that the account is a summary of all available information. In regard to the inventories of the works, it may further be noted that the figures as given by Nizāmuddīn differ very materially from those of Firishtah.<sup>2</sup> It appears certain, therefore, that the figures in the two works could not have been taken from the same source but were independent estimates of the two historians. In this connection a reference may also be made to Thomas<sup>3</sup> who was of the opinion that Nizāmuddīn's totals 'though not obviously exaggerated as Firishta's are clearly fanciful'. The suspicion about the inaccuracy of these figures is also confirmed by the fact that they are not mentioned in any of the contemporary works such as 'Afif's History, *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī* and *Munsh'āt-i-Māhrū*. In view of the above facts it is not necessary to postulate a second recension of the *Futūhāt* until one is discovered.

From the literary point of view, this work has distinctive merits. It is written in a very simple style and is singularly free from the verbiage of words which is a dominant feature of contemporary literary works such as 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī* and *Munsha'āt-i-Māhrū*. It also differs strikingly from the usual type of insipid, pompous royal manifestoes, and is free of conventional phrases and phraseologies. On the other hand, the work is full of life and vigour and in its pages the Sultān pours forth the innermost feelings of his heart and attempts to make known to his subjects and successors his endless efforts in the path of righteousness, as he conceived it.

The historical importance of this royal work cannot be exaggerated. Like the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka, it echoes to us the thoughts and feelings that animated the Sultān. He devoted his kingly power and all efforts to the extirpation of various sects and denominations that had arisen in Islām, for example the *Shī'ahs*, the *Mulhids* and the *Idāhātīs*, to the suppression of many innovations, unlawful and forbidden practices that had crept into the religious observances, to the proselytization of the large Hindu population by persuasion and the remission of the *Jizya*, and to the destruction of the new, if not the old temples built by the Hindūs. He used all his efforts for the purification of the Faith and for the application

<sup>1</sup> B. De's translation of the passage:

آنچه از بنای عمارات و بقاع خیر او یافته شد باین شرح است \*

does not convey the exact sense of the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Bombay Lith. Edn., Vol. I, pp. 272, 273 (1832).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, E., *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 291 (1871).

of the principles enjoined by Islām in connection with administrative matters. He gave up the usual royal ways of living and adopted a simple, religious life. He discarded the purple and scarlet robes and cast aside the gold and silver vases, cups, plates and jugs which were used on the royal table. The paintings and portraits that adorned the inner apartments of the Sultān's palace were torn down from the walls, while the carvings and effigies were obliterated from the walls of the palaces, other buildings, etc. Various practices which were contrary to the laws of Islām were interdicted. The visit of Muslim women to the tombs of saints and recluses was banned. Mutilation, tortures and various types of hair-raising, cruel punishments were done away with. Oppressive cesses which were wrung from the subjects were abolished; Madrasas and hospitals were built and an extensive programme for digging canals and tree-planting was organized. All these measures confirm the Sultān's deep concern and solicitude for his subjects. It is a pity, however, that the beneficent rule of this benevolent and religious king was marred by his bigoted persecution of Shīaism and the image worship of the Hindūs in their newly erected temples.

With a view to making this important and rare manuscript <sup>1</sup> easily available to students of Indian History, I have prepared a carefully revised edition of the text of the 'Aligarh manuscript based on a copy prepared for Dr. Raghubir Singh, the heir-apparent of the Sitamau State in Central India. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Singh for his kindness in allowing me the use of this valuable copy, and to Prof. M. Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaqq for his invaluable help in editing the text. In view of material inaccuracies in Dowson's translation referred to already, I had also prepared an English translation, but the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal could not, on the score of the increased cost of printing, agree to its publication, more particularly as Dowson's translation is sufficiently accurate in regard to the historical facts detailed in the *Futūḥāt*.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Storey, *Persian Literature—A Bibliographical Survey*, p. 509 (1939), an edition of the *Futūḥāt* was published at Delhi in 1885, but I have not succeeded in securing a copy from any source.

# فتوحاتِ فیروز شاهی

یا فَتَّاحُ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

حمدِ بیحد و شکرِ بیعد مر خالقِ غفورِ مشکور را که  
 منِ بیچارهٔ مسکین، فیروز بن رجب، غلامِ محمد شاه بن تغلق شاه  
 را باحیای سنّ سنّیه و قلعِ بدعات و دفعِ منکرات و منعِ محرمات  
 و تحرّیص بر ادای فرائض و واجبات توفیقِ رفیقِ بخشید -  
 و صَلَوَاتِ بیشمار بر سید کائنات که برای دفعِ رسوم و عادات  
 مبعوث شد، بُعِثَ لِرَفْعِ الرُّسُومِ وَ الْعَادَاتِ، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ  
 وَسَلَّم، و بر آل و اصحابِ او که به سعیِ جمیلِ ایشان مراسمِ  
 جاهلیت مرتفع شد، رِضْوَانُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ -  
 اما بعد چون اظهارِ شکرِ نعمتی که از معطیٰ حقیقی عطا شده باشد  
 که وَ التَّحَدُّثُ بِالنِّعَمِ شُكْرٌ و سیدِ ولدِ آدم صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ  
 بتحدّثِ نعمتِ مامور شده، وَ أَمَّا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثْ - بنده  
 مسکینِ مهین را (نعمِ کثیره) ایزد عطا کرده است، خواستم تا بذکر

بعضی عطایای ربّانی شکر آنچه بمن بخشیده است بقدر طاقت بشری ادا نمایم، تا مگر در سلسلِکِ بندگانِ شاکرِ نعمت متداخل باشم - از آن عطایای خالقِ رازقِ جَلّ جَلَّالُهُ وَ عَمَّ نَوَالُهُ یکی آنست که بدعتها و منکراتِ شرع در ممالکِ هندوستان شایع شده بود و مردم را عادت و طبیعت گشته و از سُنَنِ سَنَیّه انحراف نموده بودند، حق تعالی توفیقِ رفیقِ این بنده مسکینِ خویش گردانیده منع بدعات و دفعِ منکرات و قلعِ محرمات بر خود واجب دید، و سعی جمیل نمود تا بعون و نصرتِ حق مرسومِ باطله و معتادِ خلافِ شرع بکلی مندفع گشت و حق از باطل جدا شد ۵

اول آنست که در عهدِ ماضیه بسی خونِ مسلمانان ریخته شدی، و انواعِ تعذیب از بریدنِ دست و پا و گوش و بینی و کشیدنِ چشم و ریختنِ آرزیزِ گداخته در حلق و شکستنِ استخوانهای دست و پا به میخکوب، و سوختنِ اندام به آتشی، و زدنِ میخها بر دست و پا و سینه، و کشیدنِ پوست و زدنِ درها با میخهای آهنی، و بریدنِ پی، و دو نیم کردنِ آدمی بآره و بسیار انواعِ مثله کردن واقع می شد - اکرم الاکرمین ارحم

الْأَرْحَمِينَ این بنده امیدوارِ کرمِ خود را بر دل متمکن گردانیده  
 تَاهَمَّتِ وَالَا نَهَمَّتِ بر آن مصروف داشت که خون مسلمانان بناحق  
 ریخته نه گردد و هیچ نوع تعذیب نباشد و هیچ آدمی را مثله  
 نکنند،  
 \* بیت \*

چگونه شکرِ این نعمت گزافم که زورِ مردم آزاری ندارم  
 اینهمه که میکردند تا آنکه رعب در خاطرِ مردم بهم افتد و خوف  
 در دلبا غالب گردد و امورِ سلطنت منظم ماند و این سخن را  
 مثلِ خود ساخته بودند،  
 \* بیت \*

ملک را اگر قرار میخواهی تیغ را بیقرار باید داشت  
 از فضلِ الهی که در حقِ من مسکین است آن تشدیدات  
 و تخویفات برفق و کرم و احسان بدل شد - و خوف و رجا  
 بدلِ خاص و عام زیادت بر آن جا گرفت، و هیچ احتیاج به قتل  
 و ضرب و ایلام و تشدید و تعذیب نماند، و این سعادت جز  
 به فضل و عنایتِ پروردگار میسر نشود:

کرم کن چو دستِ تو بالاتر است که بخشایش از خشم والاتر است  
 ترا چون ز باری بزرگی عطا است به تعجیل رسم سیاست خطاست  
 گر اول توقف کنی در قصاص توان گشت او را که بدهی خلاص



و لیکن چو قالب پراکنده گشت      نیارد بفرمانِ تو زنده گشت  
نگه کن که تا مادرِ مهرِ سنج      بر آن طفلِ خود چند برده است رنج  
مگو، مَرَد گشتم صد اندر نبرد      یکی زنده کن تات خوانند مرد  
چو بر خود نداری روا نشتری      مگش تیغ بر گردنِ دیگری  
مکوش اندر آن کر تنی خون رود      که جان باز ناید چو بیرون رود  
بخوریزِ خلقی مشو فتنه دوست      ترا نیز خونست آخر بیوست  
هزار آفرین بر چنان رهنمون      که پیشِ بزرگان نکوشد بخون  
زدولابِ چرخ آنکسان راست آب      که ایشان نیارند در خون شتاب  
چو دشمنِ زبون کرده احسان بکن<sup>1</sup>      بقدرتِ جوانمردیِ جان بکن

از عونِ الهی دل برین قرار گرفت که خونِ مسلم را  
و عرضِ مؤمن را امانی کُلی باشد، و هر که از راهِ شرع برگردد  
بر حکمِ کتاب (و) قضای قاضی بچیزی که مستحقِ آنست برسد،  
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى تَوْفِيقِهِ \*

دیگر از فضل و کرمِ حقِ جَلَّ وَ عَلَا در حقِ من آنست که  
ذکرِ القابِ سلاطینِ ماضیه که از خطبِ جمعه و اعیاد دور شده بود

و نامهای آن پادشاهانِ اسلام که بيمينِ همت و برکتِ نهمتِ ایشان  
 بلادِ کفار فتح شد و اعلام (بر) هر دیاری مظفر گشت و معابدِ  
 اصنام خرابی پذیرفت و مساجد و منابر معمور و مرتفع گشت  
 و اعلای کلمه طیبه شد و اهلِ اسلام قوی و حربیان ذمی گشتند  
 نسبتاً منسیباً گشته بود، گفتم برسم معهود چنانچه بود القاب و اوصافِ  
 همه در خطبها بخوانند و ایشان را بمغفرت یاد آرند، \* بیت \*

چو خواهی که نامت بود جاودان مکن نامِ نیکِ بزرگانِ نهان

دیگر از ایادی هادی، عَزَّ اسْمُهُ آنست که از عهد ماضیه  
 وجوهاتِ باطله نامشروع و حرام در بیت المال جمع میکردند  
 چنانکه منڈوی برگ، دلالت بازارها، (و) جزاری (و) امیری  
 طرب و کلفروشی، و جزیه سیول، و چنگی غله و کتاب بیلگری،  
 و ماهی فروشی، و ندافی، و صابونگری، و ریسمان فروشی  
 و روغن گری و نخود بریان و ته بازاری و جیبه<sup>1</sup> و قار خانه  
 و دادبگی<sup>2</sup> و کوتوالی و احتسابی و کرهی و جرانی و صادراتِ  
 این جمله را از دفاتر دیوان گفتم که دور کنند و عمالِ ولایت

<sup>1</sup> Text : وجه .<sup>2</sup> Text : دادبگی .

هر که این وجوهات را از خلق بستاند و جمع آرد بجزا و سزای  
آن برسد، \* بیت \*

دلِ دوستان جمع بهتر، که گنجِ خزانه تهی به که مردم برنج  
مالی که از بیت المال جمع آید، همان وجوهات (باشد) که در شرع  
مصطفیٰ صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَاٰلِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ آمده است و کتبِ دینیهِ بدان  
ناطق است، یکی خراجِ اراضی و عشور و زکوة و دیگر جزیه  
هنود و دیگر ترکات، دیگر خمسِ غنائم و معادن، و وجهی که  
جمع کردنِ آن بحکمِ کتاب درست نباشد بهیچ وجه در بیت المال  
جمع نکنند \*

دیگر آنست که پیش ازین رسم و عادات بافشای بدعت  
چنین شده بود که از غنائم چهار خمس بدیوان جمع میکردند  
و خمس به غازیان میدادند و حکمِ شرع اینست که خمس در  
بیت المال جمع کنند و چهار خمس به غازیان قسمت کنند  
و بدهند، در حکم این عکسِ تام راه یافته بود، چون حکم  
بر قسمتِ شرع نشود این غنائم را هر که تصرف کند مرتکبِ حرام  
شده باشد، و هر برده که ازو فرزند زاید ولد الزنا باشد، برای دفع

این گفتم که خُمس در بیت المال جمع کنند و چهار خُمس به غازیان دهند \*

دیگر شیعی مذهبان که ایشان را روافض میگویند، بمذهبِ رُضِیّ شیعهِ مردم را دعوت میکردند و رسالها و کتابها درین مذهب پرداخته و تعلیم و تدریس پیشه ساخته بودند و شَیْخَیْن را رَضِیَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهُمَا سَبِّ صریح و شتمِ قبیح میگفتند، همه را گرفتیم و بر ایشان ضلال و اضلال ثابت شد، غالبان را سیاست فرمودیم و دیگران را به تعزیر و تهدید و تشدید زجر کردیم \*

دیگر طائفه ملحدان و اباحتیان جمع شده بودند و خلق را به الحاد و اباحت دعوت می کردند و در شیعی معین و مقامی متعین جمع می شدند از مردمانِ مَحْرَم و غیر مَحْرَم و طعام و شراب در میان می آوردند و میگفتند این عبادتست، و صورتی ساخته مردمان را درین فعل می آوردند که پیشِ آن سجده بکنند و زنان و مادران و خواهران (در) شب جمع می آوردند، جامه هرکه بر دست کسی از ایشان می افتادی با او زنا کردی - پیران ایشانرا

سرها بریدم و دیگران را حبس و جلا و تعزیر فرمودم تا شرّ ایشان از حَوْزَة<sup>1</sup> اسلام بکلی مندفع گشت \*

دیگر قومی بلباسِ دهریّه و ترک و تجرید مردمان را گمراه میکردند (و) مرید میساختند و کلمات کفری می گفتند، آن گمراهان را احمد بهاری نام مرشدی بود و در شهر ساکن و طائفه از بهار او را خدا میگفتند - آنجماعت را مقید و مسلسل نزد ما آوردند - او سبّ نبی میکند و میگوید که کسیکه نه حرم (دارد) چه جلالت نبوت او باشد و از یکی مریدان او این معنی بر ایشان ثابت شد - هر دو را به قید و زنجیر سیاست فرمودیم - و دیگران را به توبه و انابت امر کردیم، و هر یکی را بهر شهری جلا کردیم تا شرّ این جماعت پَریشان دفع شد \*

دیگر در شهرِ دهلی شخصی رکن نام لقب مهدی گفته که مهدی آخر الزّمان منم، مرا علمِ لدنی حاصل شده است، و من از پیشِ کسی تعلیم و استفاده نکرده ام، و اسمای جمیع مخلوقات که آن جز آدم نبی عَلَیْهِ السَّلَامُ هیچ پیغمبری (را) علم نبوده است

<sup>1</sup> Text: خورّه .

مرا معلوم شده است، و اسرارِ علمِ حروف که بر هیچ کس  
 مکشوف نبود بر من کشف گردیده، و برین ادعا کتابها نوشته  
 و خلق را در غوایت و ضلالت استدعا نموده و گفته که رکن الدین  
 رسول الله منم - درین سخن مشائخ پیش ما گواهی دادند که  
 اینچنین گفته است، و ما ازو شنیدیم - چون او را پیش ما  
 آوردند، از حالِ اضلالِ او استفسار کردیم - بدین بدعت  
 و ضلالت مقرّ بود - علمای دین گفتند او کافر شده است  
 و مباح الدّم گشته - چون این فتنه و فساد از نفسِ خبیثِ او  
 در اسلام و اهلِ سنت و جماعت پیدا گشته، اگر در دفعِ آن  
 اهمال دهند معاذ الله چنان سرایت کند که بسیار مسلم گمراه شوند،  
 و از دینِ اسلام بگردند و ازو فتنه قائم شود، که بسیار مردم  
 بدان سبب هلاک گردند - گفتیم تا در مجمعِ علمای عالم فساد  
 و افساد و اضلالِ آن خبیث را ندا کنند و بگوشِ خاص و عام  
 برسانند و به فتویِ علمای دین و ائمه شریعت مستوجبِ سیاستی  
 که باشد به نفاذ رسانند - او را با اشخاصیکه معتقد و مرید  
 و مساهم او بودند بکشتند و خاص و عام خلق درآمده و گوشت  
 و پوست و اعضای او را پاره پاره کردند، و شرّ او چنان

دفع شد که جهانیان را موجبِ انتباه گشت، و نصرت و عنایتِ الهی در دفعِ انواعِ این شرّ و در قلعِ امثالِ این بدعات حقّ جَلّ و علاّ منِ بندهٔ مسکینِ خویش را میسر گردانید و بر احیای سننِ توفیق داد - غرض از ذکرِ ادای شکرِ باری است، (تا) به استماع و مطالعهٔ این محرمات هرکرا اصلاحِ دین خود مطلوب باشد، این طریقه را مسلوک دارد تا ثواب گردد و ما بدلالِ این خیر امیدوارِ ثواب باشیم - وَ الْمَوْقِفُ هُوَ اللَّهُ ۞

دیگر شخصی از ملازادگانِ عینِ ماهرو در عرصهٔ گجرات خود را شیخی ساخته بود و جمعی را مرید گرفته «انا الحق»، میگفت، و مریدان را می فرمود، چون من «انا الحق»، بگویم، شما گوئید «توئی، توئی، و میگفت اَنَا الْمَلِكُ الَّذِي لَا يَمُوتُ و رسالهٔ نوشته که درو کلماتِ (کفر؟) بود - او را زنجیر کرده پیشِ ما آوردند و برو ثابت شد - او را نیز سیاست فرمودیم و کتابی که ساخته بود بسوختیم تا از میانِ موحدانِ اهل اسلام این فساد نیز دفع شد ۞

دیگر رسم و عادتِی که در دینِ اسلام جائز نیست در شهرِ مسلمانان شایع شده بود که عورات در ایامِ متبرکهٔ جماعهٔ جماعه

پالکی/سوار و گردون سوار و ڈوله سوار و اسپ سوار و ستور سوار فوج فوج و جوق جوق پیاده از شهر بیرون می آمدند، بزارها میرفتند و رندان و مردمِ اوباش که بهوای نفس مبتلا اند و از دیانت عاری (جمع میشدند و) فتنه و فساد که ازین حرکت باشد پوشیده نیست، میکردند - و بیرون رفتنِ عورت شرعاً منهی است، - فرمودیم تا هیچ عورت بزار نه رود، هرکه رود او را تعزیر کنند - این زمان به عنایتِ حق جَلَّ و عَلَا مجال نیست که مخدرات و مستوراتِ مسلمانان بیرون آیند، و به زیارتها روند - این بدعت نیز منتفی شد ۰

دیگر از عطایای الهی آنست که هندو مزماک (۴) و بت پرست که زرِ ذمه پذیرفته اند و جزیه قبول کرده و خاتمانِ ایشان مصئون مانده، بتخانهای جدید در شهر و حوالی بنیاد نهاده بودند و در شرعِ نبوی احداثِ بتخانه روا نه باشد - بتوفیقِ حضرتِ الهِ آن بناهای فاسدِ ایشان را خراب کردیم، و ائمه کفر که دیگران را اضلال می کردند بکشتیم، و عوامِ ایشان را به تعزیرات زجر کردیم تا این فساد بکلی افتاد ۰



دیگر آنست که در موضع ملوه حوضیست که آنرا کُند میگویند، بتخانها ساخته بودند و جماعتی از هنود با اتباع در روزِ معین بمعتادِ کثیر<sup>1</sup> سواران با اسلحه و برگستوانهای بسیار زنان و بچهگانِ ایشان پالکی و گردون سوار هزاران هزار جمع میشدند و بت پرستی میکردند - درین فساد چنان غلو کرده بودند که اهل بازار انواعِ نعمتها در آنجا می بردند و گریزی<sup>2</sup> کرده می فروختند - طائفهٔ مسلمانانِ بیدیانت بهوای نفس در اجتماعِ ایشان مساهم میشدند - چون این کیفیت بسمعِ ما رسید بتوفیقِ ربّانی خود برای دفعِ این فساد که مضرتِ آن در دینِ اسلام سرايت میکرد، عزم کردیم و در روزیکه ایشان جمع میشدند آنجا رفتیم و اشخاصیکه پیرِ ایشان بودند و اغوا و اضلال میکردند، فرمودیم تا آنها را بکشند و سائرِ هنود را بتعزیراتِ مولم منع کردیم و بتخانه را خراب کردیم و آنجا مسجد بر آوردیم و قصباتِ معمور گردانیدیم یکی تغلق پور دوم سدلاپور نام نهادیم - این زمان بجائیکه کافرانِ مزماک (۴) و معبدِ اصنام ساخته بودند از فضلِ باری جَلَّ و عَلَا مسلمانانِ معبودِ برحق را سجده میکنند و تکبیر و اذان

<sup>1</sup> Text : یکدیگر .

<sup>2</sup> Text : با زوری .

و جماعت قائم میدارند، و آنجا که کفار مسکن خود ساخته بودند  
مسلمان ساکن و متوطن گشتند بکلمه لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ذَاکَر  
و رطب اللسان میباشند و اَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ \*

دیگر اخبار کردند که در موضع صالح پور بتخانه جدید  
بعضی از هنود عمارت کرده اند، و بت پرستی میکنند - آنجا نیز  
کسان فرستادیم تا بتخانه خراب کنند و شرّ آن اشخاص را که در  
گمراهی اصرار نموده بودند دفع کردیم \*

دیگر آنکه در قصبه گوهانه بعضی از هنود بتخانه جدید  
ساخته اند و جماعتی از مشرکان جمع میشوند و بت پرستی میکنند  
ایشانرا گرفته پیش ما آوردند - کسانی که ازیشان بنیاد فساد بودند،  
فرمودیم تا از حال اضلال شان ندا کنند و پیش در سرای  
اعلی بکشند و کتابهای کفر و بتان و اسباب بت پرستی که ایشان  
آورده بودند، گفتیم تا در نظر عامه خلق در مقام سیاست بسوزند  
و دیگران را به تهدید و تعزیرات منع شد تا انتباه دیگران باشد  
و هیچ ذی در دار اسلام این جرأت نتواند کرد \*

دیگر در عهد ماضیه معتاد شده بود اوانی زر و نقره  
بوقت خرج مایده استعمال میکردند و بندهای تیغ و چلّه ترکش

از زر مرصع میساختند، آنرا منع کرده حلیه سلاح خود از استخونهای شکاری ساختیم و باستعمالِ اوانی که در شرع مباح است اعتیاد کردیم \*

دیگر در آیامِ سابقه رسم و عادت برین بود که جامها مصور می کردند، و بر وجه تشریف از درگاه سلاطین مردم را می پوشانیدند، و همچنین بر لگام و زین و قلاده مرکب و بجرهای عود و در طاس و قدح و کوزه و طشت و آفتابه و در خیمها و پردها و تخت و کرسی و سائر آلات و ادوات صورت می نگاشتند و تمثال می داشتند بهدایت ربّانی و عنایت سبحانی گفتیم جمله صورت و تمثال از جمیع این چیزها دور کنند و آنچه محظور شرع نیست و جائز و مباح است بسازند صورت و تمثال که در دار و جدار و قصور تصویر میکردند، فرمودیم تا جمله را محو کنند \*

دیگر پیش ازین اکثر لباس بزرگان از ابریشم و زردوزیهای مفرق نامشروع بودی - حق سبحانه تعالی توفیق داد تا ملبوسات همچنان شد که در شرع نبوی مباحست و علمهای زردوزی و کلاه و زربفت که عرض آن بقدر چهار اصابع زیادت

نباشد اختیار افتاد، و آنچه نامشروع و ناجائز و منکر و منہی  
 شرع بود دور کرده شد **اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ عَلَی الْاِسْلَامِ** \*

بعضی از مواهبِ الهی این بنده بیچاره را عطا شد بر تشدید  
 مبانی خیرات توفیق داد، بسی مساجد و مدارس و خوانق  
 بنا کردیم تا علما و مشائخ و زهاد و عباد در آن مقامها معبود  
 برحق را عبادت کنند و بانی خیر را بدعائی مدد نمایند، و حفر  
 آبها و غرس اشجار و وقف اراضی بر نهج شرع متفق و مجمع علیه  
 است و در ملت اسلام علمای شریعت را در وی اجماع است  
 و درو شکی و شبهتی نه، ادرار معین و سهام مصارف معین کردند<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> این واقعه از بیانات تاریخ فیروز شاهی و سیرت فیروز شاهی واضح میشود:  
 غنیف، مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاهی میگوید (صفحه ۱۳۰): «آن شهریار ..... دیهای  
 بسیار در زمین اموات آبادان گردانیده ..... حاصلات آن مقامات باسم علما و مشائخ  
 معین گردانیده ..... و آنرا در سهام معین کرده.» \*

و نیز در (صفحه ۱۷۹) زمره علما و فرقه مشائخ و صلحای بلاد و مالک را  
 حضرت فیروز شاه بتوفیق آله مبلغ سی و شش لک تنگه تعین کرده بود \*

بر وفق سیرت فیروز شاهی (نسخه خطی سر جدو نانته سرکار، صفحه ۲۹۱):  
 «آن املاک را بسهام معین مصارف تعین گردانید.» \*

تا همیشه حاصل آن به بندگان خدا برسد ذکر آن مشروحاً در وقف نامه مذکور است \*

دیگر از مواهب الهی یکی آنست که عمارات و بناهای گذشتگان و سلاطین ما تقدم و امرای ماضیه که بمرور ایام و کرور اعوام خلل پذیرفته بود بمرمت و عمارت مجدد بیاراستیم، و استحکام آنرا بر عمارت خود مقدم داشتیم، چنانچه مسجد جامع دهلی قدیم که بنای سلطان معز الدین سام است، جهت قدم بنا محتاج مرمت و تعمیر شده بود چنان مرمت کرده شد که به تازگی استحکام بگرفت \*

دیگر مقبره سلطان معز الدین سام را که دیوار غربی و تخته‌های در کهنه و فرسوده شده بود هم نو کرده آمد، و بجای چوبینه درها و طاقها و زینه‌ها از چوب صندل ساخته - مناره سلطان معز الدین سام را که از حادثه برق افتاده بود بهتر از آنکه بود از ارتفاع قدیمی بلندتر مرمت کرده شد \*

دیگر حوض شمسی که درآمدهای آب را مردمان بیدیانت از بالا بسته بودند و درآمد آب منقطع شده بود، آن متجاسران نحفاظ را به تعزیرات زجر کردیم و درآمدهای آب بسته کشاهیم \*

دیگر حوضِ علائی که انباشته و بی آب شده بود و خلقِ شهر درونِ حوضِ زراعت میکردند و چاهها کافتہ بودند، و آب ازان چاهها می فروختند - بعد قرنِ حضرتِ کریم تا غدیرِ عظیم از سال تا سالِ دیگر پر میشود \*

همچنین مدرسهٔ سلطان شمس الدین ایلتمش را محلهای که انهدام پذیرفته بود، عمارت کرده درها از چوبِ صندل نهادیم، و ستونهای مقبره که افتاده بود، باز بهتر از آن که بود راست کردیم - صحنِ مقبره را وقتِ بنا گچ نکرده بودند آنرا گچ کرده شد، و در گنبدِ نردبان از سنگِ تراشیده زیاده و در چهار برجِ پشتیبان ریخته برآورده شد \*

مقبرهٔ سلطان معز الدین پسرِ سلطان شمس الدین که در ملکپور است چنان مندرس شده بود که گویا پیدا نبود، آنجا گنبد و چبوتره و محوطهٔ ریخته عمارتِ نو کرده شد \*

مقبرهٔ سلطان رکن الدین پسرِ سلطان شمس الدین که در ملکپور است محوطهٔ مرتب کرده گنبدِ جدید برآورده و خانقاه عمارت کرده شد \*

مقبره سلطان علاءالدین غربی مسجدی که درون مدرسه  
است فرش تا نشیب مرتب کرده شد \*

مقبره سلطان قطب الدین و فرزندان سلطان علاءالدین  
خضرخان و شادیخان و فریدخان و سلطان شهابالدین و سکندرخان  
و محمدخان و عثمان و نبیرگان و فرزندان او را مقابر از سر نو  
مرمت کرده شد \*

درهای گنبد و جعفریهای مقبره شیخ الاسلام شیخ نظام  
الحق والدین هم از صندل ساخته و قندیلهای زرین با زنجیرهای  
زر در چهار زاویه کنج گنبد آویخته و جماعت خانه جدید  
بنا کرده که آنچنان پیش ازین آنجا نبوده \*

مقبره ملک تاج الملک کافوری که وزیر بزرگ سلطان  
علاء الدین بود و عقل و کیاست وافر داشت و بسیار ملک او  
گرفته بود که در آنجا پای اسپان پادشاهان ماضیه نرفته بود و خطبه  
سلطان علاء الدین اظهار کرده بود - پنجاه و دو هزار سوار  
داشت - مزار او بزمین برابر شده بود و مقبره پست گشته - از  
سر مقبره مرمت کنانیده شد که دولتخواه و حلالخوار بود \*

در دار الامان که مضجع و مرقدِ مخدومانست درها از چوبِ صندل و بر قبورِ آن خداوندگاران از پردهای درِ خانه کعبه سائبان افراخته، مصالحِ این مرمت و عماراتِ این مقبره و مدارس از اوقافِ قدیمِ ایشان مستقیم داشته شد - و در جای که پیش ازین وجهی معین نبود و برای صادر و وارد فرش و روشنائی و اسباب که در خورِ آن مقام باشد دهها معین کرده شد که محصول مدام آنجا خرج شد و همچنین، جهان پناه، که بنای سلطانِ مغفورِ مرحوم محمد شاه است که خداوند، ولی نعمتِ ما بود، و من مخصوص پرورده و برآورده اویم، معمور داشته شد، و همچنین مجموعِ حصارها که بنا کرده سلاطینِ ماضیه در مملکتِ دهلی است جمله را مرمت کرده شد ۵

دیگر در مدارس و مقابر و مزارهای سلاطینِ کامگار و مشایخِ کبار برای صادر و وارد اسباب که در آن مقامهای متبرکه درکار بود دهها و زمینها و اوقافِ قدیمِ ایشان مستمر و جاری داشتیم، و زیادت آنکه در جایی که وجهی از اوقاف و غیر آن معین نبود معین کردیم تا علی الدوام در آن محل خیر



قایم باشد و آینده و رونده و اربابِ علوم و اصحابِ معارف  
بیاسایند و ایشانرا و ما را به دعای خیر یاد کنند \*

دیگر حق تعالی میسر گردانید که دار الشفا بنا کردیم تا از  
خاص و عام هرکرا مرضی طاری میشود و برنجی مبتلا می گردد  
آنجا بیاید - اطبا حاضر میباشند تا تشخیص مرض کنند و علاج  
و پرهیز فرمایند، و دوی آن بدهند و وجه دوا و غذا از سهام  
اوقافها بدهند - جمهور، مریضان از مقیم و مسافر وضع و شریف  
احرار و عبید آنجا می آیند، و معالجه ایشان میشود، بفضل حق  
شفا مییابند \*

دیگر از حضرت ذوالجلال و قادر پرکمال این بنده عاصی  
توفیق یافت که اشخاصیکه در عهدِ خدایگانِ مغفورِ مرحوم محمد شاه  
السلطان طابَ مَثْوَاهُ که خداوندگار و مخدوم و مربی من بود،  
به تقدیرِ الله تعالی کشته شده بودند، و کسانی که اعضای ایشان از  
چشم و بینی و دست و پا ناقص گشته، ورثه ایشانرا از قبل  
بادشاهِ مغفور مرحوم استرضا نموده، و هر یکی را باموال راضی  
گردانیده، خطوطِ خوشنودی موکد بشهودِ مستند در صندوق کرده  
بدار الامان مقبره سلطان مغفور مرحوم نَوَّرَ اللهُ مَرَقَدَهُ جانبِ  
سر داشته تا حق تعالی به کرمِ عمیم خویش آن مخدوم و مربی

ما را غریقِ رحمت گرداناد، و ایشانرا از آن ولیِ نعمتِ ما از خزائنِ خویش خوش کناد \*

دیگر از عطایای الهی آنست که دهها و زمینهای املاکِ قدیم بوجوه در عهودِ ماضیه سلب شده بود و در دیوان از تصرف و املاک بیرون رفته - گفتیم تا هرکه حجتِ ملک دارد در دیوانِ شرعی بیارد - بعد ثبوت دهی و زمینی که به تصرف درآورده و جز آن هرچه ملوکِ او باشد متصرف شود - بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَ تَوْفِيقِهِ بدین فضیلت موفق شدیم و حقوق به مستحقین رسید \*

دیگر بترغیبِ اهلِ ذمه بسوی دین هدیِ توفیق یافتیم و باعلام گفتیم هرکه از کفار کلمه توحید گوید و دینِ اسلام پذیرد، چنانکه در دینِ مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم آمده است جزیه ازو دور کنند<sup>1</sup> - حدیثِ آن بگوشِ عام رسید - فوج فوج

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<sup>1</sup> در سیرتِ فیروز شاهی است: «هم از بواعثِ دیانت و احسان آن ست که بر اهل ذمه که بر ایشان وضعِ جزیه شده چنان ترغیب فرمود که در دینِ اسلام فوج فوج و قبیله قبیله درآمدند و کلمه طیبه گفتند و در دائره اسلام دخیل گشتند، فرمان شد تا هرکه از هندو بیاید و اسلام آرد ازو مالِ جزیه که از راه شرع از ایشان مرفوع است هیچ کس از عمال طلب نکند (نسخه خطی سر جدو نانه سرکار، صفحه ۱۷۰) \*

جماعه جماعه هندو آمدند و به شرفِ اسلام مشرف شدند،  
و همچنین الی یومنا هذا از اطراف می آیند و ایمان می آرند  
و جزیه ایشان دور می شود، و به انعامات و تشریفات مخصوص  
میگردند، الحمد لله رب العلمین \*

دیگر از مواهبِ الهی آن است که عرض و مالِ بندگانِ  
خدای تعالی در عهدِ دولتِ ما در امن و امان محروس و مصون  
می باشد و روا نمیداریم که قلیل و کثیر و نقیر و قطمیر از ملکِ  
هیچ کسی کشیده شود و بسیار مردمِ مغوی سعایت نمودند که فلان  
تاجر چندین لک و فلان عامل چندین لک دارد و ساعیان را  
به تعزیرات و سیاست زبان کوتاه کردیم تا از شرِ این طائفه،  
خلقِ ایمن گشت، هر آینه بدین شفقت همگنان مخلص و دوستدارِ ما  
شدند -  
\* قطعه \*

نامِ نیکو طلب که گنجِ سخا      بهتر از گنجِ خواسته صد بار  
یک ثنا به که چند خرمنِ گنج      یک دعا به که مال صد خروار

دیگر بعنایتِ حق تواضعِ فقرا و مساکین و استمالِ قلوبِ  
ایشان در دلِ ما تمکن یافت تا هر جا فقری و گوشه نشینی یافتیم  
برای ملاقاتِ او قدم زدیم و بدعا استمداد نمودیم تا فضیلتِ  
نعمِ الامیرِ ببابِ الفقیرِ اکتماب کرده شود \*

دیگر هرکرا از اهلِ دولتِ عمرِ طبعی بکمال رسید و معمر گشت، بعد ترتیبِ وجهِ معاشِ او اجازت دادیم و نصیحت کردیم تا باستعدادِ آخرت مشغول گردد و از منکراتِ شرع و دین که در جوانی ارتکاب نموده باشد تائب گردد، و از دنیا اعراض کند و بامورِ آخرت روی آورد، \* رباعی \*

چون پیر شدی کارِ جوان نتوان کرد  
به پیریتِ کافری نهان نتوان کرد  
در ظلمتِ شب هر آنچه کردی کردی  
در روشنیِ روز همان نتوان کرد

دیگر بر قضیهٔ آن که، \* قطعه \*

طریق و رسمِ صاحبِ دولت آنست  
که بنوازند مردانِ نکو را  
دگر چون عمرِ آنکس منقضی شد  
نکو دارند فرزندانِ او را

از اصحابِ شغل کسانی که مرتبه و جاهی داشتند چون به تقدیرِ الله تعالی از دارِ غرورِ بسرای سرورِ بشدند، آن شغل و جاه به فرزندانِ شان مقرر داشتیم بنوعی که از پدران در منزلت و نعمت و شان باشند، در آن مرتبه نقصان راه نیابد،

❖ قطعه ❖

رسم و آئینِ بادشاهان است که خردمند را عزیز کنند  
و ز پس عهدِ او وفاداری با خردمند زاده نیز کنند  
دیگر بزرگترین و بهترین دولت که وَاهِبُ الْمُلْکِ جَلَّ جَلَّالَهُ  
وَعَمَّ نَوَالُهُ این بنده را بخشیده آنست که باطاعت و اخلاص  
و دولتخواهی و امتثالِ امرِ حضرتِ خلافتِ پناهی ابنِ عم  
رسولِ الله صلی الله علیه و آله و سَلَّمَ که صَحَّتِ سلطنتِ بدان  
نیابت است، و درست نباشد تا خود را بخادمیِ حضرت مشرف  
نگرداند و اذن از آن درگاهِ مقدسه نیابد، توفیق داد تا اعتقاد برین  
رسوخ یافت و از حضرتِ مقدسه دارالخلافه مناشیرِ باذنِ مطلق  
و نیابتِ خلافت صادر شد و از حضرتِ اعلیٰ امیرِ المؤمنین  
در منشورِ مبايعت به تشریفِ خطابِ «سَيِّدُ السَّلَاطِينِ» مشرف  
گشت، و به تواتر تشریفات و نوازش به خلعتهای درگاهِ خلافت  
از طِبْسَان و عِلْم و خاتم و سیف و فوطه بر جهانیان مفاخرت  
و مباحات حاصل آمد ❖

این سریره آن بود که بذکرِ این مواهب کرده شد، از  
هزار یکی و از بسیار اندکی شکرِ منعم بحقیقت گزارده شود

و دیگر آن کسانی که طالبِ خیر و سعادت باشند، این را که  
بخوانند بدانند که این طریقِ مستحسن است و مروتِ مقتضی  
نیست که باتباعِ آن توفیق نیابد، ایشان به عمل خود ثواب گردند  
و ما بدلالِ خیر ماجور، آدَالُ عَلَی الْخَیْرِ کَفَاعِلَه - تمام شد،  
فتوحات فیروز شاهی \*



## **The Solar Eclipse in the *R̥gveda* and the Date of Atri.**

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

(Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha, F.R.S.)

In the present paper we propose to find the time of the solar eclipse described in the *R̥gveda*, the time which was undoubtedly that of the *ṛṣi* Atri, who was the author of the hymn V, 40, 5-9. The first attempt at finding the date of this event was made by Ludwig<sup>1</sup> in May, 1885, with the help of the Viennese astronomer Oppolzer. Ludwig imagined that there were references to four eclipses of the sun in the *R̥gveda*, viz., V, 40, 5-9; V, 33, 4; X, 138, 3a and X, 138, 4. I have examined all these references and my view is that only the first reference describes a real eclipse of the sun; the other three relate to the summer solstice day and the appearance of clouds. Ludwig's paper was severely criticised by Whitney in 1885 under the caption 'On Professor Ludwig's views respecting total eclipses of the sun as noticed in the *R̥gveda*', in the JAOS, xiii, pp. lxi-lxvi for October of the same year. Whitney ends his discussion with the following remarks:

'There are many other versions and statements and inferences in Prof. Ludwig's paper to which serious exception might be taken; but it was best to limit the discussion to the main point had in view, namely to show that no result possessing even presumptive and provisional value as bearing on ancient Hindu Chronology has been reached by his investigation.'

We shall show that Prof. Ludwig's interpretation of the *R̥gveda* reference was not correct as this paper is developed.

Prof. C. R. Lanman in the year 1893, wrote a paper on '*R̥gveda*, V, 40 and its Buddhist parallel' in the Festschrift Roth 187. Eclipse du soleil par *Svarbhānu* parallel *Samyukta Nikāya*, II, 1, 10 cited in Louis Renon's *Bibliographie Vedique*. We can only say that such similarity of statements as to solar eclipses in the two works cannot establish that the Atri tradition was contemporary with the *Samyukta Nikāya* event. To settle chronology by a reference to a solar eclipse is a very difficult matter. No easy going researches can be of any value.

Without making further attempt at tracing all the different attempts made before by other researchers, we proceed to

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<sup>1</sup> Paper published in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bohemian Academy of Sciences in 1885.



interpret the *Rgveda* reference V, 40, 5-9. The original Sanskrit *rcas* are:—

यत्त्वा सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः ।

अक्षेत्रविद्यथामुग्धो भुवनान्यदीधयुः ॥ ५ ॥

स्वर्भानोरघयदिन्द्रमायाऽव्यवोदिवो वर्तमानाऽव्यवाहन् ।

गूल्हं सूर्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविन्ददक्षिः ॥ ६ ॥

मा मामिमं तव सन्तमच्चऽहरस्याद्गुग्धो भियसा निगारौत् ।

त्वं मित्रोऽव्यसि सत्यराधास्तौ मेहावतं वरुणश्च राजा ॥ ७ ॥

प्रावृणो ब्रह्मायुयुजानः सपर्यन् कौरिणादेवान् नमसोपशिक्षन् ।

अत्रिः सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराघात् स्वर्भानोरपमायाऽव्यधुक्षत् ॥ ८ ॥

यं वै सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः ।

अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन् न ह्यन्येऽव्यशक्नुवन् ॥ ९ ॥

Wilson's translation runs as follows:—

5. 'When, Surya, the son of Asura, Svarbhānu, overspread (rather "struck") thee with darkness, the worlds were beheld like one bewildered not knowing his place.'

The second line is perhaps more correctly translated as, 'the worlds shone lustreless like a confounded tactless person'.

6. 'When, Indra, thou wast dissipating those illusions of Svarbhānu which were spread below the sun, then Atri by his fourth sacred prayer (*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*), discovered (rather "rescued") the sun concealed by the darkness impeding his functions'.

Whitney explains that '*Svarbhānu*' means simply 'skylight'. Whatever that may be, what interests us here is the phrase '*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*', 'by the fourth sacred prayer' as translated by Wilson after Sāyana. Some say that this means a quadrant or the fourth part of a graduated circle which we cannot take to be correct. The use of the graduated circle or its fourth part in Vedic times was an impossibility. We could admit the validity of the interpretation if the event belonged to Brahmagupta's time (628 A.D.). Further it is a barren meaning which throws no light on any circumstance of the eclipse. As Wilson following Sāyana translates the phrase as 'by the fourth sacred prayer', we may take this to be the only correct interpretation. As the fourth prayer of the day most likely belonged to the fourth part of the day, we interpret that the eclipse in question was finished in the fourth part of the day.

Again the phrase '*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*' may be interpreted in a different way. The word '*brahman*' itself may mean the summer solstice day. In the *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (Keith's

translation) the *mahāvratā* day is spoken of as 'This day is *brahman*' (I, 2) and in another place the same day is thus referred to—'*brahman* is this day' (I, 18). In the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (II, 409-10) we have, 'मध्यतः संवत्सरस्य विषुवति महाव्रतम् उपयन्ति', which means that the *mahāvratā* ceremony used to be performed on the *viṣuvant* or the summer solstice day. We thus understand that '*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*' means 'by the fourth part of the summer solstice day'. In other words, the eclipse in question was over in the fourth part of the summer solstice day itself. (Here '*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā*' = '*turiyeṇa kālena brahmadivasena*'.)

7. (Sūrya speaks); 'Let not the violater, (Atri), through hunger swallow with fearful (darkness) me, who am thine; thou art Mitra, whose wealth is truth; do thou and the royal Varuṇa both protect me'.<sup>1</sup>

This verse seems to suggest that the eclipse in question although apprehended to be total was not so at the place of the observer.

8. 'Then the Brahman (Atri), applying the stones together propitiating the gods with praise, and adoring them with reverence, placed the eye of Sūrya (sun) in the sky; he dissipated the delusions of Svarbhānu.'

Here Atri is alleged to have found out the instant of the end of the eclipse by counting stones together—a practice that was continued even up to the time of Pṛthūdaka<sup>2</sup> (864 A.D.). Atri's placing the 'eye of Sūrya' in the sky shows that the end of the eclipse was visible.

9. 'The sun, whom the *Asura* Svarbhānu, had enveloped (rather "struck") with darkness, the sons of Atri subsequently recovered, no others were able (to effect his release<sup>3</sup>).'

As to the day of the year on which this eclipse took place the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (XXIV, 3, 4) throws a clearer light:—

खर्भानुर्हसुरादित्यं तमसाविध्यत्तस्यात्रयस्तमोपजिघांसन्त एतं सप्त-  
दशस्तोमं त्वहं पुरस्तादिषुवतउपायंस्तस्य पुरस्तात्तमोपजिह्वस्तत् पुरस्ता-

<sup>1</sup> This is Wilson's translation (*vide* R̥gveda Translation by H. H. Wilson, Vol. 3, p. 219 of the Poona Edition). MM. Vidhuśekhara Śāstri is of opinion that the word 'Atri' should be deleted and that in place of 'fearful (darkness)' we should have simply 'fear'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pṛthūdaka's Commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta, edited by P. C. Sengupta, Calcutta University Press, page 16  
अथ देवं परिज्ज्ञातुमिच्छति किं रेषा पूर्वेषांपरेष वा । तदाभौहृद्वेद्ये स्फुटमज्ञमचितेन  
मथयित्वा देशान्तरकर्मणा विना ततो निर्मलाचारगुटिका चारोप्य निरूपयेत् ।  
i.e. Pṛthūdaka recommends that time for the beginning of the eclipse, should be found by counting beads.

<sup>3</sup> MM. Vidhuśekhara Śāstri would like to put the phrase 'to do it' in place of 'to effect his release' in the above translation by Wilson. Cf. Keith's translation on the next page.

दसौददेतमेव त्वहमुपरिष्ठादिषुवत उपायंस्तस्य परस्तात् तमोपजगुस्तद्य  
 एवं विद्वांस एतं सप्तदशस्तोमं त्वहमुभयतो विषुवन्तमुपायन्त्युभाभ्यामेव  
 ते लोकार्थां यजमानाः पाप्मानमपन्नते तान्मै खरसामान इत्याचक्षते  
 एतैर्हवा अत्रयः आदित्यं तमसोपस्पृग्वत तद्यदपस्पृग्वत तस्मात् खर-  
 सामानस्तदेतवृचाऽभ्युदितम् ।

यं वै सूर्यं खर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदामुरः ।

अत्रयस्तमग्वविन्दन्नह्यन्येऽप्यशक्नुवन् ॥ इति ॥

Koith translates the passage as follows:—

‘Svarbhānu, an Asura, pierced with darkness the sun; the Atris were fain to smite away its darkness; they performed before the *viṣuvant*, this set of three days, with *saptadaśa* (= seventeen) *stomas*. They smote away the darkness in front of it, that settled behind; they performed the same three-day rite after the *viṣuvant*; they smote away the darkness behind it. Those who perform knowing thus, the three-day (rite) with *saptadaśa stoma* on both sides of the *viṣuvant*, verily those sacrificers smite away evil from both worlds. They call them the *svarasāmans*, by them the Atris rescued (*apaspr̥vata*) the sun from the darkness; in that they rescued, therefore they are the *svarasāmans*. This is declared in a *ṛc*,

‘The Sun which Svarbhānu  
 The Asura pierced with darkness,  
 The Atris found it,  
 None other could do so.’

We gather from this passage that the day on which the eclipse happened was a *viṣuvant* day. Now the word ‘*viṣuvant*’ according to the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*, meant the summer solstice day, as I have set forth elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The arguments in favour of this meaning may be summarized thus:—

According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *viṣuvant* and *Ekaviṃśa* day was the same day.<sup>2</sup> It was the day on which the gods raised up the sun to the highest point in the heavens, and that on this day the sun being held on either side by a period of *Virāj* (10 days), did not waver though he went over these worlds or the *viṣuvant* was the true summer solstice day.<sup>3</sup> The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* also says that the sun starting northward from the winter solstice on the new moon of *Māgha*, reached the *viṣuvant* after six months. Thus according to these two *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, the *viṣuvant* day meant the summer solstice day only.

<sup>1</sup> JRASBL, Vol. iv, 1938, pp. 415-18, and pp. 421-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 18, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, xix, 3.

In the days of the *Taittiriya Samhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (2449 B.C.), the word 'viṣuvant' came to mean the middle day of the sacrificial year begun from spring, i.e. it became the day on which the sun's longitude became 150°, or the day of the beginning of Indian autumn.

Finally, the same word 'viṣuvant' came to mean about the time (1400 B.C.) of the *Vedaṅgas*,<sup>2</sup> the vernal or the autumnal equinox day.

Hence in interpreting a *Rgveda* reference we should take the word 'viṣuvant' as the summer solstice day only, as this is the meaning of it given by the *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas*.

Another point that needs be clarified in this connection is to try to get at the rough time of Atri and the place of his observation of this eclipse. We shall use the *Rgveda* references relating to Atri. Some of these are cited below to show where and when Atri lived.

- (a) I, 51, 3,<sup>3</sup> addressed to Indra—'Thou hast shown the way to Atri, who vexes his adversaries by a hundred doors'.
- (b) I, 112, 7,<sup>4</sup> addressed to the Aśvins—'You rendered the scorching heat pleasurable to Atri'.
- (c) I, 119, 6,<sup>5</sup> addressed to the Aśvins—'You quenched with snow (*himena*) for Atri, the scorching heat'.
- (d) I, 116, 8,<sup>6</sup> addressed to the Aśvins—'You quenched with cold (*himena*), the blazing flames (that encompassed Atri), and supplied him with food supported strength; you extricated him, Aśvins from the dark cavern into which he had been thrown headlong, and restored him to every kind of welfare'.
- (e) I, 139, 9,<sup>7</sup> addressed by Paruccheṣa to Agni, showing the high antiquity in which Atri lived—'The ancient Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Priyamedha, Kanva, Atri, Manu have known my birth'.

<sup>1</sup> *Taittiriya Samhitā*, VII, 4, 8, also *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, V, 9; for exposition see JRASBL, Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 425-36.

<sup>2</sup> Yājñasa Jyauṭiṣam, 23.

<sup>3</sup> अयोताचवे मतदुरेषु मातुवित् ।

<sup>4</sup> तप्तं वसंसीम्यामवन्मचये ।

<sup>5</sup> हिमेन वसं परिहृप्तमचये ।

<sup>6</sup> हिमेनाग्निं त्रं समवारयेद्यां पितुमतीदृजमसृष्टाऽवधत् ।

अवोसे अचिमचिनावनौतमुद्रिन्ययुः सर्वगचं खलि ॥

<sup>7</sup> दध्यङ् हिमे जनुषं पूर्वोऽवहिराः प्रियमेधः कस्योऽचिमनुर्विदुसेमे पूर्वं मनुर्विदुः ।

- (f) I, 181, 4,<sup>1</sup> addressed to the *Āsvins*—‘You rendered the heat as soothing as sweet butter to Atri’.
- (g) V, 73, 6-7,<sup>2</sup> addressed to the *Āsvins*—‘Leaders (of rites) Atri recognized (your benevolence) with a grateful mind on account of the relief you afforded him, when, *Nāsatyas* through his praise of you, he found the fiery heat innocuous’. ‘Atri was rescued by your acts.’

From these quotations it would appear that Atri took shelter in a cave with a hundred doors or openings. There he felt scorching heat which was allayed by a thaw of ice from the snow-capped top of the mountain peak, at the bottom of which this cave was situated. From quotation (e), we gather that Atri was a contemporary of *Dadhyañc*, *Āṅgiras*, *Priyamedha*, *Kanva* and *Manu* and was probably one of the first batch of the *Āryans* to pour into the Punjab.

The favour of the *Āsvins* which Atri is alleged to have received was in the form of a thaw of ice, which happened at the time perhaps of the rising of  $\alpha$  *Arietis* in the east at the end of the evening twilight. For this astronomical event at about 4000 B.C., at the latitude of *Kurukṣetra*, the sun’s longitude comes out to have been  $97^{\circ} 54'$ , which was correct about 8 days after the summer solstice. This time or the part of the year was quite favourable for the thaw of the Himalayan ice.

We may thus conclude that Atri lived about 4000 B.C., in a cave of a hundred openings at the bottom of a snow-capped peak either of the Himalayas or of the *Karakoram* range and the eclipse of the sun spoken of in the hymn attributed to Atri, happened on the *viṣuvant* day, i.e. on the summer solstice day either correctly ascertained or estimated, and in the fourth part of the day of the meridian of *Kurukṣetra*. Now the *viṣuvant* or the summer solstice day, if estimated, might mean actually the day following it. For example, if the sun was determined to have reached the winter solstice on the 13th day, say of lunar *Māgha* then according to the vedic lunisolar calculations, in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years there would be 18 lunations and 17 days.<sup>3</sup> This period

<sup>1</sup> युवं च वर्मं मधुमन्मसचये पीनशीदो वृषीत मेधे ।

<sup>2</sup> युवोरभिचिक्षेतति नरासुब्जेन चेतसा ।

वर्मं यद्दामरेपसं नासत्यान्नाभुरक्षति ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

यद्वां दंशोभिरक्षिणाजिर्नरावचनैति ॥

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ‘Seventeen *stomas*’ in the *Kauṣṭhiki Brāhmaṇa*, xxiv, 3, 4, loc. cit.; compare also the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, xviii, 18, where the three *stomas* before the *viṣuvant* are said to become seventeen *stomas* in connection with the *Svarasāman* days.

would comprise 548.6 days while  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tropical years = 548 days, the estimated summer solstice day according to the Vedic rule would come about 0.6 day after the true summer solstice. In practice the estimated summer solstice day would generally fall one day after the true solstice day in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years.

The solar eclipse of which we want to find the date, from the above considerations must have satisfied the following conditions:—

- (i) It must have happened on the true summer solstice day or on the day following, and no other date is acceptable.
- (ii) It must have happened or rather ended in the fourth part of the day for the meridian of Kurukṣetra.
- (iii) It must have been a central solar eclipse.
- (iv) It must have been observed from a cave at the foot of a snow capped peak either of the Himalayas or of the Karakoram range.
- (v) That at the place of Atri, the eclipse did not reach the totality.
- (vi) It must have happened between 4000 B.C. to 2400 B.C. neither earlier nor later, when the word *viṣuvant* had its oldest meaning, viz., the summer solstice day.

We now proceed to determine the central solar eclipse which must satisfy all the conditions enumerated above. For starting our calculations we get at a central solar eclipse happening on the 21st July, 3146 B.C. The suggestion for it came from the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, which says that the sun turned north on the new moon of Māgha. This Māgha was not an ordinary month of Māgha as it comes every year, but it was the Vedic standard month of Māgha which came in our time in the years 1924, 1927, 1932 and 1935, as has been shown in another place.<sup>1</sup> I tried the months of lunar Māgha of the years 1924, 1932 and 1935, but these did not lead to a central solar eclipse on the summer solstice day or on the day following it. The Vedic month of Māgha as it came in 1927 A.D., however, did yield the central solar eclipse on the 21st July, 3146 B.C. in the following way:—

In the year 1927 A.D., the Vedic standard month of Māgha lasted from Feb. 2 to March 3. Full 31 lunations after this last date (i.e. March 3, 1927) came the 3rd of September, 1929, on which day the new moon happened at about Greenwich Mean Noon. Now on the 3rd September, 1929, the Sun's mean longitude from Newcomb's equation comes out to have been  $162^{\circ} 8' 33''$ . Ignoring the sun's equation, I assumed as a first step that this longitude was  $90^{\circ}$  in the year we want to determine. This shows a total shifting of the solstices by  $72^{\circ} 8' 33''$ , representing

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<sup>1</sup> JRASBL, Vol. iv, 1938, p. 421.

a lapse of 5227 years till 1929. From which we get that the longitude of the sun's apogee was  $= 12^{\circ} 36' 48''$  at 51.98 centuries before 1900 A.D. The eccentricity of the sun's orbit was  $= .01858$  nearly. Hence the sun's equation for the mean longitude of  $90^{\circ}$  was  $= -2^{\circ} 5' 9''$  nearly. This equation is applied to the mean longitude of the sun at G.M.N. on the 3rd September, 1929, viz.,  $162^{\circ} 8' 33''$ . The result  $160^{\circ} 3'$  for 1929 A.D. was  $= 90^{\circ}$  in the year we want to determine. This gives a total shifting of the solstices up to 1929 A.D. to be  $= 70^{\circ} 3'$  indicating a lapse of 5074 years. Now since—

$5074 = 1939 \times 2 + 160 \times 7 + 19 \times 4$ , and as 1939, 160 and 19 years represent lunisolar cycles in sidereal years, it may be inferred that the number of elapsed years till 1929 A.D. does not require any change to make the year arrived at similar to 1929 A.D.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Now } 5074 \text{ sidereal years} &= 1853311 \text{ days} \\ &= 5074 \text{ Julian years} + 32.5 \text{ days.} \end{aligned}$$

Hence the Julian date arrived at is,  $-3145$  A.D., July 20, or 3146 B.C., July 20.

Now the lunisolar mean places on:—

| 1                                       | 2                                        |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| July 20, 3146 B.C., G.M.N.              | July 21, 3146 B.C., G.M.N.               |
| Mean Sun $= 91^{\circ} 51' 48''.42$ ,   | Mean Sun $= 92^{\circ} 50' 56''.75$ ,    |
| „ Moon $= 80^{\circ} 1' 41''.45$ ,      | „ Moon $= 93^{\circ} 12' 16''.45$ ,      |
| A. Node $= 270^{\circ} 21' 25''.00$ ,   | D. Node $= 90^{\circ} 18' 14''.37$ ,     |
| L. Perigee $= 250^{\circ} 39' 1''.02$ . | L. Perigee $= 250^{\circ} 45' 42''.07$ . |

(The lunisolar mean places have been calculated back from the equations given by Newcomb and Brown, which have been taken as correct in the present paper, from 4500 B.C. up to the modern times.)

The figures in column (2) show that on the 21st July, 3146 B.C., there was an annular eclipse of the sun, but this was not visible from the Northern Punjab, and could not be accepted as giving us Atri's time. This eclipse, however, took place (1) on the day following the summer solstice and (2) in the fourth part of the day on the meridian of Kuruksetra. We take this eclipse as the starting point for further calculations.<sup>1</sup> We find that:—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{The mean tropical year} \\ \text{at 3146 B.C.} &= 365.2425085 \text{ da.} \\ \text{The mean synodic month} \\ \text{at this epoch} &= 29.5305988 \text{ da.} \end{aligned}$$

<sup>1</sup> There is another possible method for getting at a central solar eclipse (within the range 4000 B.C. to 2400 B.C.) on the S.S. day which is detailed in the note added to this paper as Appendix III.

|                                                  |                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| The mean motion of the moon's node at this epoch | = 69636".6596 per tropical year. |
| Tropical revolution of the node at this epoch    | = 18.61127 tropical yrs.         |
| Tropical revolution of the Perigee at this epoch | = 8.84527 tropical yrs.          |

In our calculation both backward or forward from this epoch, we cannot use the Chaldean *Saros*, as it does not contain an exact number of tropical years. We want to find only those central eclipses of the sun which happened on the same day of the tropical year, and proceed to find the cycles suitable to our problem.

Now,

$$(a) \frac{\text{Tropical year}}{\text{Synodic month}} = 12 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{1} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{1} + \frac{1}{1} + \frac{1}{18} \dots$$

$$\text{The convergents are: } \frac{12}{1}, \frac{25}{2}, \frac{37}{3}, \frac{99}{8}, \frac{136}{11}, \frac{235}{19}, \frac{4366}{353} \dots$$

Here the most important lunisolar cycles are, in tropical years, 8, 11, 19 and 353 containing lunations of 99, 136, 235 and 4366 respectively.

(b) Similarly the convergents to the tropical half-revolutions of the node in tropical years are given by,

$$9.305635 = 9 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{1} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{9} \dots$$

$$\text{The convergents are: } \frac{9}{1}, \frac{28}{3}, \frac{93}{10}, \frac{121}{13}, \frac{335}{36} \dots$$

We now readily get the following eclipse cycles:

- (1) 456 years = (335+121) yrs. =  $24\frac{1}{2}$  revols. of Node,  
 = (353+19×5+8) yrs. = 5640 lunations nearly.

Here 456 years = 166551 days and

5640 lunations = 166552.6 days =  $24\frac{1}{2}$  revols. + 28' motion of Node,  
 = 51 revols. + 199° motion of Perigee.

- (2) 391 years = (335+2×28) yrs. = 21 revols. of Node nearly.  
 = (353+19×2) yrs. = 4836 lunations very nearly.

Here 391 years = 142810 days = 4836 lunations.

= 21 revols. + 3° 10' motion of Node = 44 revols. + 73° 33' motion of Perigee.



$$\begin{aligned}
 (3) \text{ 763 years} &= (335 \times 2 + 93) \text{ yrs.} = 41 \text{ revols. of the Node} \\
 &\text{ nearly.} \\
 &= (353 \times 2 + 19 \times 3) \text{ yrs.} = 9437 \text{ lunations} \\
 &\text{ very nearly.}
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Here 763 years} &= 278680 \text{ days} = 9437 \text{ lunations very nearly,} \\
 &= 41 \text{ revols.} - 1^\circ 11' \text{ motion of Node} = 86 \\
 &\text{ revols.} + 93^\circ 32' \text{ motion of Perigee.}
 \end{aligned}$$

From these three fundamental cycles we get some other auxiliary cycles as detailed below:—

$$\begin{aligned}
 (4) \text{ 372 tropical years} &= \begin{cases} 4601 \text{ lunations,} \\ 20 \text{ revols.} - 4^\circ 21' \text{ of motion of Node,} \\ 42 \text{ revols.} + 20^\circ \text{ of motion of Lunar} \\ \text{Perigee,} \\ 135870 \text{ days.} \end{cases} \\
 (5) \text{ 19 tropical years} &= \begin{cases} 235 \text{ lunations,} \\ 1 \text{ revol.} + 7^\circ 31' \text{ motion of Node,} \\ 2 \text{ revols.} + 53^\circ 22' \text{ motion of Lunar} \\ \text{Perigee,} \\ 6940 \text{ days nearly.} \end{cases} \\
 (6) \text{ 65 tropical years} &= \begin{cases} 804 \text{ lunations} - 1.6 \text{ days,} \\ 3\frac{1}{2} \text{ revols.} - 2^\circ 39' \text{ motion of Node,} \\ 7 \text{ revols.} + 125^\circ 30' \text{ motion of Lunar} \\ \text{Perigee,} \\ 23741 \text{ days.} \end{cases}
 \end{aligned}$$

With the help of these cycles as a first step, I could find 19 central eclipses of the sun near the summer solstice day extending from 4319 B.C. to 2234 B.C. I could then collect from them 10 central eclipses of the sun happening either on the summer solstice day or on the day following as exhibited in Table I, Appendix I, all of which happened near the descending node. I then worked out 12 central solar eclipses near the ascending node which also happened near the summer solstice day as exhibited in Table II, Appendix I. Of all these 22 central solar eclipses near the summer solstice day, the one that happened on the 26th of July, 3928 B.C. alone meets all the conditions set forth before.

In connection with examination of the Tables I and II and other possible central solar eclipses that may be found in the period from 4319 B.C., it is worthy of note that one of the essential conditions for a central solar eclipse on the summer solstice day to be visible in the Northern Punjab, is that the ascending node should have a longitude of about  $85^\circ$  and the descending node of about  $95^\circ$ .

I myself and my assistant Mr. Nirmal Chandra Lahiri, M.A., are satisfied that no other central solar eclipse than that which happened on the 26th July, 3928 B.C. meets all the necessary conditions under which the solar eclipse described in the *Rgveda*

happened, the range under purview being from 4319 to 2234 B.C. According to our finding therefore, *the solar eclipse of the 26th July, 3928 B.C., represents a unique solution of the R̥gveda reference.*

The circumstances of the eclipse for the meridian of Kurukṣetra and for the latitudes of  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north respectively have been calculated by my collaborator Mr. Lahiri under my supervision. He has, I trust, done this part of the work correctly on methods which had my approval. The chief features are summarized below while the entire work is exhibited in Appendix II.

*Solar Eclipse, July 26th, 3928 B.C.*

A.

Meridian of Kurukṣetra and north latitude  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

|                                              |    |                 |                 |
|----------------------------------------------|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| (I) Beginning of the eclipse                 | .. | 3-17 P.M.       | Kurukṣetra M.T. |
| (II) Time of nearest approach of the centres | .. | 4-19 P.M.       | „ „             |
| (III) End of eclipse                         | .. | 5-19 P.M.       | „ „             |
| (IV) Magnitude of the eclipse                | .. | 0-735           | „ „             |
| (V) Instant of New Moon                      | .. | 2-58 P.M.       | „ „             |
| (VI) Sun's longitude at New Moon             |    | 90° 16' nearly. |                 |

B.

Meridian of Kurukṣetra and north latitude  $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

|                                  |    |           |                 |
|----------------------------------|----|-----------|-----------------|
| (I) Beginning of the eclipse     | .. | 3-13 P.M. | Kurukṣetra M.T. |
| (II) Nearest approach of centres |    | 4-18 P.M. | „ „             |
| (III) End of the eclipse         | .. | 5-17 P.M. | „ „             |
| (IV) Magnitude of the eclipse    | .. | 0-792     |                 |

This eclipse thus takes place on the summer solstice day after 3 P.M. and lasts for about 2 hrs., and finishes in the last quarter of the day. Although it was a total eclipse of the sun, at the place of the observer the totality apprehended was not reached by it. From this 'disaster' the sun was 'saved' by Atri as the *R̥gveda* text says.

As to Prof. Ludwig's paper, I have not had access to it yet, but from what I could gather of it from Whitney's criticism in JAOS for 1855, he interpreted the word *viṣuvant* as an equinoctial day which is here unjustifiable. The *Kauṣītaki* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* do not take it in that sense, as has been pointed out before. These *Brāhmaṇas* interpret the word as 'the summer solstice day' and nothing else. Hence as Ludwig was wrong in his interpretation, Oppolzer, who began his calculation of eclipses from 1200 B.C. downward thought that either of the dates

1001 B.C. and 1029 B.C. would meet the Rgvedic conditions. Oppolzer's findings may be summarized as:—

- (a) October 2, 1001 B.C. The solar eclipse was annular. Time of N.M. of the eclipse was 4 hrs. 44·8 min. and the longitude of the sun was  $179^{\circ}59'2''$ . Hence according to Oppolzer's calculation the day was of autumnal equinox.
- (b) October 11, 1029 B.C. Time of N.M. of the eclipse was 23 hrs. 44·9 min. and the longitude of the sun was  $189^{\circ}28'$ . This eclipse was not completely visible in India and did not happen even on the autumnal equinox day.

Oppolzer based his finding on a wrong interpretation of the word *visuvant* as given by Ludwig and it is thus quite untenable.

Oppolzer again for his calculations had to depend on Leverrier's equations for the sun's elements and Hansen's equations for those of the moon. On October 12, 1001 B.C. at G.M.N. the mean lunisolar elements were:—

|               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Mean Sun      | = $181^{\circ}31'6''\cdot65$ ,  |
| Mean Moon     | = $177^{\circ}37'41''\cdot19$ , |
| A. Node       | = $175^{\circ}44'34''\cdot30$ , |
| Lunar Perigee | = $76^{\circ}13'35''\cdot68$ ,  |

as deduced from the latest equations. The new moon happened about 5 hours before, i.e. at 7 hrs. G.M.T. or 12·8 noon of Kuruksetra mean time. It seems that the beginning, middle and the end of the eclipse cannot be correctly obtained from Hansen's equations. In the present case our finding of the N.M. and that of Oppolzer are different.

As has been said before, Lanman has pointed out a parallelism of the description of the solar eclipse in the *Rgveda* and that in the *Saṃyukta Nikāya*. But we are unable to attach any importance to any suggestion therefrom of any synchronism of the two events. It can have no chronological value. What is found in the *Saṃyukta Nikāya* may be a mere imitation of what is contained in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The time of the solar eclipse spoken of in the *Rgveda* is thus obtained as July 26 of 3928 B.C. This date at once settles the time of Atri, the observer of this eclipse. In our finding this Atri was one of the first batch of the Aryans who tried and succeeded in settling in the Northern Punjab. As shown before he took shelter in a cave at the foot of a snow-capped peak either of the Himalayas or of the Karakoram range. In my papers<sup>1</sup> on '*Madhu-Vidyā*' and 'When Indra became Maghavan' the dates arrived at were 3995 B.C. and 4170 B.C. and are liable to being lowered to about 3900 B.C. as these dates depended on a change

<sup>1</sup> JRASBL, Vol. iv, 1938, No. 3.

in the celestial longitudes of stars due to the precession of equinoxes. The date herein arrived at by a unique determination of a central solar eclipse is not liable to any such change, if as in the present case, the most up to date equations for the elements of the sun and the moon given by Newcomb and Brown be assumed as correct for all times past, present or future. We thus arrive at this definite conclusion that the Aryan colonization of India began about 3900 B.C. If this last finding be called into question the name of Atri should be traceable in the past traditions of the Parsis and the ancient Greeks and also of the 'Elder race' of Aratos and Eudoxus.

Finally, I hope that attention of the astronomers, chronologists and orientalists all the world over, will be drawn to this finding of the date of the solar eclipse as described in the *Ṛgveda*.

APPENDIX I—TABLE I.

| Interval. | Julian date.         | Mean elements at G.M. Noon.                                                                                                                           | REMARKS.                                                                  |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 19 yrs.   | 4319 B.C.<br>July 29 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 21' 38''.88$<br>„ Moon = $91^{\circ} 57' 42''.79$<br>D. Node = $99^{\circ} 50' 55''.98$<br>Perigee = $29^{\circ} 40' 21''.44$  | N.M. 13 hrs. before<br>G.M.N.<br>Node unfavourable.                       |
| 372 yrs.  | 4300 B.C.<br>July 29 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 44' 46''.51$<br>„ Moon = $96^{\circ} 6' 45''.19$<br>D. Node = $92^{\circ} 18' 16''.33$<br>Perigee = $83^{\circ} 3' 38''.47$    | N.M. 14 hrs. before<br>G.M.N.                                             |
| 19 yrs.   | 3928 B.C.<br>July 26 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 30' 50''.92$<br>„ Moon = $92^{\circ} 19' 31''.20$<br>D. Node = $96^{\circ} 36' 55''.35$<br>Perigee = $103^{\circ} 37' 10''.50$ |                                                                           |
| 372 yrs.  | 3909 B.C.<br>July 26 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 53' 59''.86$<br>„ Moon = $96^{\circ} 28' 42''.40$<br>D. Node = $89^{\circ} 4' 24''.65$<br>Perigee = $155^{\circ} 18' 4''.87$   | Not visible in upper<br>India.                                            |
| 372 yrs.  | 3537 B.C.<br>July 23 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 40' 37''.37$<br>„ Moon = $92^{\circ} 44' 21''.45$<br>D. Node = $93^{\circ} 26' 0''.00$<br>Perigee = $175^{\circ} 30' 44''.28$  | New Moon 8 hrs.<br>after G.M.N.                                           |
| 19 yrs.   | 3165 B.C.<br>July 20 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 27' 44''.65$<br>„ Moon = $89^{\circ} 2' 47''.65$<br>D. Node = $97^{\circ} 50' 27''.48$<br>Perigee = $198^{\circ} 26' 16''.72$  | New Moon, about<br>12 hrs. after<br>G.M.N.                                |
| 372 yrs.  | 3146 B.C.<br>July 21 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 50' 56''.75$<br>„ Moon = $93^{\circ} 12' 16''.46$<br>D. Node = $90^{\circ} 18' 14''.87$<br>Perigee = $250^{\circ} 45' 42''.07$ | Not visible in<br>Northern India.                                         |
| 372 yrs.  | 2774 B.C.<br>July 18 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 38' 35''.56$<br>„ Moon = $89^{\circ} 33' 40''.15$<br>D. Node = $94^{\circ} 45' 43''.88$<br>Perigee = $269^{\circ} 31' 23''.82$ | New Moon two<br>hours after<br>G.M.N.                                     |
| 19 yrs.   | 2402 B.C.<br>July 15 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 26' 44''.54$<br>„ Moon = $85^{\circ} 57' 55''.39$<br>D. Node = $99^{\circ} 16' 9''.33$<br>Perigee = $290^{\circ} 16' 30''.04$  | New Moon 9 hrs.<br>later.                                                 |
|           | 2383 B.C.<br>July 15 | Mean Sun = $92^{\circ} 49' 59''.88$<br>„ Moon = $90^{\circ} 7' 41''.78$<br>D. Node = $91^{\circ} 44' 15''.03$<br>Perigee = $343^{\circ} 24' 29''.58$  | N.M. 8 hrs. before<br>G.M.N. and not<br>in the proper part<br>of the day. |

APPENDIX I—TABLE II.

| Interval. | Julian date.         | Mean elements at G.M. Noon.                                                                                                                           | REMARKS.                                                                           |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 372 yrs.  | 4607 B.C.<br>Aug. 2  | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 11' 58''.93$<br>" Moon = $93^{\circ} 48' 11''.41$<br>A. Node = $90^{\circ} 38' 58''.36$<br>Perigee = $187^{\circ} 57' 15''.92$ | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |
| 372 yrs.  | 4235 B.C.<br>July 30 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 57' 38''.79$<br>" Moon = $89^{\circ} 58' 43''.54$<br>A. Node = $94^{\circ} 55' 21''.50$<br>Perigee = $209^{\circ} 27' 48''.49$ | N.M. 12 hrs. later.<br>Not visible in<br>N. India.                                 |
| 19 yrs.   | 3863 B.C.<br>July 27 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 43' 49''.19$<br>" Moon = $86^{\circ} 11' 58''.11$<br>A. Node = $99^{\circ} 14' 29''.00$<br>Perigee = $229^{\circ} 11' 14''.02$ | Not visible in<br>N. India.<br>N.M. 17 hrs. later.<br>2 days after S.S.            |
| 19 yrs.   | 3844 B.C.<br>July 27 | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 6' 59''.19$<br>" Moon = $90^{\circ} 21' 10''.78$<br>A. Node = $91^{\circ} 41' 59''.82$<br>Perigee = $282^{\circ} 37' 3''.92$   | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |
| 353 yrs.  | 3825 B.C.<br>July 26 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 31' 0''.23$<br>" Moon = $81^{\circ} 19' 48''.77$<br>A. Node = $84^{\circ} 12' 41''.63$<br>Perigee = $336^{\circ} 2' 7''.09$    | N.M. about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hrs.<br>later.<br>Eclipse not finished<br>before sunset. |
| 19 yrs.   | 3472 B.C.<br>July 24 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 53' 41''.69$<br>" Moon = $86^{\circ} 37' 18''.98$<br>A. Node = $96^{\circ} 4' 4''.48$<br>Perigee = $302^{\circ} 55' 36''.26$   | N.M. about $4\frac{1}{2}$ hrs.<br>later.                                           |
| 353 yrs.  | 3453 B.C.<br>July 24 | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 16' 52''.37$<br>" Moon = $90^{\circ} 46' 38''.11$<br>A. Node = $88^{\circ} 31' 44''.40$<br>Perigee = $356^{\circ} 15' 57''.77$ | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |
| 19 yrs.   | 3100 B.C.<br>July 21 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 40' 53''.98$<br>" Moon = $82^{\circ} 56' 13''.45$<br>A. Node = $100^{\circ} 29' 2''.49$<br>Perigee = $323^{\circ} 2' 6''.52$   | N.M. 9 hrs. later.                                                                 |
| 372 yrs.  | 3081 B.C.<br>July 21 | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 4' 6''.32$<br>" Moon = $87^{\circ} 5' 44''.65$<br>A. Node = $92^{\circ} 56' 51''.25$<br>Perigee = $16^{\circ} 19' 46''.72$     | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |
| 19 yrs.   | 2709 B.C.<br>July 18 | Mean Sun = $93^{\circ} 51' 50''.72$<br>" Moon = $83^{\circ} 28' 37''.25$<br>A. Node = $97^{\circ} 24' 50''.57$<br>Perigee = $36^{\circ} 11' 31''.18$  | N.M. about 9 hrs.<br>later.                                                        |
| 372 yrs.  | 2690 B.C.<br>July 19 | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 15' 34''.50$<br>" Moon = $87^{\circ} 38' 17''.37$<br>A. Node = $89^{\circ} 52' 49''.10$<br>Perigee = $88^{\circ} 28' 23''.32$  | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |
|           | 2318 B.C.<br>July 16 | Mean Sun = $94^{\circ} 3' 50''.17$<br>" Moon = $84^{\circ} 2' 11''.59$<br>A. Node = $94^{\circ} 23' 54''.42$<br>Perigee = $108^{\circ} 3' 24''.72$    | 2 days after S.S.                                                                  |

## APPENDIX II.

*Calculation of the Solar Eclipse on July 26, 3928 B.C.*

Julian days = 286928

Julian days on 1st Jan., 1900 = 2415021

Hence the epoch is 2,128,093 days before 1st Jan., 1900, of 12 hr.  
Greenwich mean midday, i.e. 58.26 Julian centuries + 146.5 days earlier.

*Lunisolar elements at G.M. Noon on July 26, 3928 B.C.*

Let A represent the epoch 8 A.M. (G.M.T.) i.e. 1.8 P.M. Kurukṣetra time.

|     |   |   |   |         |   |   |          |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---------|---|---|----------|---|---|
| " B | " | " | " | 10 A.M. | " | " | 3.8 P.M. | " | " |
| " C | " | " | " | 12 Noon | " | " | 5.8 P.M. | " | " |

*Mean Sun.*

A = 92° 20' 59".54  
B = 92° 25' 55".23  
C = 92° 30' 50".92

*Mean Moon.*

A = 90° 7' 45".36  
B = 91° 13' 38".28  
C = 92° 19' 31".20

*D. Node.*

A = 96° 37' 27".11  
B = 96° 37' 11".23  
C = 96° 36' 55".35

*Moon's Perigee.*

A = 103° 36' 3".66  
B = 103° 36' 37".08  
C = 103° 37' 10".50

Sun's apogee = 1° 55' 57".37  
" eccentricity (e) = 0.018759  
" (2e) in radians = 128'.977 [2.1105136]  
" ( $\frac{1}{2}e^2$ ) " = 1'.512 [0.1796033]

## LONGITUDE OF SUN.

|                            | A            | B           | C           |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Mean Sun                   | = 92° 21' 0" | 92° 25' 55" | 92° 30' 51" |
| Sun's apogee               | = 1° 55' 57" | 1° 55' 57"  | 1° 55' 57"  |
| <hr/>                      |              |             |             |
| g = Sun's anomaly (Indian) | = 90° 25' 3" | 90° 29' 58" | 90° 34' 54" |
| -128'.977 sin g            | = -2° 8' 58" | -2° 8' 58"  | -2° 8' 58"  |
| +1'.512 sin 2g             | = -1"        | -2"         | -2"         |
| <hr/>                      |              |             |             |
| Apparent Sun               | = 90° 12' 1" | 90° 16' 55" | 90° 21' 51" |
| Hourly motion              | = +2' 27".5  |             |             |

## LONGITUDE OF MOON.

|                    | A              | B            | C            |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Mean Arguments:—   |                |              |              |
| l = Moon's anomaly | = 346° 31' 42" | 347° 37' 1"  | 348° 42' 21" |
| 2l                 | = 333° 3' 23"  | 335° 14' 2"  | 337° 24' 42" |
| D = Moon—Sun       | = 357° 46' 46" | 358° 47' 43" | 359° 48' 40" |
| 2D                 | = 355° 33' 32" | 357° 35' 26" | 359° 37' 20" |
| 4D                 | = 351° 7' 4"   | 355° 10' 52" | 359° 14' 40" |
| l' = Sun's anomaly | = 270° 25' 3"  | 270° 29' 58" | 270° 34' 54" |
| F = Moon—Node      | = 173° 30' 18" | 174° 36' 27" | 175° 42' 36" |
| 2F                 | = 347° 0' 36"  | 349° 12' 54" | 351° 25' 12" |
| <hr/>              |                |              |              |
| 2D-l               | = 9° 1' 50"    | 9° 58' 25"   | 10° 54' 59"  |
| 2D-2l              | = 22° 30' 8"   | 22° 21' 24"  | 22° 12' 39"  |
| 2D-l-l'            | = 98° 36' 47"  | 99° 28' 26"  | 100° 20' 5"  |
| 2D+l               | = 342° 5' 14"  | 345° 12' 27" | 348° 19' 40" |
| 2D-l'              | = 85° 8' 29"   | 87° 5' 28"   | 89° 2' 27"   |
| l-l'               | = 76° 6' 39"   | 77° 7' 3"    | 78° 7' 27"   |
| l+l'               | = 256° 56' 45" | 258° 7' 0"   | 259° 17' 15" |
| 2F-l               | = 0° 28' 54"   | 1° 35' 53"   | 2° 42' 52"   |
| 2D-2F              | = 8° 32' 56"   | 8° 22' 32"   | 8° 12' 8"    |
| 4D-l               | = 4° 35' 22"   | 7° 33' 51"   | 10° 32' 20"  |

*Moon's equations* (to be applied to the mean longitude of moon.)

|                       | A                | B              | C              |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| +22640" sin $l$       | = -5274".3       | -4855".0       | -4434".0       |
| +769" sin $2l$        | = -348".4        | -322".1        | -295".4        |
| +4586" sin $(2D-l)$   | = +719".8        | +794".3        | +868".5        |
| -125" sin $D$         | = +4".8          | +2".6          | +0".4          |
| +2370" sin $2D$       | = -183".5        | -99".6         | -15".6         |
| -669" sin $l'$        | = +669".0        | +669".0        | +669".0        |
| +212" sin $(2D-2l)$   | = +81".1         | +80".6         | +80".1         |
| +206" sin $(2D-l-l')$ | = +203".7        | +203".2        | +202".7        |
| +192" sin $(2D+l)$    | = -59".1         | -49".0         | -38".8         |
| +165" sin $(2D-l')$   | = +164".4        | +164".8        | +165".0        |
| +148" sin $(l-l')$    | = +143".7        | +144".3        | +144".8        |
| -110" sin $(l+l')$    | = +107".2        | +107".7        | +108".1        |
| -85" sin $(2F-l)$     | = -0".7          | -2".4          | -4".0          |
| +59" sin $(2D-2F)$    | = +8".8          | +8".6          | +8".4          |
| +39" sin $(4D-l)$     | = +3".1          | +5".1          | +7".1          |
| Total -ves            | = -5866".0       | -5328".1       | -4787".8       |
| „ +ves                | = +2105".6       | +2180".2       | +2254".1       |
| Total inequalities    | = -3760".4       | -3147".9       | -2533".7       |
|                       | = -1° 2' 40".4   | -0° 52' 27".9  | -0° 42' 13".7  |
| Mean Moon             | = 90° 7' 45".4   | 91° 13' 38".3  | 92° 19' 31".2  |
| ∴ True Moon on orbit  | = 89° 5' 5".0    | 90° 21' 10".4  | 91° 37' 17".5  |
| Ascending Node        | = 276° 37' 27".1 | 276° 37' 11".2 | 276° 36' 55".4 |
| $F_1 = M - \Omega$    | = 172° 27' 37".9 | 173° 43' 59".2 | 175° 0' 22".1  |
| $2F_1$                | = 344° 55' 15".8 | 347° 27' 58".4 | 350° 0' 44".2  |
| -417" sin $2F_1$      | = +0° 1' 48".5   | +0° 1' 30".5   | +0° 1' 12".3   |
| Moon on orbit         | = 89° 5' 5".0    | 90° 21' 10".4  | 91° 37' 17".5  |
| Apparent Moon         | = 89° 6' 53".5   | 90° 22' 40".9  | 91° 38' 29".8  |
| Average hourly motion | = +0° 37' 54".1  |                |                |

Instant of conjunction is 9.8 mins. before B, i.e. at 9h 50m A.M. G.M.T. or 2h 58m P.M. Kurukṣetra time.

*Arguments for Latitude of Moon.*

|                | A              | B            | C            |
|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| $F_1$          | = 172° 27' 38" | 173° 43' 59" | 175° 0' 22"  |
| $2D-2F$        | = 8° 32' 56"   | 8° 22' 32"   | 8° 12' 8"    |
| $F_1+2D-2F$    | = 181° 0' 34"  | 182° 6' 31"  | 183° 12' 30" |
| $l'$           | = 270° 25' 3"  | 270° 29' 58" | 270° 34' 54" |
| $F_1-l'$       | = 262° 2' 35"  | 263° 14' 1"  | 264° 25' 28" |
| $F_1+l'$       | = 82° 52' 41"  | 84° 13' 57"  | 85° 35' 16"  |
| $l$            | = 346° 31' 42" | 347° 37' 1"  | 348° 42' 21" |
| $F_1-l$        | = 185° 55' 56" | 186° 6' 58"  | 186° 18' 1"  |
| $F_1-2l$       | = 199° 24' 14" | 198° 29' 57" | 197° 35' 40" |
| $F_1+2D-2F-l'$ | = 270° 35' 31" | 271° 36' 33" | 272° 37' 36" |
| $F_1+2D-2F+l'$ | = 91° 25' 37"  | 92° 36' 29"  | 93° 47' 24"  |
| $F_1+2D-2F-l$  | = 194° 28' 52" | 194° 29' 30" | 194° 30' 9"  |



## LATITUDE OF MOON.

|                                    | A          | B          | C          |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| +18518".5 sin $F_1$ =              | +2429".7   | +2021".5   | +1612".0   |
| +528.3 sin $(F_1 + 2D - 2F)$ =     | -9".3      | -19".4     | -29".6     |
| -25.0 sin $(F_1 - l')$ =           | +24".7     | +24".8     | +24".9     |
| +23.8 sin $(F_1 + l')$ =           | +23".6     | +23".7     | +23".7     |
| +23.2 sin $(F_1 - l)$ =            | -2".4      | -2".5      | -2".6      |
| -23.6 sin $(F_1 - 2l)$ =           | +7".8      | +7".5      | +7".1      |
| +22.1 sin $(F_1 + 2D - 2F - l')$ = | -22".1     | -22".1     | -22".1     |
| -10.4 sin $(F_1 + 2D - 2F + l')$ = | -10".4     | -10".4     | -10".4     |
| -15.4 sin $(F_1 + 2D - 2F - l)$ =  | +3".9      | +3".9      | +3".9      |
| Total +ves =                       | +2489".7   | +2081".4   | +1671".6   |
| „ -ves =                           | -44".2     | -54".4     | -64".7     |
| Total =                            | +2445".5   | +2027".0   | +1606".9   |
| ∴ Latitude =                       | +40' 45".5 | +38' 47".0 | +26' 46".9 |
| Average hourly variation =         | -3' 29".6  |            |            |

## Horizontal parallax.

$$P = 3422".7 + 186".6 \cos l + 10".2 \cos 2l + 34".3 \cos (2D - l) + 28".3 \cos 2D + 3".1 \cos (2D + l)$$

## B

$$\begin{aligned} +186".6 \cos l &= +182".3 \\ +10".2 \cos 2l &= +9".3 \\ +34".3 \cos (2D - l) &= +33".8 \\ +28".3 \cos 2D &= +28".3 \\ +3".1 \cos (2D + l) &= +3".0 \\ \text{Constant} &= 3422".7 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Total} = 3679".4$$

$$\therefore \text{Moon's horizontal parallax} = 61' 19".4$$

$$\text{Moon's Semi-diameter} = 16' 42".4$$

$$\text{Sun's Semi-diameter} = 16' 1".4$$

CALCULATION OF THE ECLIPSE FOR LATITUDE  $33\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ N. AND THE LONGITUDE OF KURUKSHETRA.

|                     | A          | B           | C           |
|---------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Long. of Mean Sun = | 92° 21' 0" | 92° 25' 55" | 92° 30' 51" |
| Local time =        | 1h 8m P.M. | 3h 8m P.M.  | 5h 8m P.M.  |
| „ „ in degrees =    | 17° 0' 0"  | 47° 0' 0"   | 77° 0' 0"   |

$$\therefore \text{Sid. time or R.A. of meridian} = 109^\circ 21' 0" \quad 139^\circ 25' 55" \quad 169^\circ 30' 51"$$

$$\text{Obliquity of the ecliptic (3928 B.C.)} = 24^\circ 6' 15"$$

|                                              |              |              |              |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Long. of culminating pt. of the ecliptic =   | 107° 46' 25" | 136° 50' 5"  | 168° 32' 16" |
| Dec. of culminating pt. =                    | +22° 53' 11" | +16° 13' 25" | +4° 39' 18"  |
| Lat. of place =                              | +33° 30' 0"  | +33° 30' 0"  | +33° 30' 0"  |
| Z. dist. of cul. point =                     | 10° 36' 49"  | 17° 16' 35"  | 28° 50' 42"  |
| Ecliptic angle with meridian ( $\theta'$ ) = | 82° 13' 23"  | 71° 55' 36"  | 66° 19' 23"  |
| Z. dist. of nonagesimal (ZN) =               | 10° 31' 9"   | 16° 23' 58"  | 26° 13' 18"  |

|                                                                                                                                                 | A                      | B                     | C                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Parallax in latitude                                                                                                                            | = $-11' 11''.8$        | $-17' 18''.9$         | $-27' 6''.0$          |
| Lat. of Moon                                                                                                                                    | = $+40' 45''.5$        | $+33' 47''.0$         | $+26' 46''.9$         |
| Corrected Latitude                                                                                                                              | = $+29' 33''.7$        | $+16' 28''.1$         | $-0' 19''.1$          |
| 1st diff.                                                                                                                                       | = $-13' 5''.6$         | $-16' 47''.2$         |                       |
| 2nd diff.                                                                                                                                       | =                      | $-3' 41''.6$          |                       |
| $\therefore$ corrected latitude = $16' 28''.1 - (14' 56''.4)t - (1' 50''.8)t^2 = Y$ , where<br>$t$ is measured from B and is in units of 2 hrs. |                        |                       |                       |
| Culminating point                                                                                                                               |                        |                       |                       |
| —nonagesimal                                                                                                                                    | = $1^\circ 27' 9''$    | $5^\circ 30' 40''$    | $12^\circ 28' 19''$   |
| Culminating point                                                                                                                               | = $107^\circ 46' 25''$ | $136^\circ 50' 5''$   | $168^\circ 32' 16''$  |
| $\therefore$ Nonagesimal                                                                                                                        | = $106^\circ 19' 16''$ | $131^\circ 19' 25''$  | $156^\circ 3' 57''$   |
| App. Sun                                                                                                                                        | = $90^\circ 12' 1''$   | $90^\circ 16' 55''$   | $90^\circ 21' 51''$   |
| N— $\odot$                                                                                                                                      | = $16^\circ 7' 15''$   | $41^\circ 2' 30''$    | $65^\circ 42' 6''$    |
| ZN                                                                                                                                              | = $10^\circ 31' 9''$   | $16^\circ 23' 58''$   | $26^\circ 13' 18''$   |
| and Moon's horizontal parallax                                                                                                                  | = $3679''.4$           |                       |                       |
| $\therefore$ Parallax in long.                                                                                                                  | = $-16' 44''.4$        | $-38' 37''.6$         | $-50' 8''.4$          |
| Long. of Moon                                                                                                                                   | = $89^\circ 6' 53''.5$ | $90^\circ 22' 40''.9$ | $91^\circ 38' 29''.8$ |
| Corrected Moon                                                                                                                                  | = $88^\circ 50' 9''.1$ | $89^\circ 44' 3''.3$  | $90^\circ 48' 21''.4$ |
| App. Sun                                                                                                                                        | = $90^\circ 12' 1''$   | $90^\circ 16' 55''$   | $90^\circ 21' 51''$   |
| ( $\odot$ — $\odot$ )                                                                                                                           | = $-1^\circ 21' 52''$  | $-0^\circ 32' 52''$   | $+0^\circ 26' 30''$   |
| 1st diff.                                                                                                                                       | = $+49' 0''$           | $+59' 22''$           |                       |
| 2nd diff.                                                                                                                                       | =                      | $+10' 22''$           |                       |
| $\therefore$ ( $\odot$ — $\odot$ ) = $-0^\circ 32' 52'' + (54' 11'')t + (5' 11'')t^2 = X$                                                       |                        |                       |                       |
| Sum of Semi-diameters = $1964'' = (M+S)$                                                                                                        |                        |                       |                       |
| Diff. of „ „ = $41'' = (M-S)$                                                                                                                   |                        |                       |                       |

| Kuruksetra<br>mean time. | X<br>(= $\odot$ — $\odot$ ) | Y<br>(=lat. of moon) | $\sqrt{X^2+Y^2}$ |         |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------|
| 3h 8m P.M.               | $-1972''$                   | $+988''$             | 2206"            |         |
| 3h 38m P.M.              | $-1140$                     | $+757$               | 1369             | $-837$  |
| 4h 8m P.M.               | $-269$                      | $+512$               | 578              | $-791$  |
| 4h 38m P.M.              | $+640$                      | $+254$               | 689              | $+111$  |
| 5h 8m P.M.               | $+1590$                     | $-19$                | 1590             | $+901$  |
| 5h 38m P.M.              | $+2577$                     | $-305$               | 2595             | $+1005$ |

Nearest approach is .37.×30 mins. after 4-8 P.M.

i.e. at 4-19 P.M., Minimum dist. =  $521''$

Magnitude of eclipse = .735 = 8.8 Indian units.

Time of beginning =  $3h 8m + \frac{2206-1964}{837} \times 30$  mins.

=  $3h 8m + 9m = 3h 17m$  P.M.

Time of ending =  $5h 8m + \frac{1964-1590}{1005} \times 30$  mins.

=  $5h 8m + 11m = 5h 19m$  P.M.

THE SAME CALCULATIONS FOR THE LAT. OF PLACE =  $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N.

|                                              | A                                                                                     | B            | C            |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Long. of cul. point of the ecliptic =        | 107° 46' 25"                                                                          | 136° 50' 5"  | 168° 32' 16" |
| Ecliptic angle with meridian ( $\theta'$ ) = | 82° 13' 23"                                                                           | 71° 55' 36"  | 66° 19' 23"  |
| Dec. of cul. point =                         | +22° 53' 11"                                                                          | +16° 13' 25" | +4° 39' 18"  |
| Lat. of place =                              | 35° 30' 0"                                                                            | 35° 30' 0"   | 35° 30' 0"   |
| Z. dist. of cul. point = ZC =                | 12° 36' 49"                                                                           | 19° 16' 35"  | 30° 50' 42"  |
| Z. dist. of nonagesimal = ZN =               | 12° 29' 44"                                                                           | 18° 17' 25"  | 28° 0' 20"   |
| Parallax in lat. =                           | -13' 16".1                                                                            | -19' 14".7   | -28' 47".7   |
| Moon's lat. =                                | +40' 45".5                                                                            | +33' 47".0   | +26' 46".9   |
| Corrected latitude =                         | +27' 29".4                                                                            | +14' 32".3   | -2' 0".8     |
| 1st diff. =                                  | +1649"                                                                                | +872"        | -121"        |
| 2nd diff. =                                  | -777"                                                                                 | -993"        | -216"        |
| Y = Corrected latitude =                     | 872" - 885"t - 108"t <sup>2</sup> , where t is measured from B in units of two hours. |              |              |
| Cul. pt.—nonagesimal =                       | 1° 44' 4"                                                                             | 6° 11' 32"   | 13° 20' 9"   |
| Culminating pt. =                            | 107° 46' 25"                                                                          | 136° 50' 5"  | 168° 32' 16" |
| ∴ Nonagesimal App. Sun =                     | 106° 2' 21"                                                                           | 130° 38' 33" | 155° 12' 7"  |
|                                              | 90° 12' 1"                                                                            | 90° 16' 55"  | 90° 21' 51"  |
| N - ☉ =                                      | 15° 50' 20"                                                                           | 40° 21' 38"  | 64° 50' 16"  |
| ZN =                                         | 12° 29' 44"                                                                           | 18° 17' 25"  | 28° 0' 20"   |

Horizontal parallax (Moon's—Sun's) = 3670".6

|                      |               |               |               |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Parallax in long. =  | -16' 18".1    | -37' 36".9    | -48' 53".1    |
| Long. of Moon =      | 89° 6' 53".5  | 90° 22' 40".9 | 91° 38' 29".8 |
| Corrected Moon Sun = | 88° 50' 35".4 | 89° 45' 4".0  | 90° 49' 36".7 |
|                      | 90° 12' 1"    | 90° 16' 55"   | 90° 21' 51"   |
| (☽ - ☉) =            | -1° 21' 26"   | -0° 31' 51"   | +0° 27' 46"   |
|                      | -4886"        | -1911"        | +1666"        |
| 1st diff. =          | +2975"        | +3577"        |               |
| 2nd diff. =          | +602"         |               |               |

$$X = (\text{☽} - \text{☉}) = -1911" + 3276"t + 301"t^2$$

$$\text{Sum of Semi-diameters} = 1964" = (M + S)$$

$$\text{Diff. of Semi-diameters} = 41" = (M - S)$$

| Kurukṣetra<br>mean time. | X      | Y      | $\sqrt{X^2 + Y^2}$ |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| 3h 8m P.M.               | -1911" | + 872" | 2101"              |
| 3h 23m P.M.              | -1497  | + 760  | 1679               |
| 3h 38m P.M.              | -1073  | + 644  | 1251               |
| 3h 53m P.M.              | - 640  | + 525  | 828                |
| 4h 8m P.M.               | - 198  | + 403  | 449                |
| 4h 23m P.M.              | + 254  | + 277  | 376                |
| 4h 38m P.M.              | + 715  | + 148  | 730                |
| 4h 53m P.M.              | +1186  | + 15   | 1186               |
| 5h 8m P.M.               | +1666  | - 121  | 1670               |
| 5h 23m P.M.              | +2156  | - 260  | 2172               |

$$\text{Time of beginning} = \frac{2101 - 1964}{422} \times 15 \text{ min.} = 4.87 \text{ min. after 3-8 P.M.} \\ = 3.13 \text{ P.M.}$$

$$\text{Time of ending} = \frac{1964 - 1670}{502} \times 15 \text{ min.} = 8.79 \text{ min. after 5-8 P.M.} \\ = 5.17 \text{ P.M.}$$

Duration of eclipse = 2h 4m.

Minimum dist. bet. the centres = 361" which occurs at 4-18 P.M.

Magnitude of eclipse = 0.792 = 9.5 units.

## APPENDIX III.

*A Note on a Method of Finding a Central Eclipse near a Past Date.*

The problem of the paper to which this is an appendix was to find a central solar eclipse on the summer solstice day visible in Northern Punjab, within the range 4000 B.C. to 2400 B.C. As shown in the body of the paper a central solar eclipse happening on the 21st July, 3146 B.C. obtained by a pure chance, formed the starting point for further calculations. A method now occurs to me which shows that a chronologist need not depend on any such chance. Further he need not depend on a book like Oppolzer's in which all eclipses are calculated from 1200 B.C. up to the present times. The equations for the moon's elements used by Oppolzer, were those given by Hansen, which have been thrown away by international astronomers. Hence Oppolzer's great work has become somewhat valueless. We have now to use Newcomb's equations for the sun's elements and Brown's for those of the moon. To undertake another great work like that of Oppolzer with the most up to date system of astronomical constants should be now considered unnecessary on the score of the labour it entails, in the light of the elegant method presented in this note.

Problem 1. To find a central solar eclipse near the date 4000 B.C., happening on the summer solstice day and visible from the Northern Punjab.

Here we are to remember that the longitude of the ascending node should be about  $85^\circ$  or that of the descending node about  $95^\circ$ , on the day of the eclipse if this is to be visible from the Northern Punjab.

(a) We first work out the shifting of the equinoxes from 4001 B.C. to the present time say 1940 A.D. This works out to have been  $82^\circ 27' 23''$  nearly. Hence what was  $90^\circ$  of the longitude of the sun in 4001 B.C., in 1940 would become  $172^\circ 27' 23''$ . The sun has this longitude now about the 16th September.

(b) Now on looking up the nautical almanacs, we find that there was a new moon on the 15th September, 1936.

(c) Again from 4001 B.C. to 1940 A.D., the number of years elapsed = 5940. The correct lunisolar cycles in sidereal years we should use, are 1939 years and 160 years.

Now  $5940 = 1939 \times 3 + 123$ .

Hence the elapsed years 5940, have to be increased by 37 years and we have—

$$5977 = 1939 \times 3 + 160.$$

(d) We then apply 5977 sidereal years or 2,183,137 days backward to the date, 15th September, 1936, and arrive at the date 4042 B.C., July 26.

(e) On this day at G.M.N. the longitude of the moon's ascending node was =  $321^{\circ} 42' 36'' \cdot 82$ .

(f) We now use the eclipse cycle of 19 tropical years in which the node's position is decreased by  $7^{\circ} 32'$  nearly. We want to reduce the longitude of  $321^{\circ} 43'$  of the node to about  $275^{\circ}$ , i.e. by  $46^{\circ} 43'$  which comprises  $7^{\circ} 32'$  six times nearly. Hence, we have to come down by  $19 \times 6$  or 114 years. The year arrived at is 3928 B.C. Calculation of the eclipse on the summer solstice day of this year may now proceed as shown in the body of the paper, remembering that in 114 years (tropical) there are 41,638 days.

Problem 2. To find the central solar eclipse which happened on the autumnal equinox day, visible in Northern Punjab near about the year 1400 B.C.

On the autumnal equinox day the sun attains the longitude of  $180^{\circ}$ . In order that the eclipse may be visible in Northern Punjab, the ascending node should have the longitude of about  $175^{\circ}$  or the descending node  $185^{\circ}$  nearly.

(a) From 1401 B.C. till 1940 A.D. the shifting of the equinoxes becomes  $46^{\circ} 17' 26''$ . Hence what was  $180^{\circ}$  of longitude of the sun in 1401 B.C., has become  $226^{\circ} 17' 26''$  in present times. This corresponds to the date of November, 10 of our times.

(b) On looking up nautical almanacs we can find that a new moon happened on November, 10, 1931 A.D.

(c) Now the elapsed years, 3340, till 1940 A.D. needs be adjusted a little as before. We have to increase it by 39 years, and we have,

$$3379 = 1939 + 160 \times 9.$$

(d) We apply to the 10th November, 1931 A.D., 3379 sidereal years or 1,234,201 days backward, and arrive at the date 1449 B.C., October 5.

(e) On this date the longitude of the ascending node at G.M.N. was =  $201^{\circ} 2' 23''$ .

(f) We have to reduce this longitude of the node to  $175^{\circ}$  nearly by using our eclipse cycles. Now by our cycle of 19 years repeated 4 times we can reduce it by  $30^{\circ} 8'$  to  $170^{\circ} 54'$  by coming down to 1373 B.C. We have now to raise it from  $170^{\circ} 54'$  by a further coming down by the eclipse cycle of 372 years, to  $175^{\circ} 15'$  nearly for the year 1001 B.C. as in Oppolzer's finding. Altogether we had to come down by  $19 \times 4 + 372 = 448$  tropical years.

Hence by the method thus illustrated, we can find near about any past date, any sort of solar eclipse we have any record of, however vague it may be. There is thus no necessity for finding all the solar eclipses from so far back a date as 4000 B.C. up to our modern times.

I trust the attention of astronomers and chronologists all over the world will be drawn to the method presented here for finding an eclipse of a back date, and hope they would further develop it and remove from it any flaws that they may discover.



### **Some Beliefs and Customs relating to Birth among the Santals.**

By W. J. CULSHAW.

The ordinary way of announcing the birth of a new child among the Santals is to say, 'Nawa peraye hee akana', 'the new relation has come'. The infant is regarded as a definite asset to the family, with certain exceptions noted later, and they commonly speak of children as the gift of 'Cando Boŋga', the supreme God; hence a birth is an occasion for rejoicing and congratulation. A villager to whom the announcement of a new birth is made will as likely as not respond with a question, 'What is it? Is it one who carries on the shoulder (a boy), or one who carries on the head (a girl)?' There are other figurative ways of referring to the sex of children, though these are used at other times. Thus, when a father is talking about the number of children he has, he will often say, 'Po iŋi ar pe erba menak-kotiŋa', 'I have three girls and three boys'. 'Iŋi' is a cultivated millet (*Panicum crusgalli*, L.) used figuratively to refer to girls, and 'erba' is a seldom cultivated grain (*Setaria italica*, Kunth.) used as a term for boys.

It may be that the birth of the child has been long looked for. Women may resort to shrines famous in the locality for granting the boon of children and making an offering. There is a hill situated in Raniband Thana of the Bankura district at the summit of which resides such a deity and cases are reported of Santal husband and wife making the climb to the summit together. More often the husband feigns a certain indifference in such cases, but his mother is not likely to let matters rest, even if the wife herself should wish to do so, and it is a fairly common thing for medicine to be taken to ensure the birth of a child. People who have knowledge of these remedies are well known in their own localities, and their medicines are their own closely guarded secrets. One medicine which has to be taken during the menstruation period is said to ensure the birth of a boy. In any event, from the time when pregnancy is suspected, the expected newcomer begins to exercise influence on the life of the home, and especially over the actions and conduct of the parents. A pregnant woman is called 'poŋti', the common Bengali term, but here too the Santal love of figurative speech finds full play, and other common terms are 'bharti hormo' (full body), 'bhari hormo' (heavy body), and 'bar jivi' (two souls). Her movements are restricted; she must not go anywhere when the sun is directly overhead; nor will she



go anywhere alone at sunset. The restriction against crossing a river is by some said to hold only in the case of a woman pregnant for the first time. She must not sit on the verandah of the house with her legs hanging down, her hair loose, and any portion of her cloth hanging loosely from her body. They themselves ascribe these rules to the desire to escape the influence of 'bhuts'. Nor must she walk over the straw rope used in binding rice granaries. She cannot take life, nor look on a dead body. She must not weep when someone dies. Nor can she go out during an eclipse of the moon, nor look at it from the house. A number of restrictions are enjoined to influence the child in one way or another. Thus when the pregnant woman hears thunder, she will clasp the 'gurgu' (the cylindrical grinding stone for grinding the spices) to her abdomen, and feels that by so doing she will prevent her child from growing up a coward. She will not take anything not belonging to her without asking for it, lest her child become a thief. Certain actions may influence the physical appearance of the child. She will not break off the fork of a forked piece of turmeric, lest her child be born with forked fingers. It is not good to look on the image of a god (these are not in Santal homes or villages, but many Santals now live among Hindu neighbours), for that is something with a semblance of life, yet it is dead. If she sees an elephant, her child may have ears large like those of elephants. If a monkey, then the child may have a nose wide-nostrilled and 'squashed'; if a snake, then the child may be always putting out its tongue. The pregnant woman's taste in food should be humoured, or her child's mouth will for ever 'water', he will be a great 'slobberer'. Some of these things throw an interesting light on the Santal's idea of what is seemly in appearance. I have not been able to come across any diet restrictions with a basis of magic; some foods are particularly nourishing, and that is all. One of my friends can remember a case in his own family when a child was born without an anus. When the women were discussing this, they put it down to the fact that the mother had eaten the flesh of flying fox during pregnancy; the reason being the belief that flying foxes are without this feature in their anatomy. In this case, which occurred about thirty years ago, the child was thrown away while it was still alive.

The father of the child has his part to play during his wife's pregnancy. There is no ceremonial separation from his wife, and intercourse would appear to be common up to about the sixth month. There is a strong sentiment also against intercourse with any other woman during the time. There appears to be no rule as to when intercourse may be resumed after the birth of the child. The father must also observe the taboo against taking life, and he must avoid all contact with dead bodies. He cannot go to a house in which a death has taken place, nor can he carry a body, or take any part in funeral ceremonies. He

may go out to the annual hunt with the other men, but cannot kill, nor can he be asked to carry a kill; he cannot eat the flesh of the head of any animal killed in the hunt, or of any animal offered in sacrifice.

One custom suggests that the child has some status before birth. Bodding in his Dictionary relates that if a 'Jom Sim' festival is being observed by the family of a pregnant woman, this being a festival when all the members of a family living in a neighbourhood are invited, the pregnant woman is served with two platefuls of rice, in recognition of the fact that she is 'bar jivi'. I have not been able to obtain personal confirmation of this; the 'Jom Sim' is but rarely observed nowadays, and no one whom I have questioned seems to know of this custom. As with all people, the women will speculate about the sex of the coming child. If the woman begins to look rather sickly, and especially if she is thin about the neck, then they say she will have a boy. The 'quickenings' is not marked in any special way, but that it does have some effect on the attitude of the people to the expected child is shown by the fact that when a woman with child dies, special precautions have to be taken only in cases when the death takes place after the quickening. In such cases, the husband has to cut open the abdomen of the dead woman; the foetus is removed and buried separately behind the house, and the ordinary funeral rites are carried out over the body of the mother. Should this for any reason not have been done, the woman is said to become a 'curin'; her spirit inhabits the banks of streams and waylays those who pass, especially young men. Women wear iron bangles, which serve the purpose (among other things) of protection against the 'curin'.

For the delivery a midwife is engaged. She may be someone connected with the family, though in such cases it is much better to employ someone who is a 'classificatory' grandmother, rather than anyone belonging to the father's or mother's generation; this is because in the presence of the latter generation the woman has to observe certain rules of decorum and it will be a shameful thing for them to see her in her nakedness. The midwife is generally called a 'dhai', also an 'ojha buḍhi' (old medicine woman), and 'daḥ dul buḍhi' (the water pouring old woman). She is always a Santal, and she is sent for when the pains come; she is either an inhabitant of the village, or of one very near at hand. All the other matrons of the village are informed at the same time, and gather, as they say, to give courage to the mother now that her time has come. In the case of a dispute which I once helped to settle, the aggrieved husband gave as proof of the infidelity of his wife the fact that her mother (to whose protection the girl had fled) did not inform any of the villagers at the time when the baby was born. The day of delivery is known as 'duṛuḍ din' (sitting day), which illustrates

the mode of birth. Birth takes place in the ordinary dwelling-house, and the woman generally sits on the floor on which a mat may be spread. There would seem to be no rule, however, against her sitting on a string bed and this sometimes happens. Whichever it be, the woman generally keeps to the same place, either floor or bed, for the birth of all her children. She is supported from the back by another woman, who again may be either two generations above her, or one of her own generation, either husband's sister, or husband's brother's sister, but not by her mother-in-law or by an aunt. The characteristic work of the midwife is to cut the umbilical cord, which is not done normally until after the placenta has fallen. The child is not put to the mother's breast until after the cord is cut. It is cut by an arrow, with a coin put under it, which may be a pice, or even an eight anna piece, according to the financial condition of the family. This coin is handed over to the midwife. Midwives have a way of being able to tell the sex of further children by a reading of the signs on the umbilical cord, according to the position of certain irregularities in the surface, caused, I believe, by the twisting or congestion of blood vessels. They can also in certain cases determine the sex of subsequent children, or of the next child, according to the place at which the cord is cut. In cases of difficult delivery, should there be an 'ojha' near at hand, resort may be had to him; one method he adopts is to take a square of the bark of a plantain tree in his hand, about six inches square, and prick it repeatedly with a needle, saying his 'mantra' the while. This he can do in his own house. Another method adopted is to give the mother water to drink which has been poured down a dagger standing upright. Another method is the tying of a root to the hair of the mother. This root with the hair must be cut away as soon as the birth has taken place, otherwise they say, all the mother's entrails will come out as well. In such cases also the husband comes in for a certain amount of chaffing from the women who are in the 'joking relationship' with him; they accuse him of having done something irregular when he was with his wife at the time when conception took place, thus having caused her difficulties. No men are admitted to the room at the time of delivery. The husband has to keep himself at hand in the courtyard, one of his duties being to keep handy the materials for lighting a fire in the house after the birth, which fire will be used for 'sekao', massaging his wife's abdomen, and the infant, after birth. No fire is kept in the house at the time of the birth. As soon as the child is born the women call out, and the husband takes a large stick and repeatedly beats the roof with it, shouting out to drive away the 'bhuts'. He is admitted to the house as soon as the floor is cleaned up and his wife resting, whereupon he has to dig the hole in which the afterbirth is buried. This is buried in the house, at any place which is not directly under a rafter,

and he generally digs the hole with a ploughshare. The Santal will often refer to the place of his birth as his 'buka topa ato', the village where his cord was buried.

As soon as the child is born, he is expected to cry out. If he doesn't then strenuous efforts are made to restore his life. The midwife chews pepper and garlic, and blows into the child's mouth, nostrils and ears, and will persist for a long time; the others in the house will seek to waken the child by making a great noise on any brass plates and cups there may be in the house. (None of the ordinary household goods or utensils are removed from the house before the delivery takes place.)

Though it is probably true to say that all births are welcome, not all are welcome to the same degree. People are most pleased when the first child is a boy. If a woman has a succession of girls, she is soon likely to feel the effects of the disappointment of her husband's relations. A third or fourth daughter born into a house where the husband's mother is supreme does not in all cases have an extraordinary good chance of survival. A child born with teeth is considered highly unfortunate—'this child will eat us', they say. People are reluctant to admit that nowadays such children are thrown out, though they say such things 'used to happen'. They probably still do, though I have no direct evidence of the fact. In connection with another case we saw that a child was admittedly thrown away, about thirty years ago. All deformities are not regarded very seriously. One boy known to me was born with an additional finger on each hand as well as an additional toe on each foot. The additional fingers were cut off, though the toes were left; I cannot say whether there was any deeper significance in this beyond a desire to improve appearances. But an old man who was told of this case expressed disapproval. 'If Cando', he said, 'gives me a child with six fingers, who am I to cut off one of them?' Premature children are supposed to develop a big thirst in later life. There is also a belief that children born in the sixth month or eighth month will die, but those born in the seventh or ninth month will live. (The period of gestation is calculated as ten months.)

Twins are not regarded as a misfortune. No special ceremonies are performed at the birth of twins, but they are regarded as 'bonga' children, and there are special rules about the names to be given to twins, which are noted below. A child born on a Sunday is endowed with disconcerting powers. If you look in his direction when you are eating, you are liable to be seized with a violent attack of cramps. The 'Chatiar' (Naming) ceremony of the child must take place during the month in which he is born. In connection with this custom, a child who is unfortunate enough to be born on the night of the new moon is taken outside to the dung heap outside the house, and according to Bodding he is placed upon it and then swept up by the midwife

into a winnowing fan by means of a broom, and then taken in to the mother. If we add that until this operation is performed the cord is not cut, it will be seen that the operation presents some difficulties. My information is that it is carried out more or less symbolically, without a rigid adherence to formula on all occasions. But the precaution is a necessary one, lest the child should be widowed in after-life; a 'token' sweeping up is as effective as the actual. Children born in a caul are regarded as unfortunate. When a woman conceives after the birth of a previous child before her menstruation begins again, the phrase used to describe such births is 'poṭomte janam', which signifies strictly being born in a caul, though such children are obviously not all born in cauls. Perhaps there is here an indication of an original belief that all such births took place in a caul. Be that as it may, nowadays all births which are described by the phrase 'poṭomte janam' are unfortunate. In such cases the blacksmith is asked to make a miniature kudi (spade), taṅga (axe), and cimti (pincers); these are tied round the child's waist, where they remain until he or she is about five years old. This precaution is taken against the danger of the child being struck by a thunderbolt. One might add here a Santal saying which is used to say that a woman has got over the dangers of childbirth. It is 'Rohor dare khone argō akana', literally, 'She has come down from the dry tree'. It has been suggested to me that this may have some reference to a custom in some parts of the world for a woman to climb a tree when delivery is difficult; I can find no trace of such a belief among the Santals. The only explanations of the saying offered to me are that as it is dangerous to climb on the dry branch of a tree, so childbirth is dangerous; and also the simile of a tree which bears fruit applied to a woman who bears children.

Before beginning an account of the various ceremonies related to birth, it is helpful to keep in mind the social purposes served by these ceremonies among the Santals as among all primitive, or for that matter, many advanced communities. These purposes may be roughly classified as they affect the new-born child, his parents, or the community into which he is born. So far as the child is concerned, we have seen how much can be done to ensure his future well-being. In addition to this, he must be given some status in the family and community and so be acknowledged by them; this is done through the granting of a name or names. His parents are under an obligation to remove the taboos consequent on the crisis of a birth in the family, which have affected the father no less than the mother. The village community as well as the family has to acknowledge the child, and the village as well as the house is to some extent affected by the period of pollution. It will have been apparent that the Santals are well acquainted with the facts of physical paternity. There does not appear to be any trace in their beliefs

or in their customs of a time when this was not the case. No relations other than the actual parents have any specific parts to play in the ceremonies grouping round the birth of children.

We possess a valuable account of these ceremonies as they were in the Santal Parganas about seventy years ago, in the book written in Santali and published for the first time in 1887 by the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud of Benagaria, entitled 'The Traditions of the Santals'. It consists of material which he took down from the mouth of an old Santal named Kolean who was his 'guru', in the years 1870-71. It is unlikely perhaps that the book contains a complete account of all ceremonies—it contains no answer to many of the questions which rise to one's mind—yet a comparison of the account with what can be observed at the present day in an area far removed from the Santal Parganas, throws into relief not only some changes of a minor kind but also the extraordinary tenacity with which the Santals are holding to many of their old customs. The best course is to give a translation as literal as possible of the section of the book entitled 'Janam Chaṭiār'. 'Chaṭiār' is translated by Bodding as 'ceremonial cleansing'; the emphasis of the word is not so much on the removal of pollution, which admittedly forms a part of the concept, as on admittance into society, a kind of initiation. It is in fact used for two ceremonies, the 'Janam Chaṭiār' at birth, when the child is named, and the 'Caco Chaṭiār' later on, when the child is granted full status in the community.

The following is a translation: 'Children belong to the sept of the father, not to that of the mother. When a child is born in some village, the village becomes unclean (chut), and until the pollution is wiped out, the people perform no religious ceremonies. In whoever's house a child is born, the house is polluted and until the pollution is wiped out no one in the village will partake of food and drink in that house.

In the case of a boy, they are ceremonially shaved on the fifth day; in the case of a girl on the third day. On the day of the shaving, the father of the child calls together all the poor folk for the ceremonial shaving. They collect at his house and engage a barber for the shaving. He first of all shaves the Naeke, then the Kuḍam Naeke, the Mañjhi, Paranik, Jog Mañjhi, Jog Paranik, and Goḍet (these are the names of the Santal village officials. It would take us too far from the subject of this paper to enter into any explanation of the terms. They may be translated as follows: Priest, Co-priest—one with slightly different functions,—Headman, Deputy Headman, Censor of Morals, Deputy Censor of Morals, and Village Messenger), after which come all the men of the village, and last of all the father of the child.

Then the barber asks for the new-born child. The midwife carries him out near the door, bringing two leaf-cups (bhāutiċ), one for water and the other for keeping the hair in. The barber

shaves the child, whereupon the midwife puts the hair into the cup; after which she ties two threads to the arrow with which the child's umbilical cord was cut. The father of the child places oil in the leaf-cup, and takes all the male adults of the village along together to the watering place to bathe. Off they go. When they return the midwife takes the women along to bathe there, taking along with her oil and turmeric, and the arrow with the two threads tied to it. Off they go. At the 'ghaṭ', the midwife sends one of the threads floating away with the child's hair, having first of all made five vermilion marks on the 'ghaṭ'. That is called 'buying the ghaṭ'. She washes the second thread and the arrow, and brings them back to the house when they have all bathed. Back at the house, the midwife soaks the remaining thread in turmeric-water and ties it round the waist of the child. After which the child is placed in its mother's arms, lying on 'atnaḱ' leaves (*Terminalia tomentosa*, W. & A.), the mother sitting under the eaves of the house.

Then the midwife kneads some cowdung with water under the eaves. She then lets it drip on the mother of the child, who takes up a little in her left hand and rubs it on her head, and she also sips a little. Then the mother goes into the house and lays the child down on a string bed. The midwife mixes meal with (adwa) rice and water, three leaf-cups (phuṛuk) full, takes one of them and sprinkles the meal on the four legs of the string bed and throws away the cup. Then with another she sprinkles the meal on the chests of the Naeke, the Kuḍam Naeke, the village Mañjhi, Paranik, Jog Mañjhi, Jog Paranik, and Goḍet. And so with all the men of the village.

The contents of the remaining cup are sprinkled in the same way on the chests of the Naeke's wife, then following in the same order the wives of the Kuḍam Naeke, the Mañjhi, the Paranik, the Jog Mañjhi, the Jog Paranik, the Goḍet, and then all the village women.

Then the old man and woman of the house (i.e. the parents of the child) will ask each other, 'After whom shall we name him?' If it is a boy, they will say, 'We'll give him father's name', and if a girl, 'We'll give him mother's name'. The first-born boy gets the name of his father's father, and the first girl gets the name of her father's mother. The second boy gets the name of his mother's father, and the second girl that of her mother's mother. When those are used up, they get the names of their paternal uncles and aunts and their maternal uncles and aunts.

Then the midwife will come out to the courtyard and announcing the name will make obeisance and say to them, 'From to-day (if it be a boy) call him by this name at the hunting', (if a girl), 'Call her by this name when you say to her, "Come along", as you go to draw water'.

Then they bring out leaf-cups of a brew of 'nim' leaves in rice water to the courtyard; they give to the men first of all in the same order as that already mentioned. And then to the women in the same way. The pollution is wiped out and the child has entered into the circle of relations. After another five days the barber and the midwife alone again shave the child. And with that it is finished.

The midwife receives the following: For a boy, a cloth of three cubits, one mūrī of paddy (1 maund), and one wristlet for cutting the cord. For a girl, a cloth of three cubits, a biṣa of paddy (half the above), and a wristlet for cutting the cord.

So ends our authority. There are several points in this account which call for some comment. To begin with the last statement; the remuneration of the midwives in ancient times seems to have been on a rather lavish scale. Nothing like that amount of paddy would be given nowadays even by well-to-do Santals, who are few and far between. In this southern area of the Bankura district, however, it is still true that the commonly accepted amount of paddy is for a girl only half what it is for a boy. The first sentence in the account indicates that Santal society is patrilinear.

The village is regarded as unclean. At this point it is convenient to mention that the day on which the 'chaṭiār' is performed is by no means as rigid as the account suggests. Thus, the fact that no sacrifices can take place in the village until after the pollution has been removed means that rather than abandon a festival owing to the inopportune arrival of an infant the ceremony may be advanced so as to take place even on the very day of the birth. Another reason why the time may be altered, advanced or even delayed, is owing to pressure of work during the cultivation season. The ceremony will not, however, be performed on an even number of days after the birth. But ordinarily speaking the times are still observed on the days stated; one reason for this, not mentioned in the account, is the fact that rice beer must be brewed to be served to the guests when the naming is over, and it takes three days to brew good beer. 'Haṇḍi' is regarded as a *sine qua non*—as the Santals themselves put it, 'Bukare haṇḍi, jaṇre haṇḍi', 'Rice beer at the time of birth (lit. the umbilical cord) and at the time of funerals (lit. the bone, a reference to burial customs)'. If a family is in a position to do so, they generally also provide a feast for their relations and friends on the occasion. The ceremony is not often delayed beyond the seventh or the ninth day after the birth of the child. In some parts of the area best known to me at least, the Santals distinguish between the two aspects of purification from uncleanness and the admission of the child into society to the extent of having two separate ceremonies; thus the fifth day may be observed as 'um hiloḱ', the day of bathing, and the child be named on the seventh day, the latter



being called the 'chaṭiār', and being the more important socially in that more of the villagers attend. The community consciousness of the Santals has to this extent weakened that it is now the exception rather than the rule for the whole village to turn up on these occasions; the numbers who do will depend to a great extent on the position the parents occupy in the esteem of the community. Another indication of the separation of function in their minds is shown in the words of an old Santal who said, 'On the day of the birth we begin to brew two pots of "haṇḍi"—one being "chut haṇḍi" (pollution-removing) and the other being "chaṭiār haṇḍi" (naming)'.

An interesting corollary to the state of pollution of the house is that if any one should be wearing a charm against illness, he will remove it before going to the house for any reason, lest it lose its power. There is no rule about confining the mother to the house after the birth for a specified time; in fact there are well-authenticated cases, for example, of a woman going to a nearby jungle to gather wood and leaves on the afternoon of the day in which her child was born, and of working in the courtyard the same day. The father, as we have seen, goes into the house almost immediately after the birth. The arrow with which the cord was cut is left standing upright through the strings of the bed on which the infant spends the day, until the time of the 'chaṭiār'. The barber who is 'engaged' is never of a barber caste, in fact such a one would not cut a Santal's hair, but he is always a Santal, generally of the village, though he may be a stranger, and in any case he must belong to a different sept from that of the father. As it is quite possible that all of the village officials will not be present at the 'shaving', it follows that the order in the account is not rigidly adhered to, but in any case the father is still shaved last of the men, and following him the child. The men's faces are shaved, and their hair may be cut; in the case of the child five locks are cut from the head. Two at the front, one to each side of the head, and one from the middle of the back of the head. The hair of the child is still disposed of as stated in the account. (At some time later in life, it is common for cut hairs to be thrown away at the foot of a clump of bamboo, with the idea that this will cause the hair to grow well, something greatly to be desired in the case of girls.) No special notice is taken of the nails. The sipping of the cowdung meal, and the sprinkling of the meal prepared from rice and water appear to be still carried out in much the same way; though here again there is slackness about times and seasons. The rice meal may be sprinkled on anyone who goes along to the house after the birth has taken place. Similar latitude is observed about the drinking of the brew of nim leaves, which is prepared in the following way: the leaves are roasted and then powdered, then mixed with hot rice-water, i.e. water in which rice has been boiled. It is

served on the day of the birth nowadays in these parts to all members of the household, and to any other women and children who go to the house. Men fight shy of it, and one said to me that it is drunk as a sign of sympathy for the mother, it being a very bitter drink! The mother continues to drink some of it for several days after the birth of the child, and it is supposed to increase the flow of her milk. The reference to the second shaving five days later, when the barber and the midwife return to the house, I have not been able to confirm. It is unknown here. The midwife may indeed stay on for a few days, if the mother is weak, for the purpose of 'sekao', and for this service she is paid extra, and given her food.

One ceremony which commonly takes place on the day of birth has not been alluded to in the account. It may be a recent and a local borrowing. It goes by the name of 'meŋ halañ', which may be translated as 'raising the eyes'. The mother and the midwife sit opposite to each other on the floor. The mother fills a leaf-cup with 'paŋa' (distilled liquor, which unlike rice beer can be stocked for the occasion), and passes it over to the midwife, who takes it in her hands, and throws it away to the left; this is repeated three times.

There are several interesting points to be noted in connexion with naming. It is quite common for the father and mother of the child to talk between themselves before the birth of the child and decide what name they would like to give, but this they will not reveal to anyone else. At the 'chaŋiŋ' one of the assembled company may ask, 'Of what country is he (or she)?' To which question the correct answer is to name the village of the paternal grandparents if the child is going to be named after them, or of the maternal grandparents as the case may be. An exception to the ordinary rule may be made in the case of a child who cries a lot, a fact that shows it is not happy about its own name. These words were once used by a Santal explaining the matter to me, 'Sometimes amongst us children will sleep soundly from the very time that they are born, and sometimes they cry like crows and kites! In that case we get hold of an "ojha" (the word is used loosely here for anyone who knows the method of divination by leaves and oil), to tell us the reason, and say to him, "See what this child is up to—why does he cry?" The "ojha" having asked for oil, reads the signs and will then announce, "Such and such a dead relation is claiming that the child be named after him". This generally happens when we want to name the child after someone on the mother's side; the dead ancestors on the father's side try to prevent this'. The Santal who told me this was actually talking about the birth of twins at that time. He continued, 'To-day the babies didn't cry at all for they were to have "boŋga" names'. There are some confused legends used to explain the current practice about the naming of twins. According to one account, Marañ

Buru (lit. the great spirit—but not a name for the supreme being; one might call him the patron spirit of the Santal tribe) had twelve sisters who were twins. I have also heard it said that the children of Cando were twins. Cando is the name most commonly used now for the supreme spirit; which does not prevent a vague identifying with the sun, and the ascription of children, as in the Santal legend of the sun and the moon. Anyway twins are named after these mythical beings. Names given to girl twins are Cita and Kapur, Dargi and Porgi, Hisi and Dumni; boy twins are named Ram and Lokhon, Loba and Kisur, Cand and Bhaira, Sidho and Kanhu. I have never succeeded in discovering what names are used when a boy and girl are twins. Several whom I have talked with about it have stated categorically that such a thing never happens, and unfortunately I have never myself heard of a case among Santals; it may be that the reluctance to acknowledge the possibility—or reluctance to give information on the subject—is connected with the superstition which regards this as a kind of incest, but the explanation may lie in the simple fact that I have been unlucky.

No Santal escapes with but one name. The name which is attached to him at the time of the 'chaṭiār' is known as his 'bhitri nūtum', or private name. This is given more or less according to the rules of precedence given in Kolean's account, and it makes no difference whether the relation after whom the child will be named is alive or dead. In addition to the private name the child receives at least one 'cetan nūtum' or 'bahna nūtum', a nickname. One reason why this is necessary is the fact that there are certain relations who will never be able to use his 'private name', owing to the relationship in which they stand to the original owner of the name and by which they are precluded from pronouncing the name. It is in fact general, if, for example, a child has been named after his grandfather, who is alive, he will never be called by the grandfather's name until after his death. Nicknames multiply as the child grows, and change too. He often receives them from relations who are in the 'joking relation' with him, and they have no more significance than as playful terms of affection. Hindu names used nowadays by many educated Santals and by Santal boys studying in schools are often assumed by themselves, and perhaps bear some resemblance to their own 'bhitri nūtum'; thus Podō has become Padma Lochan, and Kala has become Kalachand. Many of these names are, however, now becoming naturalized. The following names have all been applied to a friend of mine at one time or another. At his 'chaṭiār' he was given the name Siṅgrai, after the elder brother of his paternal grandfather; from the same time he was also known as Jhōngol, this being the 'bahna nūtum' of the same person. After a very short time apparently he became generally known as Theṇṭa, signifying a bundle of mischief. Later on he was known as Sorkar for short,

Daṅgra Sorkar in full. Behind this lay another joke. Sorkar is a name given to people who get some education. Most of that class also give up the eating of beef, but this particular Sorkar was a beef-eater, or so said his friends to tease him !

Kolean has some words about illegitimate children, describing the steps taken to provide them with fathers, but the subject has little more than academic or rather legal interest. Illegitimate children are extremely rare. For one thing abortion is quite often practised; and if the expectant mother allows the child to survive at all then it is usually because she is almost certain that she will be able to compel the father to marry her. There is not often any reluctance to do this. I have heard a story of an illegitimate child about whose paternity there was considerable doubt. All the young men of the village were assembled and the child was set in the midst and told to go to his father, which he did, and they all, one imagines, lived happily ever after. But this remnant of a myth is laughed at by the sceptical, and recognized for what it is, a piece of improving fiction. There is not often much difficulty in getting the partner to 'confess'; and in any event, there are not many secrets kept for long in the typical small hamlet in which the Santals live.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

### THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GUJERAT. By H. D. SANKALIA.

It was with a desire to learn rather than to criticize, that I opened Mr. Sankalia's book on Gujerat, as there are but few of us who are in the position to instruct a specialist in his own subject, and this desire has in a very large measure been fulfilled. The writing is clear and succinct, the arrangement of the material is excellent, and the work in general is laudably free from the prolix and repetitive manner which so frequently mars a doctorate thesis. I must however confess to one definite disappointment. On the first page of his Introduction he says—'The aim of the present writer, therefore, was to study the entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujerat and Kathiawar', I was therefore surprised to find that the sole reference to the prehistoric period was on the fourth page of the same Introduction, where brief mention is made of the work of Bruce Foote, Sarup Vats, G. S. Ghurye and Hiranand Sastri. It is a great pity that such evidence as had been collected by Bruce Foote, of very interesting microlithic sites all over Gujerat and Kathiawar, was not summarized, and a great opportunity for original study, which was afforded by the problem of linking the stone cultures of Gujerat with those of Sind, was not pursued. The Island of Cutch also produces an individual microlithic culture of great interest, which is represented by specimens in the British Museum.

It is a pity also that the work on the extension of the Indus Valley Cultures into Gujerat is not touched on in greater detail. Such an extension is I believe proved, though I have not seen the material, and past experience in this matter has confirmed me in the opinion that, as regards extensions of the Indus Valley Cultures, seeing is believing. I think that it is unlikely that these cultures spread south of the Narbada along the coast; they certainly did not do so inland, the gorges and forests of the Satpuras and the Mahadeo Hills proved an effective barrier for centuries if not for millenia. A point of great interest however is that the Sabarmati River is the source of the uncommon stone amazonite found in jewellery at Mohenjo-daro. As was pointed out by the reviewer in 'Man', 1935, 49 and 1936, 140 and in 'Iraq', Vol. VII, Pt. I, 1940, this green felspar amazonite was found by Bruce Foote near the village of Derol, just north of Ahmedabad, on the Hirapur plateau on the right bank of the Sabarmati. It was from here, not from the Nilgiris as is insisted by some authors, that the people of the Indus Valley got their amazonite, the reason for this being not merely its greater

proximity, but the total absence of this stone in the Nilgiris, which has been attested by the Geological Survey of India.

Mr. Sankalia begins his brief history with the Mauryas, whose influence is proved by the Asokan rock edicts of Junagarh and other less direct but probably reliable evidence. He then feels, in common with most other writers, that the Sungas and Andhras should be mentioned, though he quite rightly does not in any way stretch the evidence to show that they played any real part in the history of Gujarat. He uses his sources well, particularly Tarn, in dealing with the difficult Greek and Saka periods. To what extent the Andhras under Satakarni Gotamiputra occupied Gujarat and Kathiawar, after their clash with the Kshaharatas attested by the Nasik cave inscription, is difficult to say, but archaeological evidence for such occupation appears to be non-existent. It is more likely that Gujarat remained in Saka hands; the incursion of Satakarni Gotamiputra being little more than a successful raid, the Sakas speedily establishing themselves. On page 187, it is stated that—'The symbols—caitya, etc.—reveal the early Andhra contact'. The reasoning is not self-evident; these symbols are common on Taxilan coins, accompanied by Kharoshti inscriptions, and are common in any area in which the punch-marked coins almost certainly remained current, and do not indicate any specific cultural contacts.

Once we get to the Guptas, Mr. Sankalia is on firm ground and handles his materials with a sure touch and unfolds the history of Gujarat with clearness and authority. The Gurjjaras, from whom the area has been named, are extremely interesting, but whatever their origin may have been, they were wholly Indian in culture and religion at the time they enter the history of Gujarat.

Having summarized the history of the area the author goes on to deal with the actual archaeological material, the sculpture and the architecture, which unfortunately appears to be the sole archaeological material recorded in many areas in India. Dependent on these are the chapters on Iconography, Cults and Religion. The difficult archaeological problem of the Gop temple has been well reasoned, and the rejection of the Kashmiri influence appears to be on firm grounds, and the date of 5th century A.D. can be regarded as having sound arguments in its favour. The two outstanding temples appear to be the Nilakantha Mahadeva temple at Sunak, late 10th or early 11th century, and the Surya temple at Modhera, middle 11th century. These temples also contain what appear to be the best of the sculptures, but even so they are of indifferent quality. They do not compare with the contemporary Candella sculptures at Khajuraho, let alone with the classical sculptures of Ellora and Elephanta. The Vimala and Tejahpala temples at Abu, which the reviewer has seen, are marvels of intricate carving in marble,

but they contain no great sculpture. Tejahpala and his two wives (fig. 77) are deplorable, in fact there is little of Jain sculpture that is of any merit; the Ambika statue in the Jagannath Sabha at Elura is most attractive and far above the level of normal Jain sculpture, and the huge statue of Gomateshvara at Belgola has a certain grandeur because of its size, but the Jain sculptures as a whole can best be summarized by the words of Mr. Roger Fry who says on page 163 of 'Last Lectures'—'Perhaps it is as well to see for once from this Jain image how bad Indian religious art can be. The Jains I believe cultivate nudity, but it would appear that they get very little good by taking off their clothes as far as any appreciation of the plastic possibilities of the figure are concerned'.

One feels that more might have been made about certain other archaeological features, Barygaza only receives passing mention once, and nothing is said about Gujerat as the most important source of agate and carnelian during the period of the Roman Empire. Mention might also have been made of the Cambay bead trade and more detailed reference to Warmington's 'Commerce between the Roman Empire and India' and Arkell's Cambay and the Bead Trade, *Antiquity*, Sept., 1936, would have produced some interesting facts concerning the economics and daily life of the region, which have been rather neglected.

The Epigraphy and its dependent chapters, Administration and Society, are very well handled and indicate an immense amount of painstaking study. The appendices also should be of the greatest possible value in lightening and enlightening the labours of future students.

A few words may in conclusion be said about the book itself as such. The printing and general layout is excellent. The author has arranged his material most clearly, and the printer has not failed him in any way, would that one could say the same of the plates. Whoever conceived the idea of printing them in sepia instead of black and white has little knowledge of the prime factor of archaeological illustration, which is clarity. In most places the plates are so obscure that it is quite impossible to get a clear idea of the sculptural details, even when these are shown sufficiently large. One can only sympathize with the feelings of the author when he first saw the reproductions. Insult is, I feel, added to injury when the frontispiece, which in a way should set the standard for the whole book, is inserted upside down. The plans of temple architecture are of great value, but again the author is let down by the section of the Vav, or step-well at Vayad being printed upside down on Pl. III, a most puzzling thing even for one who, like the reviewer, is familiar with step-wells.

The author is to be congratulated on his distribution maps, which are invaluable for getting a clear picture of the material



which is being discussed, more topographical detail might, one feels, have been included without in any way obscuring the clarity of the information which the maps mean to convey. The Purna River moreover which is mentioned a number of times in the text is not to be found in any of the maps.

Speculation, one is glad to see, forms no part of Mr. Sankalia's exposition. He deals, very rightly, with facts and the reasonable interpretation to put on them. Such signs and wonders as the Prabhas Patan plate on which Mr. Pran Nath deciphered an inscription referring to Nebucadnezzar are mercifully absent. In fact, Mr. Sankalia is to be congratulated on a sound and scholarly piece of work, which we would like to see emulated to produce a series of similar regional archaeologies.

D. H. GORDON.

## Studies in Burushaski Dialectology.

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji.)

In his stimulating article on 'A Burushaski Text from Hunza' (BSOS, Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 505-31), Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer observes that the question whether the dialects spoken in Hunza and Nagar can be justly called separate dialects is one 'that requires further investigation' (p. 509).

This 'further investigation' was undertaken by the present writer. The results of his investigations, detailed in this paper, are as follows :—

- (1) The dialects of Hunza and Nagar are not separate, but closely allied.
- (2) The differences between them, however, are not 'superficial', but are historically important.
- (3) Phonologically and grammatically, the Nagari dialect preserves forms which are the relics of an older dialect, but in vocabulary, this dialect shows close contact with Shina, the vocabulary of Hunza showing fewer traces of Indo-European borrowings.
- (4) In order to reconstruct a comparatively primitive *gemein-Burushaski*, we therefore require the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagari, and the vocabulary of Hunza.

We shall now describe the distinctive features of Nagari and Hunza in Phonetics, Grammar and Vocabulary.

The following abbreviations may be noted :—Hu. = Hunza, N. = Nagari, Sh. = Shina, n. = neuter gender, aa. = active-animate gender.

### I. PHONETICS.

The symbols of the *International Phonetic Association* have been used throughout the treatise. Of these symbols, the following may be particularly noted :—

- ɐ sounds like e in English 'bed', but is closer.
- ɛ sounds somewhat like French ε, but not so close.

The high-falling tone as in i 'he himself' and the low-rising tone as in ji 'his son' are marked as usual.



preserved the relics of older forms. Cf. the following forms of the verb *ętes* 'to do' in the Present Indefinite tense :—

|             | <i>N.</i>  | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-------------|------------|------------|
| 'I do'      | je 'ęcaba  | je 'ęcaba  |
| 'thou dost' | um 'ęcuba  | uŋ ę'ca    |
| 'he does'   | me 'ęcubei | 'me ęc'ai  |
| 'we do'     | mi 'ęcaban | mi 'ęcaban |
| 'you do'    | ma 'ęcuban | ma ę'can   |
| 'they do'   | u 'ęcuban  | u ę'can    |

Cf. also Past Continuous :—

|                         | <i>N.</i>    | <i>Hu.</i>   |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 'I had been doing'      | ja 'ęcabajem | ja 'ęcabajem |
| 'thou hadst been doing' | 'ume 'ęcubam | 'uŋe ę'cam   |
| 'he had been doing'     | 'me 'ęcubam  | 'me ę'cam    |
| 'we had been doing'     | mi 'ęcabam   | mi 'ęcabam   |
| 'you had been doing'    | ma 'ęcubam   | ma ę'cam     |
| 'they had been doing'   | u 'ęcubam    | u ę'cam      |

This syncope in Hunza gives a diversity of meaning with diversity of stress-accent. Cf.

|                     | <i>Hu.</i> | <i>N.</i>    |
|---------------------|------------|--------------|
| 'I shall do'        | ęcem       | ęcem         |
| 'he had been doing' | ę'cam      | ęcubam       |
| 'I brought'         | dıcem      | dıcem        |
| 'he had brought'    | dı'cam     | dıcubam      |
| 'I did'             | ętəm       | ętəm         |
| 'he had done'       | ę'tam      | ętubam       |
| 'I cooked'          | dęccırem   | dęccıhırem   |
| 'he had cooked'     | dęccı'rām  | dęccıhırubam |

There is a similar syncope in the Neuter Pres. Indef. tense :—

|            | <i>N.</i>  | <i>Hu.</i> |
|------------|------------|------------|
| 'it comes' | 'juçıbr'la | 'juçıla    |

Compare the following examples of syncope :—

| <i>N.</i> |                          | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------|
| gauhar'a  | 'a cradle'               | gaJura     |
| 'ulum ha  | 'inner apartment'        | 'ula       |
| dusù      | 'bring'                  | sù         |
| kıŋkiki   | 'name of a bird of prey' | kiki       |

|         |              |          |
|---------|--------------|----------|
| teiler  | 'thither'    | tejlər   |
| 'teilum | 'from there' | tejlum   |
| tarqei  | 'a wave'     | tareqej  |
| gruskus | 'widow'      | g'e.skus |
| aujer   | 'my husband' | ojjer    |
| 'aulji  | 'my dream'   | olji     |

| <i>N.</i> |                        | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| 'aulus    | 'my (woman's) brother' | ojlus      |
| 'aumus    | 'tears' (from eyes)    | ojmus      |
| 'aumus    | 'tongue'               | ojmus      |
| 'auri     | 'nail' (of finger)     | ojri       |
| aus       | 'my wife'              | ojs        |
| 'auṭis    | 'my foot'              | ojtis      |
| 'aujo     | 'guest'                | ojjo       |
| daujn     | 'scarf'                | dojn       |
| gaujn     | 'melon'                | gojn       |
| thaujn    | 'fresh coriander'      | thojn      |
| gaujjes   | 'to pick up'           | gojjes     |
| jauj      | 'give to me'           | joj        |

Some of the examples of this Hu. monophthongization in Negation have been already given. Cf.

| <i>N.</i> |                | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|----------------|------------|
| ausen     | 'do not speak' | ojsen      |
| 'auṣiḥaba | 'I do not eat' | ojṣiḥaba   |

Absence of nasality in some of the Hunza words is another distinctive feature of the dialect. Whether it is a case of denasalization in Hu., it is difficult to say. Cf.

| <i>N.</i> |           | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| hēṣ       | 'a sigh'  | hiṣ        |
| mājṣ      | 'massage' | majṣ       |
| ph`ūṣo    | 'hollow'  | phuṣ       |

A number of words in N. has a final -u where Hu. has O. Cf.

| <i>N.</i> |                      | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|------------|
| 'aḥu      | 'my brother'         | 'Aḥo       |
| 'hīpultu  | 'day after tomorrow' | 'hīpulto   |
| 'hunzu    | 'Hunza'              | 'hunzo     |
| khūltu    | 'to-day'             | khūlto     |
| mujtu     | 'now'                | mujto      |
| 'ṣukru    | 'Friday'             | 'ṣukro     |
| -ulu      | 'in'                 | -ulo       |
| 'diḥu     | 'bring'              | 'diḥo      |
| 'eṣu      | 'tell'               | 'eṣo       |

This tendency to final -u in N. finds a parallel in Shina. Cf.

|     |      |                  |        |       |
|-----|------|------------------|--------|-------|
| Sh. | matü | 'brain'          | N. Hu. | 'mato |
|     | ḍulu | 'string'         |        |       |
|     | danu | 'bow for arrows' |        |       |

In many instances, especially in unstressed position, N. has the vowel *ə* where Hu. shows *u*. Even this variation may be a historical weakening in the case of Hu. *u*. Cf.

| N.        |                                                         | Hu.      |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| dəgoi     | 'noon'                                                  | dugui    |
| dərò      | 'work'                                                  | durò     |
| mə'nott   | 'a child insured against<br>a fall by animal sacrifice' | } mənutt |
| gos'ki    | 'freshly kneaded dough'                                 |          |
| 'lotə'tas | 'to frown'                                              | 'lus'tas |
| ʃən       | 'blind'                                                 | ʃun      |

(In N. ʃun means 'vine')

The following vowel-correspondences, not yet confirmed by a sufficient number of examples to show any tendencies in the dialects, may be of value for future research :—

| N.                   |                                              | Hu.        |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| jə'ɪ                 | 'flour-mill'                                 | ja'ɪ       |
| 'zəiɛkɑ              | 'to walk well'                               | zɑiɛkɑ     |
| gu'ɕharəs            |                                              | gu'ɕharəs  |
|                      |                                              | 'to strut' |
| ma'ʃut               | 'mosque'                                     | ma'ʃɪt     |
| gu'rəs               | 'dung'                                       | gu'rəs     |
| (r'qhətt) 'tʰaɕə'tas | 'to smack the lips' (at<br>a pleasant taste) | 'tʰaɕə'tas |
| dojnəs               | 'to catch'                                   | dujnəs     |
| 'gari                | 'eyeball'                                    | ge'ri      |
| əŋ'ɛ                 | 'beard'                                      | əŋi        |
| bə'urum              | 'how much'                                   | b'ɛrum     |
| ca'qariʃo            | 'pus from the eyes'                          | ciqqrɪt    |

### Consonants.

For a medial aspirated plosive in N., Hu. has generally a non-aspirated plosive, and in the light of the above-mentioned facts, it may be probably a case of deaspiration, and therefore a later stage, in the case of Hunza plosives. Cf.

|               | N.               |                                              | Hu.          |
|---------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------|
|               | 'althar          | 'twenty'                                     | 'altar       |
|               | 'baḡhin          | 'leg'                                        | 'baḡin       |
|               | 'əphaṭ           | 'side'                                       | 'əpaṭ        |
|               | k h ə 'k h Δ c i | 'to stutter'                                 | g ə 'k Δ c i |
|               | imənas           |                                              | imənas       |
|               | jaṭṭhəl          | 'deer'                                       | jaṭṭəl       |
|               | 'lotṭhur         | 'ball'                                       | 'lotṭur      |
|               | məph'ər          | 'old person'                                 | məp'ər       |
|               | 'dēḡenas         | 'to require'                                 | 'dēḡenas     |
|               | dēḡəhrəs         | 'to cook'                                    | dēḡərrəs     |
|               | dēḡhiəs          | 'to press, to be<br>sullen'                  | dēḡiəs       |
|               | 'dēḡqhulənas     | 'to knead'                                   | 'dēḡqulənas  |
|               | d'ε.mathəlas     | 'to yawn'                                    | d'ε.matəlas  |
|               | 'dīḡəhiḡinas     | 'to hang'                                    | 'dīḡəḡinas   |
|               | dīkhəṭas         | 'to be entangled'                            | dīkəṭas      |
|               | 'dīnḡiras        | 'to spread' (as a<br>carpet)                 | 'dīnḡiras    |
|               | 'dīphirḡəs       | 'to be uprooted'                             | 'dīpirḡəs    |
|               | 'dīrthəlas       | 'to wake'                                    | dīrəlas      |
|               | du'kukkuṭas      | 'to become lean'                             | du'kukkuṭas  |
|               | 'ēlthələnas      | 'to turn the side of<br>bread' (in baking)   | 'ēltələnas   |
|               | ē'pphilənas      | 'to flatter'                                 | ē'ppilənas   |
|               | 'ēchiəs          | 'to press'                                   | 'ēciəs       |
|               | ēsthəjas         | 'to extinguish'                              | 'ēstəjas     |
|               | `ε.thiras        | 'to show'                                    | `ε.liras     |
|               | ijlīkhinas       | 'to beseech'                                 | ijlīkinas    |
| (gapc)        | khukhōrəs        | 'to plane, prepare'<br>(as an axle of wheel) | kukhōrəs     |
|               | `ε.guḡharəs      | 'to make one go'                             | `ε.gu'ḡarəs  |
|               | ḡs'ε.phənas      | 'to irritate'                                | ḡs'ε.penas   |
|               | `ε.ḡhumi         | 'sent'                                       | `ε.ḡumi      |
|               | `ε.ikhinas       | 'to teach'                                   | `ε.ikinas    |
| (Negation)    | 'auma'khareniḡ   | 'do not delay'                               | ə'makəḡeniḡ  |
| (conj. part.) | 'nīchi           | 'having given'                               | 'nīcin       |
| (conj. part.) | nu'kuḡəhər       | 'having gone'                                | nu'kuḡər     |

In the beginning of words, however, Hunza seems to have a greater tendency for aspirated consonants in loan-words. Cf.



| <i>Hu.</i> |             | <i>N.</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------|
| 'phəɽɖa    | 'created'   | 'pəɽɖa    |
| 'phulɩs    | 'policeman' | 'pulɩs    |
| khòt       | 'coat'      | kòt       |

The reverse phenomenon may be noticed in the following words. It is not known whether these words are loans. Cf.

| <i>Hu.</i>  |                        | <i>N.</i>   |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| qa'tɛɲɛ     | 'sword'                | qhateɲɛ     |
| ta'riŋ      | 'vessel to churn milk' | tha'riŋ     |
| ɬakojmən'as | 'lean against or upon' | ɬakojmən'as |

Perhaps the above differences are only local—a matter for future investigation.

Immediately after the *negative* prefix, the voiced consonant in *Hu.* is invariably devocalized, in *N.* it remains intact. Cf.

| <i>N.</i>  |                       | <i>Hu.</i> |
|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| auɟù       | 'do not come'         | ʌçù        |
| 'ʌubɛɭ     | 'do not wear'         | ʌ'pɛɭ      |
| 'ʌudimi    | 'he did not come'     | ətimi      |
| 'ʌudukòma  | 'thou didst not come' | ɔ'tukkuma  |
| 'ʌudukògəs | 'do not laugh'        | ɔ'tugugəs  |
| 'ʌugarɪbi  | 'does not ring'       | ʌ'qarɪbi   |
| 'ʌugasɪʂən | 'they may not laugh'  | ʌ'qasɪʂən  |

The above variations in negation are historically important taking us to the apparently earlier forms in *N.*

There occurs in *N.* a curious divergence from *Hu.* It consists in the absence of an intervocalic *ŋ*, which *Hunza* has. But in the case of *N.*, it may or may not be a reverse case of syncope. It may indicate the greater aversion of *Hu.* to pure nasalization. Cf.

| <i>N.</i>             |                     | <i>Hu.</i>            |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| jɛ'ɪmuɕ<br>(sg. jɛ'ɪ) | 'flour-mills'       | ja'ɪŋuɕ<br>(sg. jaɪŋ) |
| hiɪɪ                  | 'doors'             | hiŋɔ'ɪ                |
| khɪɪɪ                 | 'sides of the face' | khɪŋɔɪn               |
| ru'ʌnɕ                | 'pasture-lands'     | ru'ŋʌnɕ               |
| guʃɪʌnɕ               | 'women'             | guʃɪŋʌnɕ              |
| tɪ'ʌjo                | 'eggs'              | tɪŋɔ'io               |

The following variations among the final nasals may be noted :—

| <i>N.</i> |            | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| um        | 'thou'     | un or uŋ   |
| ɖuɣm      | 'a little' | ɖuɣŋ       |
| but phin  | 'foam'     | phim       |

In the following words an initial *g* in *N.* corresponds to *k* in *Hu.*, while a medial *g* corresponds to *q* :—

| <i>N.</i>                |                                            | <i>Hu.</i>     |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------|
| garùJo                   | 'the bird called "Moa" in English'         | karùJo         |
| gu'tul                   | 'a large wooden basket plastered with mud' | ku'tul         |
| but ga'teɲɕ <sup>1</sup> | 'sword'                                    | qa'teɲɕ        |
| or qh'a'teɲɕ             |                                            |                |
| 'diɕɕiqinas              | 'to hang'                                  | 'diɕɕiqinas    |
| s'a-ichôgoriŋ            | 'twilight'                                 | s'a-r'chaqariŋ |
| 'ɕogun                   | 'younger'                                  | 'ɕuqun         |
| 'augasısən <sup>2</sup>  | 'they may not laugh'                       | ʌ'qasısən      |
| 'augaribi                | 'does not ring'                            | ʌ'qaribi       |

In the following examples, a final *ɕ* in *N.* corresponds to *a* in *H.*, while a medial *ɕ* corresponds to *t* :—

| <i>N.</i>  |                  | <i>Hu.</i> |
|------------|------------------|------------|
| 'garkas    | 'lizard'         | 'garkas    |
| bəlas      | 'bird'           | bəlas      |
| but ʌl'tas | 'two' (aa.)      | ʌlta       |
| 'dɕɕəlas   | 'to awaken'      | 'dɕɕəlas   |
| gɣsɕa      | 'leavened bread' | gɣsta      |
| dɕɕəlas    | 'to support'     | 'dɕɕəlas   |

The following variations cannot, for the present, establish any general result. They may be mere local variations. But the collection of the material may be of ultimate bearing on dialectical geography.

<sup>1</sup> This word has many pronunciations. It may be a loan-word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 140.

| <i>N.</i> |            | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| 'gurgus   | ' breeze ' | 'gurkus    |
| kr'tap    | ' book '   | gr'tap     |
| qha'qhas  | ' paper '  | ga'kas     |
| kog'as    | ' cotton ' | gu'pas     |

We have *N.* l = *Hu.* r in

| <i>N.</i>       |                           | <i>Hu.</i>  |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| ʃal             | ' a pit '                 | sar         |
| daŋ ləθas       | ' female goblin '         | daŋ rəθas   |
| br'лаго         | ' colt '                  | br'rago     |
| but tur biʃʌjes | ' to break into a house ' | tul biʃʌjes |

In the following two examples l is lost before a plosive in *N.* :—

| <i>N.</i> |              | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|--------------|------------|
| ʼε.thiras | ' to show '  | ʼε.ltiras  |
| dəʃaba    | ' I strike ' | dəʃaba     |

*N.* ʃ corresponds to *Hu.* s in the following :—

| <i>N.</i> |           | <i>Hu.</i>                 |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| ʼaʃkil    | ' face '  | ʼaskil                     |
| məʃ       | ' flood ' | məs                        |
| bəʃən     | ' what '  | ʼbəʃrkrən ' of what kind ' |

*N.* m corresponds to *Hu.* b in the following :—

| <i>N.</i>                                                       |                                     | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| mʼan ɸ'tas                                                      | ' to kiss '                         | bʼan ɸ'tas |
| maʃkeij                                                         | ' name of a grass fatal to cattle ' | baskuj     |
| 'minis                                                          | ' ball of dough '                   | 'bonis     |
| 'nimate                                                         | ' on reaching '                     | 'nibatε    |
| m = p in miʃqʼε.təs ' to make a "puj puj" sound with the lips ' |                                     | piʃqʼε.təs |

Most doubtful is the value of the following consonantal alternations, which I have noticed either in isolated instances or in conflicting forms :—

| <i>N.</i> |             | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|-------------|------------|
| bʼarjako  | ' red ' pl. | bʼarcuko   |
| ɸki       | ' a nit '   | ɸiki       |

| <i>N.</i>    |                                                      | <i>Hu.</i>                                         |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| p'kan        | 'latchets of the rough shoe<br>called t'əʊʂ'         | qɪ'kan                                             |
| muʈ          | 'fist'                                               | muç                                                |
| 'dapa        | 'bundle'                                             | 'japa                                              |
| jad'jare'tas | 'to worry'                                           | jar'jare'tas                                       |
| d'ɛ.səɭas    | 'to vilify'                                          | d'ɛ.ʂəɭas                                          |
| cu'kaŋ       | 'lavatory'                                           | ju'kaŋ                                             |
| 'papeɭas     | 'to seethe or boil'                                  | bapeɭas 'to be<br>invisible'                       |
| phaltòç      | 'strip of cloth to wrap round<br>the legs in winter' | 'phaʈi (perhaps a<br>loan-word from<br>Indo-Aryan) |
| thərk        | 'dirt'                                               | thər                                               |
| brɪ̀         | 'rice'                                               | bras                                               |
| Sh. brɪ̀     |                                                      |                                                    |
| də'tagar     | 'fever'                                              | tə'tagar                                           |
| dɪʈa         | 'is'                                                 | bɪʈa                                               |

## II. GRAMMAR.

### *Nominal declension.*

While conjugation in Burushaski Grammar is very complicated, nominal declension is very simple. Cases are generally formed by the addition of post-positions.

The only cases which are declined are the genitive and the agent cases, both of which end in *ɛ*. A sentence like

batʃa wəzɪr `ɛ.rimi

'The king sent the Wazir' reminds one of the simplicity of English Grammar.<sup>1</sup>

Nominal declension does not present any striking variations between the two dialects. In plural formation the differences noted are only phonetic. Cf.

| <i>N.</i>                                        |             | <i>Hu.</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Sg. gus, pl. guʃɪaŋɛ <sup>2</sup>                | 'women'     | guʃɪaŋɛ    |
| Sg. əʊʂ, pl. mɪʊʂm'daro <sup>3</sup><br>(Hu. oʂ) | 'our wives' | mɪʃɪn'daro |
| Sg. ij, pl. r'jua                                | 'sons'      | ju         |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on Burushaski Texts in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 140.

*Pronouns.*

In the forms of the pronouns there is considerable phonetic diversity. Cf.

| <i>N.</i>       |                              | <i>Hu.</i>     |
|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| um              |                              | un, uŋ         |
| 'khute, n.      | 'this' (near)                | 'gute, n.      |
| 'khuke, n. pl.  | 'these' (near)               | 'guke, n. pl.  |
| 'khuse, aa.     | 'this' (near)                | 'guse, n.      |
| 'khuse, aa. pl. | 'these' (near)               | 'guse, aa. pl. |
| 'ete, n.        | 'that' or 'this' (distant)   | 'ite, n.       |
| 'eke, n. pl.    | 'those' or 'these' (distant) | 'ike, n. pl.   |
| 'ese, aa.       | 'that' or 'this' (distant)   | 'ise, aa.      |
| 'ese, aa. pl.   | 'those' or 'these' (distant) | 'ise, aa.      |

*Verb.*

In the verb, the verb substantive (with its forms as auxiliary), negation, and the conjunctive participle present notable variations.

In the verb substantive diversity exists in the forms of the n. sg. and aa. pl. Cf.

| <i>N.</i>         |                | <i>Hu.</i>      |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| di'la             | 'is'           | br'la           |
| di'lum            | 'was'          | br'lum          |
| bi'o, aa. pl.     | 'are'          | br'en } aa. pl. |
|                   |                | or biε }        |
| bium, aa. pl.     | 'were'         | bim             |
| uma'imio, aa. pl. | 'they will be' | uma'imien }     |
|                   |                | or uma'imie }   |

The combination of the verb substantive as auxiliary with other verbs (so as to form the various tenses) leads to contractions in Hunza, which have been already described above (p. 135). Cf.

| <i>N.</i> |                     | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|---------------------|------------|
| 'ecuba    | 'thou dost'         | e'ca       |
| 'etubam   | 'he had done'       | e'tam      |
| 'ecubam   | 'he had been doing' | e'cam      |

*Negation.*

The Phonetic peculiarities of negation in Hunza have been already given above (pp. 139, 140). The variety of initials in

Hunza negation, closely related as they are with pronominal prefixes, offers an interesting field for investigation into the original and intermediate forms of these prefixes. The following table shows the various forms of initials in negation :—

|                         | N.     | Hu.                                                                       |
|-------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Object as 1st pers. sg. | Λuə—   | Δjə— < * Λ+u+ə<br>u dropped, j as glide                                   |
| „ „ „ „ pl.             | 'Λumi— | 'Λmi— < * Λ+u+mi                                                          |
| „ „ 2nd „ „ sg.         | 'Λugu— | 'Λku— < * Λ+u+gu                                                          |
| „ „ „ „ pl.             | 'Λumə— | 'Λmu— < * Λ+u+mu                                                          |
| „ „ 3rd „ „ sg.         | Λu—    | ej— < * Λ+u+i                                                             |
| „ „ „ „ pl.             | Λu—    | oj— < * Λ+u+u<br>(the u of the original<br>Λu has been dropped<br>in Hu.) |

The following conjugation of *dələs* 'to beat' in the negative past tense will give an idea of the difference between the dialects :—

|                       | N.                   | Hu.               |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 'he does not beat me' | 'mɛ jɛ 'Λuədɛjubəi   | 'mɛ jɛ 'Λjədɪljəi |
| ' „ „ „ „ us'         | 'mɛ mi 'Λumi'dɛjubəi | 'mɛ mi 'Λmiɪɪljəi |
| ' „ „ „ „ thee'       | 'mɛ um 'Λugu'dɛjubəi | 'mɛ uŋ 'Λkudɪljəi |
| ' „ „ „ „ you'        | 'mɛ ma 'Λumədɛjubəi  | 'mɛ ma 'Λmədɪljəi |
| ' „ „ „ „ him'        | 'mɛ khɪn 'Λudɛjubəi  | 'mɛ khɪn ejɪɪljəi |
| ' „ „ „ „ them'       | 'mɛ u 'Λudɔjubəi     | 'mɛ u ojɪɪljəi    |

Also cf.

| N.       | Hu.               |
|----------|-------------------|
| 'Λuʃɛɭba | 'I do not eat it' |
|          | ejʃɛɭba           |

For further examples, see above, p. 136, and for the devocalization of the consonant immediately after the negative prefix, see p. 140.

The potential compound verb with the 'can'-sense is formed by the auxiliary 'ulanəs 'to be able' in N., but mən'as 'to be' in Hu. Cf.

| N.               | Hu.               |
|------------------|-------------------|
| jɛ 'ɛtɪʃu'laʃəba | 'I can do'        |
| jɛ 'ɛtɪʃu'laʃəba | 'I cannot do'     |
|                  | jɛ 'ɛtɪʃə'amaʃəba |

In the optative mood, N. has ɪ before ʃ; in Hu. it is often lost. Cf.

| N.          |                      | Hu.    |
|-------------|----------------------|--------|
| je ə'maniṣa | 'I may become'       | ə'māṣa |
| um gu'maniṣ | 'thou mayest become' | gu'māṣ |
| je dēliṣa   | 'I may beat'         | dēṣ    |

The conditional, which signifies unfulfilled condition, is formed in N. by the addition of -aum to the future; in Hu. by the addition of -ṣe. Cf.

|     |             |    |     |                   |    |          |
|-----|-------------|----|-----|-------------------|----|----------|
| N.  | səbur       | ja | m   | dējəmæum,         | m  | djūḷasmi |
|     | yesterday   | I  | him | would have beaten | he | escaped  |
| Hu. | saṣti       | ja | in  | dēljəmṣe,         | in | djūḷasmi |
|     | (yesterday) |    |     |                   |    |          |

'I would have beaten him yesterday, but he escaped.'  
Similarly cf.

| N.         |                       | Hu.       |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 'əcəmæum   | 'I would have done'   | 'əcəmṣe   |
| 'nreəmæum  | 'I would have gone'   | 'nreəmṣe  |
| 'aməjamæum | 'I would have become' | 'aməjamṣe |

The imperative mood has -u ending in N. where Hu. has -o. Cf.

| N.    |         | Hu.   |
|-------|---------|-------|
| 'əsu  | 'tell'  | 'əso  |
| 'diəu | 'bring' | 'diəo |

cf. p. 137.

This mood also shows loss of the prefix də- in Hu. Cf.

| N.      |            | Hu.  |
|---------|------------|------|
| dusù    | 'bring'    | sù   |
| də'sokk | 'get down' | sokk |
| dəchì   | 'give me'  | əchì |

The causative shows deaspiration in Hu., where N. has the aspirate. Cf.

| N.           |                  | Hu.         |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| `e.gu'əhərəs | 'to make one go' | `e.ku'əərəs |

For further examples, *vide* p. 139.

Particularly notable are the variations in the *conjunctive participle* in these dialects:

The Hu. conj. part. has a -n' ending, N. is without it. Cf.

|     |               | <i>N. conj. part.</i>      | <i>Hu. conj. part.</i> |
|-----|---------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|     | dəgʌjəs       | 'to be hidden'             | nu'taga nu'tagen       |
|     | d'a.gəsəs     | 'to laugh'                 | d'a.gəs d'a.gəsɪn      |
|     | 'dɛfɛjəs      | 'to hinder'                | 'dɛfa dɛfən            |
|     | dijləs        | 'to be wet'                | dijl dijlm             |
| N.  | dojnəs        | 'to catch'                 | dojn dujnɪn            |
| Hu. | dujnəs        |                            |                        |
|     | du'ʌsəs (pl.) | 'to come out'              | du'ʌfa du'ʌfm          |
|     | du'sujəs      | 'to bring'                 | du'su du'sun           |
|     | əsəs          | 'to tell'                  | 'nɛsu 'nɛsun           |
|     | ɛtəs          | 'to do'                    | 'nɛti nɛtən            |
|     | 'ɛ.ləs        | 'to prick'                 | n'ɛ.li n'ɛ.lm          |
|     | 'ɛ.staɡɛjəs   | 'to conceal'               | n'ɛ.staga n'ɛ.staɡən   |
|     | ijləs         | 'to plunge'                | nil niln               |
|     | jɛjəs         | 'to cling to'              | 'nija nijən            |
|     | jɛjəs         | 'to meet'                  | 'niɛ nɛm               |
|     | jujəs         | 'to give'                  | njù njùn               |
| or  | juj : ʌs }    | 'to be dry'                | njù njùn               |
|     | juj : əs }    |                            |                        |
|     | jujɛjəs       | 'to breed'                 | njùfa njùfən           |
|     | jùəs          | 'to come'                  | dì dìn                 |
|     | ɡanəs         | 'to carry'                 | 'nuka nu'kan           |
| N.  | ɡaujəs        | 'to pick up'               | nukaù nukònɪn          |
| Hu. | gojjəs        |                            |                        |
|     | gr'ɛjəs       | 'to enter in large number' | nr'kija nr'kien        |
|     | gr'fɛjəs      | 'to weave'                 | nr'kɪfa nr'kɪfən       |
|     | ɡ'i : əs      | 'to put in'                | nr'ki nr'kɪn           |
|     | nɪəs          | 'to go'                    | nì nìn                 |
|     | fɛjəs         | 'to eat'                   | nu'fɛ nu'fɛn           |

(2) The deaspiration of the consonant in Hunza after the conj. part. prefix has been already illustrated in 'nɛm, 'having given', nu'kuɛr 'having gone' on p. 139. Cf.

|           |                | <i>N.</i> | <i>Hu.</i> |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------|
| ɛhujəs    | 'to take away' | 'nɪghu    | 'nɪɡun     |
| 'dɛɸiəs   | 'to press'     | 'dɛɸhi    | 'dɛɸm      |
| 'ɛɸiəs    | 'to press'     | 'nɛɸhi    | 'nɛɸm      |
| ɡu'ɸɛjəs  | 'to sleep'     | nu'kucha  | nu'kucən   |
| ɡu'ɸhərəs | 'to go'        | nu'kuɸər  | nu'kuɸər   |
| r'ɸiəs    | 'to give'      | 'nɪchi    | 'nɪcɪn     |



|           |              | N.        | Hu.       |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| r'khaciəs | 'to shut in' | 'nɪkhaɕi  | 'nɪkaciɪn |
| r'qharəs  | 'to break'   | nɪqhər    | nɪqər     |
| kha'ranas | 'to delay'   | 'nɪkheran | 'nɪkəran  |

(3) This -n does not occur as conj. part. ending under the following conditions :—

(a) When the root already ends in -n, cf.

|             |              | N.         | Hu.       |
|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|
| guj'suginas | 'to consult' | nu'kuʂigin | nu'kuʂkin |
| gɟrminas    | 'to write'   | nɪ'kɪrmin  | nɪ'kɪrmin |
| r'ɕharkenas | 'to cudgel'  | 'nɪɕharkən | 'nɪɕarkən |
| ɪmənəs      | 'to become'  | 'nɪma      | nɪmən     |
| sənəs       | 'to say'     | 'nuse      | nu'ʂən    |

The last two forms are irregular in N., but the corresponding Hu. forms are quite regular.

An exception to this heading is *dojnəs* (N.), Hu. *dujnəs*, which in Hunza has the conj. part. *dujnim*.

(b) When the verb has the prefix *ɪ* or *di*. Cf.

|           |                 | N.       | Hu.     |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|---------|
| r'qhələs  | 'to ache'       | 'nɪqhul  | 'nɪquɪ  |
| r'phaltəs | 'to be injured' | nɪ'phalt | 'nɪpalt |
| di'khras  | 'to decrease'   | 'dɪkhrɪ  | 'dɪkɪr  |

(4) The following unusual forms can be explained by Vowel Harmony :—

(a) N. *nɪ'mm* 'having drunk'

(b) Hu. *nujjəl* sg. 'having put on (a coat)'

(a) In N. *ɕhlɪ nɪ'mɪn* 'having drunk water' we had expected *nu'mɪn*, because it is a general rule in both the dialects that the conjunctive participle of a neuter verb is formed by prefixing *nu-* to the root, whether the object of the verb is sg. or pl., cf.

| N.    |                  | Hu.    |
|-------|------------------|--------|
| nu'ʃe | 'having eaten'   | nu'ʃən |
| 'nuka | 'having carried' | nu'kan |

So we had expected *nu'mm* from the neuter verb *mɪn'as* 'to drink' and thus the Hunza form *nu'mm* might seem to be regular. But phonetically the Nagari form *nɪ'mm* is more regular, for neuter roots with *i* or *ɪ* take the prefix *nɪ* in both the dialects. Cf. the conj. part. of

|          |             | N.        | Hu.       |
|----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| gijrmmas | 'to write'  | ni'kirmin | ni'kirmin |
| g'i : es | 'to put in' | ni'ki     | ni'km     |

(b) The explanation of *nujjöl* as being due to vowel harmony has been already given in the present writer's article on *Burushaski Texts* in 'Indian Linguistics', Vol. I, part 3, pages 24, 25.

The following forms of the conj. part. in Hunza are irregular :—

|         |                                           | N.                         | Hu.      |
|---------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| du'gues | 'to fasten or tighten'<br>(as with a key) | 'nidugu sg.<br>'nudugu pl. | } 'dugun |
| dræes   | 'to bring'                                | 'digu                      |          |
| thajæs  | 'to be extinguished'                      | nu'tha                     | nu'tha   |
| thiæs   | 'to pour'                                 | nu'thi                     | nu'thm   |

In the last example we had expected a deaspiration of *th*, as in 'niçm 'having given'.

*Adjective* formation in both the dialects does not show any variation, the normal adjectival ending being -um, as in 'matum 'black'; bujrum, 'white'. Cf., however, the alternation *t : l* in the structure of the following ordinal number :—

| Hu.       |             | N.      |
|-----------|-------------|---------|
| th'a.ətəm | 'hundredth' | th'ulum |

The N. form is here regular, as in both the dialects -ulum is the normal ordinal ending, though the initial *u* in Hu. is generally dropped, cf.

| N.          |          | Hu.        |
|-------------|----------|------------|
| 'waltjulum  | 'fourth' | 'waltlum   |
| mr'fmdjulum | 'fifth'  | mr'fmdilum |

Hu. *th'a.ətəm* is therefore irregular.

Some *Adverbs* in N. end in -i, where we have *o* or *u* in Hu., e.g.

| N.      |          | Hu.    |
|---------|----------|--------|
| 'kuli   | 'even'   | 'kulu  |
| 'amuli  | 'where'  | 'amulo |
| 'amulum | 'whence' | 'amlum |

### III. VOCABULARY.

A glance through the standard list of words and sentences given in the Appendix may lead the reader to suppose that the

so-called 'dialects' are only phases of one and the same dialect, there being few differences among the words given except a little difference in pronunciation here and there.

But as I pointed out in a printed circular to the Linguistic Society of India (Sept. 6, 1930), the key-words and phrases in the L.S.I. are not of much value for inter-dialectical research. Those key-words are of a generic type and may be nearly identical among several dialects with a common culture.

### *Shibboleths.*

In my investigation of the Hunza and the Nagari dialects I examined a number of informants, some of them quite old and with a keen observation of linguistic variations. I collected the following shibboleths from them, shibboleths which they said had often come to their notice and had been talked about as differentiating the Hunza from the Nagari dialect :—

| <i>Hu.</i>   |                      | <i>N.</i>    |
|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| ga'fɪl       | 'firewood'           | 'cuni        |
| charb'ʌjo    | 'upper hips' (human) | ca'ɾakɪʃo    |
| 'gugundɪl    | 'dove'               | kùti         |
| darògu       | 'stick'              | kun'a        |
| etɪʃ'amajəba | 'I can do'           | 'etɪʃulajəba |
| ju'ar        | 'war'                | birg'a       |
|              |                      | Sh. bīrgā    |

Dialects, in which differences like the above occur, cannot, without extraordinary reasons, be supposed to be identical. As regards the directions in which differences in vocabulary occur, it will be noted that most of the words relating to the human body, the human relations and the numerals—the hackneyed test of philologists—are almost identical,—indicating a common origin and a common culture. But striking differences occur in words relating to the Forest and agricultural life, utensils and instruments, and natural and physical phenomena.

A striking feature of the Vocabulary is the poverty of adjectives and abstract terms. For such a concept as 'fruitful', the dialects have

|                       |                                     |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| buʃ ujaibi            | 'it carries a great deal'           |
| buʃ u'janəs təm dɪɾ'a | 'the tree is carrying a great deal' |

There is no word for 'height'. For 'what is its height?' the only available idiom is 'how high is it?'

'khuse ba'urum th'anum bi

But the dialects are very rich in 'Enumerative idiom' (cf. my article on *Burushaski Texts* in 'Indian Linguistics',

Vol. I, part 3, p. 28), in which minute details of actions have separate words as in Mundā,—Hunza, in this respect, being richer than Nagari. The following directions of variations in vocabulary, then, may be indicated—:

(1) *Words relating to forest and agricultural life.*

| <i>Hu.</i>   |                                                 | <i>N.</i>                                                                                   |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| edap         | 'harvest'                                       | on<br>Sh. on 'grain'                                                                        |
| ba'gundo     | 'yeast'                                         | 'iskur                                                                                      |
| betajsm      | 'apricot-pickles'                               | jut                                                                                         |
| bijsqa'galgu | 'centipede'                                     | galājne or kal'tas<br>Sh. gālāç                                                             |
| bo'gondo     | 'maize-bread'                                   | təl'toppo<br>Sh. tət'tori                                                                   |
| buc          | 'male-goat for propagation'                     | 'chula                                                                                      |
| buajltarç    | 'cowherd'                                       | hu'jeltarç<br>{ for both 'cowherd'<br>and 'shepherd'.<br>In Hu. it means<br>'shepherd' only |
| buajsuruj    | 'cow-house' (for winter)                        | } tark                                                                                      |
| buajher'al   | 'cowhouse' (for summer)                         |                                                                                             |
| dir          | 'boundary'                                      | dir Sh. dir                                                                                 |
| carl         | 'cricket' (insect)                              | fu'fui                                                                                      |
| 'chare-bag   | 'a small inaccessible dense forest on mountain' | 'chare-'tapi                                                                                |
| chılār'qal   | 'the large wasp'                                | məch'ari                                                                                    |
| qm'ili       | 'a tiny crust of stone or wood'                 | jipini                                                                                      |
| 'galıj       | 'precipice with constructed steps'              | kapri'nıfo                                                                                  |
| 'gıkm        | 'small bundle of wood'                          | 'tə'pi                                                                                      |
| gun-'holenas | 'the bat' (night's)                             | } ta'tapəl<br>Sh. tatāpan                                                                   |
| or'brto      | 'the bat' (day's)                               |                                                                                             |
| gus-huk      | 'bitch'                                         | səç'i-huk<br>Sh. səç'i 'female'                                                             |
| guṭi         | 'cottage'                                       | 'dukuri                                                                                     |
| ga'jıl       | 'firewood'                                      | 'cuni                                                                                       |

| <i>Hu.</i>           |                                                                            | <i>N.</i>                                                                               |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| gr'dɨŋmamù           | 'raw milk'                                                                 | 'ɛəmo mamù                                                                              |
| 'gugundil            | 'dove'                                                                     | kùtɨ                                                                                    |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. kɔtɨ kunùl                                                                          |
| gu'ruk               | 'stone'                                                                    | da'jək                                                                                  |
| gus                  | 'clod of earth'                                                            | phɨn'dɨl                                                                                |
| hal                  | 'fox'                                                                      | loʔ                                                                                     |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. lə'i                                                                                |
| hal'dɛn              | 'goat'                                                                     | ɟɛt                                                                                     |
| h'as                 | 'walnut-kernel'                                                            | khekhai                                                                                 |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. khakɕi                                                                              |
|                      |                                                                            | 'green walnut'                                                                          |
| 'holənas             | 'moth'                                                                     | phɨ'ran (In Hu. it<br>means 'spider')                                                   |
|                      |                                                                            | br'tan                                                                                  |
| 'holənas             | 'butterfly'                                                                | 'ʃaʊtɨr                                                                                 |
| 'hucɔ cukotəs ust'at | 'shoemaker' lit. expert<br>in sewing shoe                                  | Sh. ʃotó                                                                                |
| r'phulgo             | 'hump of cattle'                                                           | maɟto                                                                                   |
| 'khrɔ                | 'mosquito'                                                                 | 'phɨɔ                                                                                   |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. <u>phɨɔ</u>                                                                         |
| pətəɟsɨŋ             | 'apricot-pickles'                                                          | ʃut                                                                                     |
|                      | cf. bətəɟsɨŋ above                                                         |                                                                                         |
| phɨ'lal              | 'wild mint'                                                                | gur'muphɨ'lal                                                                           |
| phɨ'ran              | 'spider'                                                                   | 'tələbuɔ                                                                                |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. <u>təlbūɟ</u>                                                                       |
| 'phɨrane'phaskɨɔŋ    | 'spider's web'                                                             | 'tələbuɔdɔphɨ'lam                                                                       |
| 'phutɛʃu'tukumuɔ     | 'mushroom' (umbrella-<br>or 'pharemuɔ form) lit. 'ghost's buds<br>or caps' | 'ʃutɔɟ                                                                                  |
| rr'mizil             | 'civet'                                                                    | mr'ɕhr                                                                                  |
|                      |                                                                            | Sh. <u>mɨtshɨr</u>                                                                      |
| sar'muɔ              | 'large skin-bag'                                                           | meɟs                                                                                    |
| su'putt              | 'horse's dung'                                                             | bagɛ'i                                                                                  |
|                      |                                                                            | { this is the com-<br>mon word for<br>animal dung in<br>general in both<br>the dialects |
| 'sakɛ'tas            | 'to massage a horse'                                                       | 'qaqəɟ'ɛ.təs                                                                            |
| toɟu'li              | 'male sheep' (young)                                                       | } kər'ɛ.lo                                                                              |
|                      | 'male sheep' (grown-up)                                                    |                                                                                         |

(2) *Words relating to utensils and instruments.*

| <i>Hu.</i> |                                                                | <i>N.</i>                                           |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 'asumbalk  | 'a wooden contrivance which directs the speed of a flour-mill' | cì                                                  |
| 'aški      | 'pillow'                                                       | o'nokis<br>Sh. <u>onokis</u><br>'cushion for chair' |
| etaf'gir   | 'tongs'                                                        | 'əppi                                               |
| 'chukus    | 'bow-string'                                                   | gun                                                 |
| 'dagū      | 'glue'                                                         | daɯk<br>Sh. <u>dōk</u>                              |
| ɖam'bur    | 'large wooden basket plastered with mud'                       | gu'tul                                              |
| 'hanik     | 'basket for bread'                                             | thaljō                                              |
| harʃ'çum   | 'the yoke of a plough'                                         | aʃ'çum                                              |
| hr'km      | 'ear-ring'                                                     | 'magun                                              |
| g'ɾalt     | 'ladle'                                                        | ɖōri                                                |
| kə'ɖakus   | 'stocks for punishment'                                        | sarikus                                             |
| 'khaci     | 'pail'                                                         | 'paṇḍa                                              |
| kha'waʃ    | 'leather-bag fitted with strap'                                | borokoɟ                                             |
| juɲ        | 'rug'                                                          | 'khamə                                              |
| pul'tunis  | 'bellows'                                                      | phə'ɲən                                             |
| pu'elo     | 'flute'                                                        | ga'bi                                               |
| tu'tur     | 'whip or scourge'                                              | ɟɾ'kan                                              |
| 'tʰatʰakus | 'a constantly moving wooden contrivance in a flour-mill'       | ka'ɖeki                                             |

(3) *Words relating to natural and physical phenomena.*

| <i>Hu.</i>  |                                             | <i>N.</i>                                     |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| əhɪl heralt | 'thin cloud'                                | burgajl<br>'cloud, mist'<br>Sh. <u>bürgāl</u> |
| 'əgur       | 'thick cloud'                               |                                               |
| buj'ruɲç    | 'white cloud'                               |                                               |
|             | (there being no special word for a 'cloud') |                                               |
| 'ɖambu      | 'bubble'                                    | 'hare 'ilein<br>(lit. 'stream's eye')         |
| gaməɟ.ɔɪ    | 'sleet'                                     | 'isqal                                        |
| hien        | 'hail'                                      | garɟl                                         |

| <i>Hu.</i> |              | <i>N.</i>                    |
|------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 'nironqjŋ  | 'rainbow'    | biʝojn<br>Sh. <u>biʝón</u>   |
| tis'qan    | 'earthquake' | bü'jal<br>Sh. bŋjã'l         |
| titrís     | 'spark'      | jurtuʝi<br>Sh. <u>curtúi</u> |

(4) *Words relating to time.*

| <i>Hu.</i> |             | <i>N.</i>  |
|------------|-------------|------------|
| 'jimale    | 'tomorrow'  | jum'den    |
| sqjti      | 'yesterday' | səbur      |
| 'səsaʈumo  | 'evening's' | 'samo      |
| pojŋ       | 'age'       | deŋ 'year' |

(5) *Words relating to the human body.*

| <i>Hu.</i>            |                         | <i>N.</i>                       |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| əwaʃ am'en            | 'jaw'                   | 'khalduŋ am'en                  |
| charb'ajo             | 'upper hips'            | ə'rakiʃo                        |
| kərneʝi               | 'ear-hole'              | al'tumalephús or<br>go'mor      |
| salet                 | 'moustache'             | phùjɪ                           |
| mar'mukən             | 'handful'               | hikmuçen                        |
| 'phareʝ               | 'a scar'                | gqɪ                             |
| hiq'ɛ.təs             | 'to hiccough'           | ku'duk mən'as                   |
| ʃan'ter               | 'squint'                | 'tero<br>Sh. <u>təre achiye</u> |
| ɪ'ʃipm                | 'child's penis'         | 'euro                           |
| 'sawA'dito            | 'mad'                   | 'phutkiʃ                        |
| ə'charliʃ mən'as      | 'to be hoarse'          | əchar'qhareʃas                  |
| 'hupe'tas             | 'to drink with a noise' | suʝke'tas                       |
| ('foʝo) 'phɪtɪk'ɛ.təs | 'to open a small wound' | ɛar'ɛ.təs                       |
| (foqq) ɛar'ɛ.təs      | 'to open a large wound' | { (for both meanings)           |
| 'qare'tas             | 'to pass fluid stools'  | 'tɪtɪre'tas                     |

(6) *Words relating to various actions.*

| <i>Hu.</i>     |                                  | <i>N.</i>   |
|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| aqeʝ'are janəs | 'to carry a child on one's side' | 'hapa janəs |

| <i>Hu.</i>                  |                                           | <i>N.</i>                                                 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| bɪʃskinas                   | 'to beg'                                  | du'marəs<br>(this word<br>occurs in both<br>the dialects) |
| 'hani 'braqqotəs            | 'to break apricot-kernel'                 | ('hani)u'qharəs                                           |
| 'əhɪlpupurotəs              | 'to rub or press with<br>hands', as dough | mu'murmus<br>otəs                                         |
| dəl'dinas                   | 'to unhusk'                               | də'damətas                                                |
| dəl dije                    | 'arise'                                   | 'hartmane                                                 |
| 'digiɫas                    | 'to cut and lay in heaps'                 | No parallel<br>word available                             |
| (heralt) dɪ'arəs            | 'to rain'                                 | ɟuəs                                                      |
| də'qhokkuɪəs                | 'to be tangled'                           | gaɫwələs<br><u>galatɔ'iki</u>                             |
| də.jenas                    | 'to prick'                                | 'e.ləs                                                    |
| (ha) dojrəs                 | 'to fall' (said of a horse)               | gar mən'as                                                |
| dojrəs                      | 'to fall' (said of snow)                  | ʃaq mən'as                                                |
| 'dʌŋɛ'tas                   | 'to bake'                                 | 'dirɪəs                                                   |
| hɪk'ɛ.təs                   | 'to fill'                                 | ʃək'ɛ.təs                                                 |
| r'əhanəs                    | 'to count' (object neuter)                | } u'əhanəs (for<br>both)                                  |
| u'əhanəs                    | 'to count' (object non-<br>neuter)        |                                                           |
| r'kharəŋɛ gum'gam<br>mən'as | 'to soliloquize in mutter-<br>ing voice'  | gɪt'gut mən'as                                            |
| r'sarkəs                    | 'to leave'                                | 'phatətas                                                 |
| mò.mi'rās                   | 'to copulate'                             | motəs                                                     |
| 'gatənas                    | 'to read'                                 | sɔ'baq sənəs                                              |
| tɪkò.ʃəlas                  | 'to brush a horse'                        | 'qhaʃotəs<br>Sh. <u>khaʃ ʈhoiki</u>                       |
| 'qharəʃetas                 | 'to clap with hands'                      | 'trapətas                                                 |
| thraqmən'as                 | 'to sprout'                               | dɪʃkɪ'as                                                  |
| sar'barəʃetas               | 'to castrate a bull or<br>buffalo'        | 'aqtə ʃetas                                               |

Under the above head, *semantic variations* may be noticed in relation to the following words—:

| <i>Hu.</i> |                          | <i>N.</i>                                |
|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| br'fəjes   | 'to fire a gun' (tu'maq) | 'to spread' (a carpet, etc.)             |
|            |                          | In Hu. 'wafjəs is used in<br>this sense. |



|            | <i>Hu.</i>                                                                                            | <i>V.</i>                                  |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 'ḡhapēnas  | 'to mend'                                                                                             | 'to sew'                                   |
|            |                                                                                                       | In Hu. 'ḡukētas is used in this sense.     |
| daldieḡ    | 'arise'                                                                                               | 'to keep standing the whole day long'      |
| gΔ'tamures | 'to press kneaded dough finally'                                                                      | 'to press woven cloth'                     |
|            | In N. only dēqqhulēnas is generally used for all the processes.                                       |                                            |
| r'mutes    | 'to cut bread into slices'                                                                            | 'to mince grass or dry bread'              |
|            |                                                                                                       | For mincing grass Hu. has 'zarezerāq ētas. |
| 'jagujas   | 'to pick up with hands'                                                                               | 'to search for', as a person.              |
|            | In Hu. it cannot be used with reference to a non-neuter object; bājrenas 'to search' is used instead. |                                            |

(7) *Adjectives and abstract terms.*

| <i>Hu.</i> |                         | <i>N.</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Altōkum    | 'pair'                  | 'hīkum    |
| ba'barum   | 'disagreeable in smell' | gas'parum |
| chuṭēn     | 'a little' (for water)  | thiṣēn    |
| phrūēn     | 'some' (as walnuts)     | kamēn     |
| ḡaṇḡ       | 'difficult to break'    | camerāḡto |
| gātḡu'm    | 'enemy'                 | 'duṣman   |
| hīk-'he.ji | 'once'                  | hīk-ḡamēn |
| 'humā      | 'shallow'               | ḡal       |
| khuṭ       | 'broad'                 | 'ḡo.qum   |
| mr'nas     | 'story'                 | nr'mas    |
| 'phōppuṣ   | 'bastard'               | 'amulo    |
| qh'as      | 'fragile'               | mu'thaso  |
| ram'ratt   | 'level'                 | gu'tum    |
| rai        | 'desire, will'          | raqq      |

*Enumerative idiom.*

The above vocabularies, as for cloud, cowherd, cowhouse, male sheep, etc., will show that the 'Mundā' tendency for 'enumerative idiom' is greater in Hu. than in N., for in the former there are separate words for the detailed aspects of an object or action, thus to 'knead' in the first stage is *dəqqhulenas*, but the final press is *ga'tamuras*. In N. *dəqqhulenas* is the only word used throughout. For further examples see the above vocabularies. The closer relation of Nagari with Shinā will be also clear from the above vocabularies.

*Conclusion.*

The above pages give us the following results—:

(1) The dialects of Hunza and of Nagar are appreciably distinct dialects, though they are not separate.

(2) Hunza is pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and manifests a later stage in the development of Burushaski.

(3) But while phonologically and grammatically Hunza shows a later stage of Burushaski, it preserves better the original vocabulary of the language, the vocabulary of Nagari being contaminated with Shinā.

(4) Burushaski is still an unclassified language, its classification being a subject for future investigation, but the above dialectical study has facilitated the approach to this classification. For Burushaski being now a mixed language, unless a comparatively primitive *Gemein-Burushaski* is reconstructed, its relation to other languages cannot be definitely established. The direction to this reconstruction of *Gemein-Burushaski* is afforded by the above study, which shows us that for this purpose we have to look for the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagari and the vocabulary of Hunza.

(5) The above facts have also a bearing on general Linguistics.

(a) In our methods of Dialectology, we have to bear in mind that for the reconstruction of a *Gemein-Sprache*, we may have to look for its Phonology and Grammar in one of its dialects and vocabulary in another. A language or a dialect may be old in grammar, but may look very modern from the standpoint of vocabulary. A comparison of Pañjābi with Bengali will illustrate this. Pañjābi is an older language grammatically, but its vocabulary has been greatly Persianized. The reconstruction of an older *Gemein-Pañjābi* will require a reference to allied languages with an older vocabulary.

(b) The above study also throws light on the methods of inter-dialectical research. It shows in what directions the vocabulary of two dialects, which on the surface seem to be identical, can vastly differ. Dialects with a common culture

need not show any striking difference in vocabulary relating to the human body, blood-relations and the numerals. Inter-dialectical research in vocabulary requires the exploration of other fields, as forest and agricultural life, natural and physical phenomena, and the various 'secondary' activities of man.



## APPENDIX.

Standard words and sentences according to the scheme of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.*English.**Hunza.**Nagari.**L.S.I. equivalent.*

## 1. One.

han, hin, hik; han'hagur  
*one horse*; hin hir, *one*  
*man*; hik den, *one year*.

han, hin, hik

Han, hin, hik; han haghur,  
*one horse*; hin hir, *one*  
*man*; hik din, *one year*.

## 2. Two.

'alta, al'tan, 'alto; 'alta  
 ha'guriso, (or 'hagur)  
*two horses*; al'tan'hirri,  
*two men*; 'alto 'deniq,  
*two years*.

al'taṣ, al'tan, 'alto al'taṣ  
 ha'guriso, *two horses*.

altā, altan, alto; altā  
 haghur, *two horses*; altān  
 hirī, *two men*; alto  
 dining, *two years*.

## 3. Three.

'usko, is'ken, 'iski; 'usko  
 ha'guriso (or 'hagur),  
*three horses*; is'ken'hirri,  
*three men*; 'iski 'deniq  
 or den, *three years*.

'usko, is'ken, iski

Uskō, iskin, iski; uskō  
 haghur, *three horses*; iskin  
 hirī, *three men*; iski  
 dining, *three years*.

## 4. Four.

'walto, 'walti; 'walto  
 ha'guriso (or 'hagur),  
*four horses*; 'walto 'hirri,  
*four men*; 'walti 'deniq  
 or den, *four years*.

'walto, 'walti

Waltō, waltī; walto haghur,  
*four horses*; walto hirī,  
*four men*; waltī dining,  
*four years*.

## APPENDIX—continued.

| English.  | Hunza.                                                                                                                             | Nagari.            | L.S.I. equivalent.                                                                                               |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5. Five.  | 'əhundo, 'əhndi; 'əhundo<br>hə'guriŋso (or 'hagur),<br>five horses; 'əhundo 'hri<br>five men; 'əhndi 'dɛnɪŋ<br>or dɛn, five years. | 'əhundo, 'əhndi    | Sundō, sindi; sundō haghur,<br>five horses; sundō hiri,<br>five men; sindi dining,<br>five years.                |
| 6. Six.   | mi'fɪndo, mi'fɪndi; mi'fɪndo<br>hə'guriŋso, six horses;<br>mi'fɪndo 'hri, six men;<br>mi'fɪndi 'dɛnɪŋ, six years.                  | mi'fɪndo, mi'fɪndi | Mashindo, mashindi;<br>mashindo haghur, six<br>horses; mashindo hiri, six<br>men; mashindi dining,<br>six years. |
| 7. Seven. | 'thalo, thalɛ; 'thalo<br>hə'guriŋso, seven horses;<br>'thalo 'hri, seven men;<br>'thale 'dɛnɪŋ, seven years.                       | 'thalo, 'thale     | Thalo, thalē; thalo haghur,<br>seven horses; thalō hiri,<br>seven men; thalē dining<br>seven years.              |
| 8. Eight. | al'tambo, al'tambi;<br>al'tambo hə'guriŋso, eight<br>horses; al'tambo 'hri,<br>eight men; al'tambi<br>'dɛnɪŋ, eight years.         | al'tambo, al'tambi | Altambō, altambi; altambō<br>hagur, eight horses; al-<br>tambō hiri, eight men; al-<br>tambi dining eight years. |

|              |                                                                                                                                  |                    |                                                                                                                              |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9. Nine.     | 'hupco, 'hunṭi; 'hupco<br>hə'guriʃo, <i>nine horses</i> ;<br>'hupco 'hri, <i>nine men</i> ;<br>'hunṭi 'denu, <i>nine years</i> . | 'hupco, 'hunṭi     | Hunṭō, hunṭi; hunṭō<br>haghur, <i>nine horses</i> ; hun-<br>chō hiri, <i>nine men</i> ; hunṭi<br>dining, <i>nine years</i> . |
| 10. Ten.     | tōrumo, tōrimi; tōrumo<br>hə'guriʃo, <i>ten horses</i> ;<br>tōrumo 'hri, <i>ten men</i> ;<br>tōrimi 'denu, <i>ten years</i> .    | tōrumo, tōrimi     | Tōrmō, tōrmi; tōrmō haghur,<br><i>ten horses</i> ; tōrmō hiri, <i>ten<br/>men</i> ; tōrmi dining <i>ten<br/>years</i> .      |
| 11. Twenty.  | 'Altar                                                                                                                           | 'Altar             | altar; altar haghur, <i>twenty<br/>horses</i> ; altar hiri, <i>twenty<br/>men</i> ; altar dining, <i>twenty<br/>years</i> .  |
| 12. Fifty.   | 'Altō Altar tōrumo                                                                                                               | 'Altu Altar tōrumo | Alto altar tōrmō                                                                                                             |
| 13. Hundred. | th'a                                                                                                                             | th'a               | Thāh                                                                                                                         |
| 14. I.       | je, ja                                                                                                                           | je, ja             | Jē, jā                                                                                                                       |
| 15. Of me.   | ja                                                                                                                               | ja                 | Jā                                                                                                                           |
| 16. Mine.    | ja, ja bi, <i>mine is</i> .                                                                                                      | ja, ja bi          | Jā; <i>whose horse is this?</i><br>Jā bi, <i>mine is</i> .                                                                   |
| 17. We.      | mi                                                                                                                               | mi                 | Mi                                                                                                                           |
| 18. Of us.   | mi                                                                                                                               | mi                 | Mi                                                                                                                           |
| 19. Our.     | mi, mi hə'guriʃo, <i>our horses</i> .                                                                                            | mi, mi hə'guriʃo   | Mi; mi haghur, <i>our horses</i> .                                                                                           |
| 20. Thou.    | um, un, 'uje, 'ume                                                                                                               | um, 'ume           | Ung, Ungē                                                                                                                    |

## APPENDIX—continued.

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Hanza.</i>                     | <i>Nagarī.</i>     | <i>L.S.I. equivalent.</i>     |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 21. Of thee.    | 'uŋɛ; 'uŋɛ 'hagur, thy horse.     | 'ume; 'ume 'hagur  | Ungē; ungē haghur, thy horse. |
| 22. Thine.      | 'uŋɛ, 'une                        | 'ume               | Ungē                          |
| 23. You.        | m'a                               | m'a                | Mah                           |
| 24. Of you.     | m'a                               | m'a                | Mah                           |
| 25. Your.       | m'a; m'a 'hagur, your horse.      | m'a; m'a 'hagur    | Mah; mah haghur, your horse.  |
| 26. He.         | m, 'me                            | m, 'me             | In, inē                       |
| 27. Of him.     | 'me                               | 'me                | Inē                           |
| 28. His.        | 'me; 'me 'hagur, his horse.       | 'me; 'me 'hagur    | Inē; inē haghur, his horse.   |
| 29. They.       | `ue                               | `ue                | Ūē                            |
| 30. Of them.    | `ue                               | `ue                | Ūē                            |
| 31. Their.      | `ue; `ue ha'guriŋɔ, their horses. | `ue; `ue ha'guriŋɔ | Ūē; ūē haghur, their horses.  |
| 32. Hand.       | mɪn                               | mɪn                | Irin                          |
| 33. Foot.       | juɽɪs                             | juɽɪs              | Yūpis                         |
| 34. Nose.       | i'muɽɪs                           | i'muɽɪs            | Imūpush                       |
| 35. Eye.        | 'ilem                             | 'ilem              | Ilchin                        |
| 36. Mouth.      | i'qhatt                           | i'qhatt            | Ikhāt                         |
| 37. Tooth.      | mɛ                                | mɛ                 | Imih                          |

|                 |            |            |           |
|-----------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 38. Ear.        | 'iltumel   | 'iltumel   | Iltūmal   |
| 39. Hair.       | gu'jaŋ     | gu'jaŋ     | Ghoyang   |
| 40. Head.       | 'jaʔis     | 'jaʔis     | Yafis     |
| 41. Tongue.     | jumʊs      | jumʊs      | Yūmus     |
| 42. Belly.      | juʃl       | juʃl       | Yūl       |
| 43. Back.       | i'valdas   | i'valdas   | Ivāldas   |
| 44. Iron.       | chu'mar    | chu'mar    | Chhomar   |
| 45. Gold.       | 'geniʃ     | 'geniʃ     | Ghinish   |
| 46. Silver.     | bujri      | bujri      | Buri      |
| 47. Father.     | jù         | jù         | Yū        |
| 48. Mother.     | 'imi       | 'imi       | Imi       |
| 49. Brother.    | 'eço       | 'eço       | Ėcho      |
| 50. Sister.     | jas        | jas        | Yas       |
| 51. Man.        | hir        | hir        | Hir       |
| 52. Woman.      | gus        | gus        | Gus       |
| 53. Wife.       | juʃs       | juʃs       | Yūs       |
| 54. Child.      | hiles      | hiles      | Hilas     |
| 55. Son.        | ij         | ij         | i         |
| 56. Daughter.   | èi         | èi         | Ėi        |
| 57. Slave.      | son(?)     | son(?)     | Tgun      |
| 58. Cultivator. | e'dapkwɪn  | e'dapkwɪn  | Burushin  |
| 59. Shepherd.   | hu'jeltarɛ | hu'jeltarɛ | Hoyaltars |
| 60. God.        | qhu'da     | qhu'da     | Khudā     |



## APPENDIX—continued.

| English.   | Hunza.                    | Nagarī.          | L.S.I. equivalent.      |
|------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 61. Devil. | ʃeɪt'an                   | ʃeɪt'an          | Shaitān                 |
| 62. Sun.   | s'a                       | s'a              | Sah                     |
| 63. Moon.  | helang                    | helang           | Halang                  |
| 64. Star.  | esij                      | esij             | Asī                     |
| 65. Fire.  | phù                       | phù              | Phū                     |
| 66. Water. | əhl                       | əhl              | Sil                     |
| 67. House. | h'a                       | h'a              | Hā                      |
| 68. Horse. | 'hagur                    | 'hagur           | Haghur                  |
| 69. Cow.   | buja                      | buja             | Buvā                    |
| 70. Dog.   | huk                       | huk              | Huk                     |
| 71. Cat.   | buf                       | buf              | Bush                    |
| 72. Cock.  | (hr) qer'qamuɕ            | (hr) qer'qamuɕ   | Hir karkamush           |
| 73. Duck.  | ph'aruɕ                   | ph'aruɕ          | Pharish                 |
| 74. Ass.   | ʃa'kun                    | ʃa'kun           | Jakun                   |
| 75. Camel. | uʃ                        | uʃ               | uth                     |
| 76. Bird.  | belas                     | belas            | Balas                   |
| 77. Go.    | nì ; to go, nies          | nì, nies         | Ni ; to go, nias        |
| 78. Eat.   | ʃi ; to eat, ʃies         | ʃi, ʃies         | Shī ; to eat, shias     |
| 79. Sit.   | hu'rut ; to sit, 'hurufes | hu'rut, 'hurufes | Harut ; to sit, harutas |
| 80. Come.  | jù ; to come, j.ues       | jù, j.ues        | Ju ; to come, jūas      |

|                   |                                |                        |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 81. Beat.         | dəli; to beat, dəlias          | Deli; to beat, dəlias  |
| 82. Stand.        | daldije; to stand, daldiejjes: | Diyh; to stand, Diyhas |
| 83. Die.          | guyr; to die, ijres:           | Gutr; to die, iras     |
| 84. Give.         | ju; to give, jujjes:           | Yū; to give, jūas      |
| 85. Run.          | g'ars; to run, g'arces:        | Gārs; to run, gārtās   |
| 86. Up.           | 'jate                          | Yate                   |
| 87. Near.         | esjr                           | Asir                   |
| 88. Down.         | j'are                          | Yarē                   |
| 89. Far.          | methan                         | Mathan                 |
| 90. Before.       | j'ar, 'ngi                     | Angē                   |
| 91. Behind.       | 'dji                           | Īlji                   |
| 92. Who.          | 'am̄m                          | Āmin                   |
| 93. What.         | bəsen                          | Bisan                  |
| 94. Why.          | 'bəse                          | Bisē                   |
| 95. And.          | ke                             | kih                    |
| 96. But.          | 'ama                           | Ammā                   |
| 97. If.           | -ke (added to verb)            | Akhnā                  |
| 98. Yes.          | 'awa                           | Awā                    |
| 99. No.           | b'e                            | Bih                    |
| 100. Alas.        | 'ayo                           | Afsōs                  |
| 101. A father.    | hm jū                          | Hin yū                 |
| 102. Of a father. | hm jūe                         | Hin yūē                |
| 103. To a father. | hm jūer                        | Hin yūar               |

## APPENDIX—continued.

|      | English.         | Hunza.            | Nagari.          | L.S. Equivalent.     |
|------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 104. | From a father.   | hm jùeum          | hm jùeum         | Hin yū t̃sum         |
| 105. | Two fathers.     | al'tan jùearo     | al'tan jùearo    | Altan yūsarō         |
| 106. | Fathers.         | jùearo            | jùearo           | Yūsarō               |
| 107. | Of fathers.      | jùearuē           | jùearuē          | Yūsarōē              |
| 108. | To fathers.      | jùearuər          | jùearuər         | Yūsarō ar            |
| 109. | From fathers.    | jùearuəum         | jùearuəum        | Yūsarō t̃sum         |
| 110. | A daughter.      | hm ɛi             | hm ɛi            | Hin ɛi               |
| 111. | Of a daughter.   | hm ɛiē            | hm ɛiē           | Hin ɛiē              |
| 112. | To a daughter.   | hm ɛimur          | hm ɛimur         | Hin ɛimur            |
| 113. | From a daughter. | hm ɛiməum         | hm ɛiməum        | Hin ɛiməum           |
| 114. | Two daughters.   | al'tan jùg'u'ʃanē | al'tan 'igu'ʃanē | Altan yūgishans      |
| 115. | Daughters.       | jùg'u'ʃanē        | 'igu'ʃanē        | Yūgishans            |
| 116. | Of daughters.    | jùg'u'ʃanēē       | 'igu'ʃanēē       | Yūgishanēē           |
| 117. | To daughters.    | jùg'u'ʃanər       | 'igu'ʃanər       | Yūgishansar          |
| 118. | From daughters.  | jùg'u'ʃanəum      | 'igu'ʃanəum      | Yūgishansmut̃sum     |
| 119. | A good man.      | hm ʃua sis        | hm ʃua sis       | Hin daltas hir       |
| 120. | Of a good man.   | hm ʃua 'sise      | hm ʃua 'sise     | Hin daltas hirē      |
| 121. | To a good man.   | hm ʃua sisər      | hm ʃua sisər     | Hin daltas hirar     |
| 122. | From a good man. | hm ʃua 'sisəum    | hm ʃua 'sisəum   | Hin daltas hir̃sum   |
| 123. | Two good men.    | al'tan ʃua sis    | al'tan ʃua sis   | Altan daltashkō hir̃ |

|                     |                    |                     |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 124. Good men.      | jua sis            | Daltashkō hiri      |
| 125. Of good men.   | jua 'sise          | Daltashkō hiriē     |
| 126. To good men.   | jua sisər          | Daltashkō hiri      |
| 127. From good men. | jua 'sisəum        | Daltashkō hiritsum  |
| 128. A good woman.  | jua gus            | Hin daltas gus      |
| 129. A bad boy.     | gu'neqışır'les     | Hin ghunīkish hilas |
| 130. Good women.    | jua guʃıanə        | Daltas gushingans   |
| 131. A bad girl.    | gu'neqış dı'sim    | Hin ghunīkish dasin |
| 132. Good.          | jua                | Daltas, shōā        |
| 133. Better.        | (m'əsum-) jua      | But shōā            |
| 134. Best.          | (əjəsum-) jua      | Oyōn tsum shōā      |
| 135. High.          | th'anum            | Th'anum             |
| 136. Higher.        | (ə'səsum-) th'anum | But th'anum         |
| 137. Highest.       | (əjəsum-) th'anum  | Oyōntsum th'anum    |
| 138. A horse.       | han 'hagur         | Han haghur          |
| 139. A mare.        | han b'adum         | Han bāyım           |
| 140. Horses.        | ha'gurıfo          | Haghurishō          |
| 141. Mares.         | b'adumıfo          | Bāyımishō           |
| 142. A bull.        | han 'əhdmar        | Han har             |
| 143. A cow.         | han buja           | Han buvā            |
| 144. Bulls.         | əhm'darifo         | Haro                |
| 145. Cows.          | buja               | Buvā                |
| 146. A dog.         | han huk            | Han huk             |

## APPENDIX—continued.

| <i>English.</i>     | <i>Hanza.</i>     | <i>Nagari.</i> | <i>L.S.I. equivalent.</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| 147. A bitch.       | gus-huk           | s'ōci-huk      | Han gus-huk               |
| 148. Dogs.          | hu'kai            | hu'kai         | Hukai                     |
| 149. Bitches.       | gu'ŋanə hu'kai    | s'ōci-hu'kai   | Gushingans hukai          |
| 150. A he-goat.     | han hal'dən       | han jēt        | Han haldin                |
| 151. A she-goat.    | han əhijr         | han 'əhigir    | Han sir                   |
| 152. Goats.         | hal'dən           | 'jēttaro       | Hoyas                     |
| 153. A male deer.   | jəttəl            | jəttəl         | Han girl haldin           |
| 154. A female deer. | 'jətələchijr      | jəttələ'əhigir | Han girl sir              |
| 155. Deer.          | jəttəl            | jəttəl         | Girl                      |
| 156. I am.          | jə ba             | jə ba          | jē bah                    |
| 157. Thou art.      | uŋ ba             | um ba          | ung bah                   |
| 158. He is.         | m bai             | m bai          | mē bai                    |
| 159. We are.        | mi b'an           | mi b'an        | Mi bān                    |
| 160. You are.       | ma b'an           | ma b'an        | Mah bān                   |
| 161. They are.      | u'ə b'an          | u'ə b'an       | Ūə bān                    |
| 162. I was.         | jə b'ajəm         | jə b'ajəm      | jē baiyam                 |
| 163. Thou wast.     | uŋ bam            | um bam         | ung bam                   |
| 164. He was.        | m } bam<br>or 'me | m or 'me bam   | mē bam                    |

|                           |                     |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 165. We were.             | mi bam              | Mi bam              |
| 166. You were.            | ma bam              | Mah bam             |
| 167. They were.           | u'e bam             | Ūē bam              |
| 168. Be.                  | uj 'mane            | Manih               |
| 169. To be.               | men'as              | Manās               |
| 170. Being.               | men'as              | Manumatē            |
| 171. Having been.         | 'niman              | Bam                 |
| 172. I may be.            | je emāṣa            | Jē amanshā          |
| 173. I shall be.          | je amejam           | Je baiyam akbir     |
| 174. I should be.         | je amenas ſua br'la | Je amānas shōā bilā |
| 175. Beat.                | dēli                | Deli                |
| 176. To beat.             | dēlies or dēles     | Delias              |
| 177. Beating.             | dēlies or dēles     | Nīdilin             |
| 178. Having beaten.       | 'ndilim             | Nīdilin             |
| 179. I beat.              | ja dōḷaba           | Jē deljam           |
| 180. Thou beatest.        | 'ume dōḷba          | ungē deljuā         |
| 181. He beats.            | 'me dōḷbei          | mē deljai           |
| 182. We beat.             | mi dōḷaban          | Mi deljān           |
| 183. You beat.            | ma dōḷban           | Mah deljān          |
| 184. They beat.           | u'e dōḷban          | Ūē deljān           |
| 185. I beat (Past Tense). | ja dēlem            | ja deliyam          |
| 186. Thou beatest.        | 'ume dēluma         | ungē delima         |
| 187. He beat.             | 'me dēlimi          | mē delimi           |

## APPENDIX—continued.

| <i>English.</i>         | <i>Hunza.</i>       | <i>Nagari.</i>      | <i>L.S.I. equivalent.</i> |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 188. We beat.           | mi dëlmen           | mi dëlmen           | Mi delman                 |
| 189. You beat.          | ma dëlmen           | ma dëlmen           | Mah delman                |
| 190. They beat.         | u'e dëlmen          | u'e dëlmen          | Ūe delman                 |
| 191. I am beating.      | ja dëlɔɔba          | ja dɔɔɔɔba          | Jē delɔɔba                |
| 192. I was beating.     | ja dɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | ja dɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | Jē delɔɔ baɔɔɔɔ           |
| 193. I had beaten.      | ja dɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | ja dɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | jē deliɔɔ baɔɔɔɔ          |
| 194. I may beat.        | ja dëlɔɔ            | ja dëlɔɔ            | jē delɔɔ                  |
| 195. I shall beat.      | ja dɔɔɔɔ            | ja dɔɔɔɔ            | jē deliɔɔbaɔɔ             |
| 196. Thou wilt beat.    | 'uɔɔ dɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | 'uɔɔ dɔɔɔɔɔɔ        | ungē delɔɔɔɔ              |
| 197. He will beat.      | 'mɔ dɔɔɔɔ           | 'mɔ dɔɔɔɔ           | mē delɔɔ                  |
| 198. We shall beat.     | mi dɔɔɔɔ            | mi dɔɔɔɔ            | Mi delɔɔ                  |
| 199. You will beat.     | ma dɔɔɔɔɔɔ          | ma dɔɔɔɔɔɔ          | Mah delɔɔɔɔ               |
| 200. They will beat.    | u'e dɔɔɔɔɔɔ         | mi dɔɔɔɔɔɔ          | Ūe delɔɔɔɔ                |
| 201. I should beat.     | ja dëlɔɔ m'a'niɔ    | ja dëlɔɔ m'a'niɔ    | jā delɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ            |
| 202. I am beaten.       | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔ   | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔ   | Ādelɔɔ amɔɔɔɔ             |
| 203. I was beaten.      | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔɔɔ | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔɔɔ | Adelɔɔ amɔɔɔɔbaɔɔɔɔ       |
| 204. I shall be beaten. | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔɔɔ | je e'dɔɔɔɔ amɔɔɔɔ   | Jē adelɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ           |
| 205. I go.              | je 'niɔɔɔɔ          | je 'niɔɔɔɔ          | Jē nichɔɔ                 |
| 206. Thou goest.        | uɔ 'niɔɔ            | um 'niɔɔɔɔ          | ung nichɔɔɔɔ              |
| 207. He goes.           | m 'niɔɔ             | m 'niɔɔɔɔ           | m nichɔɔ                  |





## APPENDIX—continued.

| <i>English.</i>                                     | <i>Hunza.</i>                                      | <i>Nagari.</i>                                     | <i>L.S.I. equivalent.</i>                |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.  | ja 'nanaɨje 'me 'jasruk'a }<br>garə'tai }          | mi 'nanaɨje 'me 'jasruk'a }<br>garətuɨbei }        | Jā nanāś i inē yasmokā<br>garitai }      |
| 226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse. | buɨrum 'hagure tɨɨɨen }<br>h'ale br'əa }           | buɨrum 'hagure 'tɨɨen }<br>h'ale br'əa }           | Halē barūm haghurē tɨɨ-<br>yang bisah }  |
| 227. Put the saddle upon his back.                  | guśeɨte tɨɨɨen 'e.dɨli }                           | khuśe.ɨte tɨɨen 'e.dɨli }                          | Tɨɨɨyang isē ivāldas ēgɨn }              |
| 228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.       | ja m'ɨ ij 'gape tu'turane }<br>ta'tarja dəɨɨa ba } | ja m'ɨ ij 'gape ɨ'kanene }<br>tak'nəti dəɨɨa ba }  | Jē inē i thorak delɨyam }                |
| 229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.   | 'me 'əhɨse r'thanasate }<br>har buja u'jarcəi }    | 'me 'chɨse r'thanate har }<br>buja u'jarcubəi }    | isē lagɨɨɨdaris chɨɨɨɨoli<br>uyarchai }  |
| 230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.      | 'me 'rte tumjare 'hagu- }<br>rate nuɨɨɨan b'əi }   | 'me 'ɨte tomjare 'hagu- }<br>rate nu'hulɨan b'əi } | mē haghurat nūɨɨa utē tum<br>yūharutai } |
| 231. His brother is taller than his sister.         | m'ɨ ɨɨo m'ɨ jasmuɨum }<br>th'anum b'əi }           | m'ɨ 'əu m'ɨ 'jasmuɨum }<br>th'anum bəi }           | mē ēchō inē yas mutgum<br>thānum bai }   |

232. The price of that is } is'e gas 'alka ru'pea ke } es'e gas al'tas ru'pea ke } is'e gash altā dabal kih  
two rupees and a } trāy bī'a } trāy dī'a } tarang bilah  
half.
233. My father lives in } ja 'aia 'tse juḍ h'ale } mi 'aga ète juḍ h'ale } Jā āghā itē jut halē huru-  
that small house. } 'hurufai } hu'ruḥubai } shai
234. Give this rupee to } gu'se ru'pea mer juḍ } 'khuse ru'pai mer juḍ } Gusē rūpiyah inar yū  
him.
235. Take those rupees } gu'èe ru'pea m'èaum } khuse ru'pamuse m'èaum } Gusē rūpiyah in tsum yan  
from him. } 'duəo } 'duəu }
236. Beat him well and } 'me sua 'nidilm 'ga[kulo } 'me sua 'nidli 'ga[kulo } Shōā nidilan gashk olo  
bind him with } tr'aone r'phus } tr'aṇēti r'phus } tarāō nih iphus  
ropes.
237. Draw water from } gulku'lum əhl dñis } gulku'lum əhl dñis } Ghulkōlum sil diūs  
the well.
238. Walk before me. } f'əaum əjar gu'əhar } f'əaum əjar gu'əhar } Jā yār gusar
239. Whose boy comes } 'uŋe 'guəiate mēne uijen } 'ume 'guəiate mēniko } ung guəiat mine hilsen-  
behind you ? } ju'əai } uien juḥubai } juchai
240. From whom did } 'ise mēneaum 'dumaruma } èse mēneaum 'dumaruma } isē min tsum dūmarūmā  
you buy that ? }
241. From a shop-keeper } 'ite girame saoda- } ète giramulum saoda- } itē girame dokāndārtsum  
of the village. } 'garəum }



**Seasonal Nomadism and Economics of the Chenchus of Hyderabad.**

By CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

(Communicated by J. P. Mills.)

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the aboriginal tribes of the Deccan the Chenchus are racially and culturally the most primitive, and though at present they form but a small group they may be considered as representative of those larger populations of hunters and collectors that roamed the jungles of the tableland when the first invaders of higher culture penetrated the country south of the Godavari. While other tribes lost their social and economic independence and were gradually absorbed within the cultural system of the new-comers, the Chenchus remained comparatively isolated until recent times. During the last few generations, however, improved communications have threatened this isolation, contacts with surrounding populations deepened, the exploitation of the forests brought outsiders into the heart of Chenchu country, and thus it is that to-day only a few hundred Chenchus still live their old tribal life. These 'Jungle Chenchus', as they may be conveniently called, as distinct from the Chenchus dwelling in or near the villages of Telugu cultivators or in the settlements created by the Forest Authorities of Madras, number at present 426 men, women and children. They inhabit the upper part of the Amrabad Plateau in the Mahbubnagar District of Hyderabad, an area of about 320 sq. miles on the northern bank of the Kistna River. This plateau is an extension of the Nallamalai Hills and rises to heights of 2,800 feet above sea-level. On the lower parts of the plateau and in the adjacent plains approximately 1,800 Chenchus live in symbiosis with various cultivating castes, while the main branch of the tribe, numbering 8,078 according to the Census of 1931, live in the Nallamalai Hills south of the Kistna River in the Madras Presidency. This article deals only with the Jungle Chenchus of Hyderabad, among whom I stayed from January to July, 1940.

The literature on the Chenchus is extremely scanty and consists mainly of the article in E. Thurston's 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India', Vol. II, pp. 26-45, and Gulam Ahmed Khan's report in the Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXIII, Part I, pp. 261-276. In the same volume (pp. 277-279) B. S. Guha has described the physical types found among a limited number of the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau.

## SEASONAL NOMADISM.

The Chenchus still tell of a time when their ancestors owned no houses, but lived under trees and in rock-shelters. That this time does not lie further back than a few centuries is borne out by a passage in Ferishta's 'History of the Deccan', who describes them as 'living in caverns and under the shady branches of trees'.

To-day the Chenchus have learnt to build houses of bamboo and to thatch them with grass, but they have by no means abandoned their nomadic habits and it would be erroneous to suppose that all Chenchus dwell in solidly built houses and permanent settlements throughout the year. Their dependence on the natural products of the forest forces them to follow in the train of the seasons and at certain times of the year to leave the villages where they have their well-built houses for places with more water and increased possibilities for the gathering of edible plants. The Chenchu does not regard these migrations as a burdensome necessity however, but seems to be driven to them by a strong nomadic instinct, for even groups who find sufficient food and water in the vicinity of their permanent villages will leave their comfortable houses as the time of the annual migration approaches and erect temporary shelters in the jungle, perhaps as little as a mile away.

The houses in the permanent villages are built solidly with circular wattle walls and conical roofs thatched on bamboo rafters that rest on a forked centre pole. They are between 10 ft. and 15 ft. in diameter with one door about 3 ft. wide and 4 ft. high. These houses are generally rebuilt every two or three years, though much of the old material is incorporated in the new building even when the site of the village is shifted.

The dwellings in the temporary settlements are much less elaborate and can usually be constructed in an hour or two. The most solid are the low grass huts, which in shape fall between beehive and cone. A less complicated type of temporary dwelling is a rectangular shelter with posts to support the walls and flat roof of leafy branches. Still easier to construct is a rough triangular shed made of stout branches in leaf.

There can be no doubt that the primitive leaf-shelters, to-day used only in temporary settlements during the dry season, represent a survival of the earlier types of dwellings used by the Chenchus, who admit that they learnt the art of building proper houses from plains people.

Before they had acquired this art, which ties them to one village site for at least a part of the year, their movements must have been even more nomadic than they are now, and the lack of cohesion of the Chenchu village as a social unit probably dates from those times when they roamed the forest in small family groups.

The whole of the Chenchu area is divided into clearly defined tracts belonging to the various village communities. Within each tract is one permanent settlement, and it is by the name of this that the whole community is known. The permanent village is invariably inhabited during the rains and the greater part of the cold weather, but in January it is frequently deserted either by all or some of the individual families, which disperse and live in small temporary settlements during the next three or four months. Many of these settlements lie low down on the banks of the Kistna River, but others are hidden in the jungle in places where water and food are assured. Towards the end of March, when the corollae of the mohua tree (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.) provide ample food and the raw material for distilling liquor, the Chenchus seek out places where these trees are plentiful and move from the valleys up on to the plateau,—either back to their permanent village or to other temporary settlements on the hills.

The functioning of these migratory habits can be demonstrated best by a concrete example and as such the village of Irla Penta will serve. Irla Penta lies on a ridge at a height of about 1,800 feet only three and a half miles north of the Kistna River. At present the village community consists of eleven households, but none of these remain in Irla Penta after the end of the cold weather. The *peddamanshi* or headman, who owns cattle, moves down to the woods on the banks of the Kistna River, where he and one other family of his clan build temporary shelters. There they remain for two or three months, but at the time of the mohua season they go back to the hills, either spending a short time on a nearby ridge where each of them has a small hut or returning directly to Irla Penta. Three other families of Irla Penta settle six miles upstream on the open bank of the Kistna and, when I visited their settlement in March, a family of Boramacheruvu, a village some ten miles distant from Irla Penta, had joined this group. They had built no proper shelters, but lived on the rocks near the water, only wedging a few branches between the cracks to protect themselves against the afternoon sun; and if it rained the little colony sought refuge in a rock-shelter. Each family had its own hearth, but except for a few pots and collecting baskets they had brought no other household goods.

Another man of Irla Penta with his two wives and his five children settles every year on a tributary of the Kistna, where he has built a good house and has made an attempt to grow tobacco and Indian corn. Here he is only an hour's walk from the colony on the Kistna, but apparently he prefers the solitariness of his one-house settlement. At the time of the mohua flowers he brings his family up to the plateau and settles by the tank in Boramacheruvu. His brother's wife, a widow with three unmarried daughters, also leaves Irla Penta every

year for Boramacheruvu, her native village, where the tank provides enough water for her buffaloes.

The four remaining households of Irla Penta move every January to a site on a narrow rock ledge only a couple of furlongs from the Kistna, where they find sufficient fodder and water for their cattle. At the end of March they shift to a settlement on a nearby spur, where each family owns a proper house. They too return to Irla Penta at the beginning of the rains.

Although most groups now follow the same migratory routine year after year, their movements are fairly elastic and each family is free in its choice of a camping ground for the hot weather.

These seasonal migrations often entailing visits to other village-lands are only fully understandable when viewed against the background of the structure of Chenchu society and the customary law in regard to ownership of land.

The smallest, but most important, unit of Chenchu society is the family, which consists of husband, wife (or in rare cases two wives) and their unmarried children. Of all the social units only the family is characterized by division of labour and real economic co-operation, and so great is its self-sufficiency that some men live at least part of the year with their wives and children in single-house settlements. Owing to the absence of specialization in Chenchu economics the family relies normally on its own members for its supply of food and other necessities, although in times of stress the help of blood-relations is sought, and, as a rule, readily forthcoming.

Families dwelling alone are rare, however, and most Chenchus live in small communities of three to ten households, sharing a common settlement and common collecting grounds. These communities, which fluctuate throughout the year, swelling and shrinking from season to season, may be aptly termed 'local groups'. Their cohesion is based on common interests and more or less identical activities. In certain cases the members have only assembled for the purpose of exploiting one particular kind of fruit or other food-stuff which is to be found in that locality and at that time of year in great quantities, and will disperse as soon as the supply is exhausted.

In daily life complete equality seems to reign among the members of the local group, but close observation leads us to discern two definite classes: those permanent members born in the locality, who participate in the ownership of the surrounding tract of land, and those individuals whose inclusion is only temporary either as mates or as 'guests' of blood-relations already within the group. Between the two classes there are, however, no discriminating rights in the fruits of the soil and the spoils of the chase, for those settling in a village are *ipso facto* entitled to the produce of the land.

The instability of the 'local group' is due to the fact that every Chenchu possesses the right to reside, collect and hunt not only in the tract of land owned by the village of his father, but also in that of his mother and, if he is married, in the land of his wife's group. Thus he is free to move from one tract to the other as the season seems to advise, and to join now a 'local group' composed mainly of his own kin, and then one of his wife's blood-relations. But although individuals join at will any 'local group' where they may have relations, for certain purposes they remain linked with their home village, i.e. the permanent settlement where they grew up. There they are co-heirs to the land, while a man in his wife's village is only a 'guest'.

There exists no permanent private ownership of land, although a man is considered to be in temporary possession of any plot on which he has planted Indian corn, millet or tobacco. The tracts that form the common property of a village community are, however, clearly defined and their boundaries jealously guarded against encroachments by outsiders not entitled to its fruits by descent or marriage.

It is possible that the exogamous patrilineal clans into which the whole tribe is divided were originally territorial units and in possession of separate tracts of the country. A certain regional distribution of the clans, whose nature and function cannot be discussed here, is still noticeable, but nowadays the right to any particular tract of land is not linked up with clan-membership. Even should the clans have once been local units, a man would still have had the right to roam freely on the land of his father's clan as well as those of his mother and his wife, and thus the scope for the annual migrations of the Chenchus must always have been fairly wide.<sup>1</sup>

#### PRINCIPLES OF CHENCHU ECONOMICS.

The economic system of the Chenchus is essentially that of a tribe of hunters and food collectors. For the Chenchu depends for nine-tenths of his food-supply on that which nature provides and it is only a limited number of families, who by owning a few domestic animals are now in the process of emerging from this lowest and primæval stage of human development. Cultivation is generally restricted to the planting of a small patch of tobacco and a few tomatoes and 'chillies' in the immediate vicinity of the houses. There are, however, some enterprising men who plant a few handfuls of millet (*Andropogon Sorghum*) or Indian

<sup>1</sup> A full discussion of the Chenchus' social organization will be found in my book 'The Chenchus. Jungle Folk of the Deccan', which is in the Press.



corn (*Zea Mays*, Linn.) during the rains, but their number is small and the resultant crop too negligible to add appreciably to the food-supply of the family.

Any provision for the future is alien to Chenchu mentality. To wake in the morning with no food in the house does not disturb him in the least. He proceeds leisurely to the jungle to collect roots and fruits, satisfying his hunger as occasion offers, and returns to the village in the evening to share with his family all that he has brought home. There is no storing of eatables against an emergency, or indeed is any thought given to the morrow, for almost all food is instantly consumed. Under such conditions it is only the mutual assistance between families forming the local group that tides the individual over crises such as illness.

The Chenchu's horizon is bounded by the present and to speak of an economic 'system' when dealing with a tribe living so completely from hand to mouth is liable to create a false impression, for it is just the lack of 'system' that is so characteristic of Chenchu economics. In hunting and in the gathering of fruits, the fundamental basis of the old economy, this trait is most pronounced, while with the adoption of new enterprises a change of mental attitude necessarily occurs. Thus the preparing of mohua liquor calls for a certain foresight, since the flowers must be gathered and dried for several successive days before distilling can commence and the good prices some villages can obtain from selling dried flower to plains people has induced the Chenchu to curb his own instincts and to store the flowers in pits against the time of the highest offer. Similarly in the breeding of buffaloes and oxen provision must be made for mating. We may conclude therefore that since in certain spheres the Chenchu does exercise foresight, the lack of providence is a cultural and not a racial trait, or, in other words, that it is not owing to a mental disposition that the Chenchu so seldom plans for the future, but rather that his own old culture afforded little opportunity for planned economic activity. I am conscious that this may appear a vicious circle, for, it might be argued, is it not due to the Chenchu's peculiar mentality that he has not developed more systematic methods of satisfying the most fundamental of all human needs, the need for food? This problem, applicable to all primitive races on the cultural level of food collectors, cannot be discussed here, but it may be pointed out that once in close touch with higher developed economic systems the Chenchu does learn to exercise a moderate amount of foresight, although not unnaturally he prefers the care-free hand to mouth existence of his fathers.

Another aspect of the general lack of vision is the Chenchu's wasteful attitude towards the jungle in which he lives. He will lop off branches in order to pick the ripening fruit in comfort, or fell a tree on which a red squirrel or one of the large arboreal

lizards has taken refuge. If he sights a comb in some inaccessible place, he will, if no easier method presents itself, cut down the whole tree in order to take the honey. An important exception to this attitude is the treatment accorded to creepers with edible roots. The Chenchus say that if they find a climber with particularly prolific roots they replace the earth after removing the tubers, so that the plant should not die. Such care is, however, exceptional and is not exercised in the ordinary course of digging up roots.

The absence of concerted action is another important characteristic of Chenchu economics, and one which has surely played as large a part in barring the way to progress as the lack of planning. Although Chenchus set out in groups of three or four to collect roots or fruits, individuals working side by side do not co-operate; each fills a separate basket, and each carries his basket back to his own house to be consumed by his own family. Even in hunting, an activity which would seem to offer many opportunities for co-operation, the Chenchu does not resort to concerted action. Driving and beating are unknown and the Chenchu relies entirely on chance and his skill in woodcraft. No doubt this accounts for his limited success and has helped to relegate the chase to its present secondary rôle in the quest for food. Scarcity of ritual, which occupies such a prominent place in the economic activities of other primitive peoples, is perhaps due to this lack of co-operative effort. For among the more developed primitive societies the main function of ritual connected with hunting, fishing, the sowing and harvesting of crops and the building of canoes is the bond it creates between those partaking in the enterprise, a function which would seem entirely aimless in the absence of any co-ordinate effort.

The only division of labour in Chenchu society is that between the sexes, and even this is less marked than among many other primitive races. The collection of the majority of food-stuffs during the various seasons is effected by both men and women, there being no distinction in the method employed. Certain other activities, however, such as hunting, honey-taking and basket-making are exclusively male, while women prepare most of the food. Yet even household duties may fall to the lot of men, who occasionally undertake tasks which generally belong to the domain of women. The sexes are, as in most primitive societies, largely dependent on each other and the fate of the lone man or woman is not enviable, though perhaps widows seem to find a solitary life less uncomfortable than the single man.

Although a certain measure of barter and trade must have been maintained with the plains for some considerable time, it is significant that Chenchus never barter among themselves. Economically perhaps more than socially, the family is a self-contained unit and save in cases of illness or accident, when help

is readily forthcoming from all members of the local group, the Chenchu family is able to obtain all necessities of life through the efforts of its own members. Once more, exceptions are provided by activities of recent introduction, and a man owning cattle will borrow a bull to cover his cows or a mill-stone will be lent to one lucky enough to have acquired some grain. No payment is demanded for such services, which fall under the head of general helpfulness among villagers. Yet, however great this helpfulness may seem, we must realize that it is not economic co-operation in the full sense of the word; it is not based on a definite system of rights and obligations and is, so to say, accidental and not institutional.

This complete lack of the institutional factor in economic activities may perhaps baffle the student of human society, who is accustomed to think of primitive economics woven within a network of ritual, reciprocal social obligations and tribal lore, but if we review the social structure of the Chenchus it becomes evident that the economic independence of the individual family is correlated to its status as a self-contained social entity, free at any time to sever its connection with the village group. It is abortive to question whether the individualistic trend in Chenchu economics is responsible for the absence of a rigidly organized social unit larger than the family, or vice versa; the interdependence between economics and social organization is obvious.

#### FOOD COLLECTING.

The majority of the Chenchus living on the upper plateau subsist almost entirely on the fruits, plants and roots, which they are able to collect in the forests and the daily task of gathering these products eclipses all other occupations. It is the digging stick and the collecting basket on which the Chenchu relies for the bulk of his food-supply.

Edible fruits and plants vary with the seasons, and while there are times when it is comparatively easy for the Chenchu to collect ample food, there are others when he has to struggle hard to provide himself and his family with sufficient to eat, and many are the days he goes to sleep on an unsatisfied stomach.

During the cold and dry seasons the adult men and women leave the village with digging sticks over their shoulders and collecting baskets on their hips about three hours after sunrise. They go in twos, threes or even fours to those parts of the forest where they expect to find edible roots or fruits. Husband and wife, particularly in the first years of marriage, often go to the jungle together, but more often the sexes separate and there is a definite tendency to seek companions of the same age for the day's work. When fruits are in season Chenchus are certain to fill their baskets, but the digging of roots is more dependent on chance and in the dry season women frequently return after a

full day's work with little more than a handful of roots in the bottom of their baskets, which was all that remained after the satisfying of their immediate hunger in the jungle. Dusk nearly always finds the women in the village, but the men sometimes make two-day excursions to far-away collecting grounds, camping in the jungle for the night and only returning to the village the following evening. Even such expeditions do not yield an exceptional quantity of roots, for most of that which the men collect is roasted and eaten while they are away from home.

During the cold and the first part of the hot season the mainstay of Chenchu diet consists of the edible roots, or more precisely the tubers of various creepers; some thrive all the year round, while others can only be collected during the dry season.

The most important of these tubers is *nalla gadda*, which is of a white soapy texture, with a taste that slightly resembles potatoes. It comes into season at the end of the cold weather and lasts without interruption till the beginning of the rains and there are times when the Chenchu subsists almost entirely on *nalla gadda*. *Eravala gadda* and *nula gadda* are to be found at all times of the year, except during the rainy season when these tubers decay in the damp earth. *Chenchu gadda*, however, occurs throughout the year. It grows perpendicularly in the soil, two to three feet deep, and entails much hard labour to unearth; it is therefore the men who generally dig up this particular tuber. During the rains *Chenchu gadda* is collected in great quantities, but it is said to have most flavour during the hot season. *Donda gadda* is another tuber collected at all seasons, but it favours the lower valleys and is not very plentiful on the top of the plateau. The seed-pods of this creeper ripen during June, when the Chenchus collect the seeds and eat them raw. *Samakura gadda* is the tuber of a small plant not more than a foot high and is collected exclusively at the end of the rains when it develops in great quantities. The pods maturing in the autumn are boiled whole, but only the seeds they contain are eaten; these are said to be very satisfying. Ultimately there is *gita gadda*, a tuber only eaten in times of emergency, when no other food is available, for its consumption is followed by acute indigestion.

When digging for tubers the Chenchu sits on the ground, usually with one leg outstretched and the other crooked and drawn up, while the digging stick is operated with both hands. Men sometimes squat when digging for roots bringing their whole weight to bear at each thrust. Since more often than not the creepers grow in stony soil, many stones must be removed before the earth immediately surrounding the roots is reached. It is difficult to estimate the exact position of the tubers, but when the first hairy fibres appear, the hands are used to scratch

away the last covering earth in order not to damage the tubers with the iron point of the digging stick.

In the cold weather the ripening of various fruits breaks the monotony of a tuber diet, but the individual species last but a short while, and within a few days the Chenchu falls back on the filling, but not exactly tasty tubers. During January he collects the large brown velvety pods of *Bauhinia VahlII*, W. & A., the most abundant climber on the plateau. Its green seeds are roasted or boiled and though they are slightly bitter, they have a not unpleasant flavour even to those unaccustomed to Chenchu fare. During the same month the pods of *Tamarindus indica*, Linn. are plucked when the pulp of the pod is still juicy. These pods are strung in much the same manner as French beans, the outside skin is removed and the whole pod then dipped in ash to mitigate the acidity. Tamarind pods play a fairly important part in the diet until the middle of February.

The last weeks of February and the first of March are a poor time for fruit. In some localities the Chenchus pick the unripe berries of *Buchanania latifolia*, Roxb., cracking the double shells in order to reach the kernels (*chironjis*), which at this time of the year are the only edible portion. The Chenchus whom I found camping on the Kistna River had, at the time of my visit, nothing to eat but these small nuts. It was the middle of March and they complained that for days they had been unable to find any roots, although the yield of the valley had been good on their arrival two months previously.

In March the Chenchus collect the first tender green blossoms of a tree, locally known as *mirikai*, which they chop up and boil. They like to eat these mixed with curd, but this is only possible when there are buffaloes in the village. Soon the fruit of *Ficus infectoria*, Roxb. ripen and are eaten as an occasional relish while at the end of the same month the first of the red figs of *Ficus glomerata*, Roxb. come into season. The Chenchus of Boramacheruvu, where I stayed at that time, used to make a dash for the fig trees with the greying dawn, each anxious to be the first to arrive and to secure the most and best of the windfalls. They explained that they could not climb the trees, because the trunks were infested with red ants, and thus were forced to wait till the figs fell to the ground. During these days they sat in the village most of the morning, eating their fill of the over-ripe fruit and cutting the rest into pieces and drying it in the sun to preserve it till the evening.

Soon after the ripening of these figs the first corollae of *Bassia latifolia*, the mohua tree, drop to the ground and with this begins the mohua flower season, so eagerly awaited by all Chenchus. In the preceding weeks the tall grass under the trees has been fired and the fleshy corollae which litter the charred ground during the next two months are therefore easy to collect. Mohua flowers are collected in great quantities for

food as well as for the distilling of liquor. In most Chenchu villages the greater part of those brought home to the village is boiled and eaten at once, only a small portion being set aside each day by the individual families, to be dried on the rocks or on the open spaces in front of the houses and used for liquor. The Chenchus sometimes boil the leaves of *Erythroxylon monogynum*, Roxb. with the mohua flowers, whose slightly bitter taste probably counteracts the sickly sweetness of the mohua.

Used as food the fresh flower is boiled, but when intended for liquor the corollae are dried in the sun for several days. Mohua liquor is almost pure alcohol and very potent; it is often drunk while still warm, though before a wedding or other ceremony it is usual to make a couple of pots in advance.

The mohua flower season lasts through April and May. The same months see the ripening of the fruit of *Buchanania latifolia* and the Chenchus eat the pleasant sweet flavoured pulp as well as the kernels already mentioned above. Often the kernels are removed from the pulp and cracked one by one, but sometimes whole berries are squashed between stones and the resultant mash eaten raw. The fruit of *Buchanania angustifolia*, Roxb. is very similar, the berries being larger, and it too is consumed by the Chenchus whenever found, though it is less plentiful on the plateau. In gathering fruit of this kind the Chenchus usually climb the trees devouring all the ripe berries within reach; sticks are also used to beat the branches so that the fruit falls to the ground, where it is eagerly pounced on by children and old men squatting below. A more wasteful method, but one typical of Chenchu mentality, is the lopping of the fruit-bearing branches so that the berries may be collected in comfort.

It is also during May that the small red fruit of *Ficus bengalensis*, Linn. come into season, and thus the Chenchu enjoys an abundance of food at this time of the year. The result of this time of plenty on the appearance of the Chenchu is most striking and the limbs of men and women put on weight, while faces, which in the cold weather had worn a lean and hungry look, become plump and almost unrecognizable.

The season of mohua flowers and *chironjis* comes to an end, however, in the second half of May, and the Chenchu then reverts to his diet of tubers, several kinds of which are particularly plentiful and well flavoured in the time between the first showers of May and the breaking of the monsoon. Moreover, there are the young tender leaves of *Tamarindus indica*, which are boiled and eaten and the figs of *Ficus bengalensis*, which ripening gradually last till late in June. The last of the main fruit trees to come into season is the *Eugenia jambolana*, Lam., whose oblong black berries have a very pleasant taste and are collected in enormous quantities when they ripen at the end of June.

With the breaking of the monsoon, numerous herbs spring up all over the forest. Many of them are eaten by the Chenchu and I have myself welcomed them as a substitute for vegetables, just as I learnt to appreciate *nalla gadda* in the place of potatoes. Among the herbs that are most frequently eaten are *dogal kura*, *pauli kura*, *banka kura*, *bodumal kura* and *sher kura*. Sometimes several varieties of herbs are mixed, but the Chenchus really prefer boiling and eating one kind at a time while they seldom have salt or spices to flavour such leaves.

During the later part of the rains these herbs and some varieties of roots form the backbone of the Chenchu's food and on days of heavy storms, when he cannot dig for roots, a few herbs collected near his house help to stave off hunger.

From the end of the rains till about January the forest provides little else but tubers and it is probably then that the menu of the Chenchu is most monotonous.

At certain times of the year the Chenchu is able to supplement his diet with the honey of wild bees, to which he is very partial. In all matters relating to food the Chenchu is a keen observer and he knows that the best and thickest honey comes from the *anduku chettu* (*Boswellia serrata*, Roxb.) and the *pachardu chettu* (*Albizzia procera*, Benth.), all other kinds being rather thin. The honey of the rock-bees, which are particularly abundant in the cliffs of the Kistna gorges, is taken towards the end of the hot season. Long ropes are used to scale the cliffs to reach the combs situated between the cracks, and these are secured to a tree on the top of the rock and watched over by one man, while another descends the rope with a honey basket tied to his hip and a bundle of smouldering leaves on the end of a long stick with which to smoke out the bees. When the bees have been dispersed the whole comb is cut from the rock and carried up the rope in the honey basket.

Trees on which honeycombs have been discovered are climbed in the usual way and the bees smoked out. When a comb lies in a hole in the trunk the Chenchu puts in his hand and takes the comb by pieces, but if it hangs on a branch he carves it off whole with his knife.

Arrows attached to strings are shot into combs that hang in inaccessible places, and the Chenchu sits on the ground with a basket between his knees, catching the honey that exudes from the spot where the wax has been pierced and flows down the string into his receptacle. A similar expedient is a spiked stick attached to a broad strand of fibre, which is hitched to the end of a long bamboo and thrust into the comb; in this case the honey flows down the broad strand of fibre.

Although honey is highly valued by the Chenchus, who say that they eat it together with the wax and any grubs which happen to be in the cells, it is only collected occasionally and in small quantities.

## HUNTING AND FISHING.

Classifying the Chenchus of the present day as a 'tribe of primitive hunters and food collectors' may give rise to a misconception. For although the men, and especially the young men, often carry their bows and arrows, occasionally even setting out with the definite purpose of hunting, the chase contributes but meagrely to the general supply of food. During the six weeks I stayed in Boramacheruvu the men of the village killed only one deer, and this was shot with a gun. In spite of the innumerable peacocks and jungle fowl in the nearby thickets no other game was brought home.

The marksmanship of the Chenchus whom I saw using their bows and arrows was not remarkable, but judging from the stories old men tell of their youth and the fact that, despite many vicissitudes, the bow and arrow does still survive, it would appear that the Chenchus of past generations were more successful in the pursuit of game. Yet it is probable that Chenchu diet, like that of so many other primitive races of tropical regions, was always mainly vegetable, only occasionally bettered by the flesh of hunted animals.

Nowadays small game like hares, squirrels, monkeys and birds are shot with bows and arrows while guns are generally used for hunting sambhur and other deer, and, very exceptionally, bear, panther and tiger. The times are still remembered, however, when these larger animals too were hunted with bows and arrows; the adequacy of a Chenchu bow in bringing down sambhur and deer is demonstrated by the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, who are allowed to hunt freely as long as they use only bows and arrows and often bag large game with these weapons.

But on the Amrabad Plateau all men do not even possess bows, though those who do are frequently to be seen with them in hand when setting out to collect tubers or fruits. If they sight a squirrel or other small animal they creep up to it, approaching as near as possible before shooting. Should they score a hit they make a fire immediately, singe off the animal's fur, and then roast it whole in its skin over the fire. If a man is alone he will finish the whole animal himself, or he may eat the head and legs and take the rest home, but if there are several men together they will share the prize, however small. Chenchus spotting a Malabar squirrel in an isolated tree will often attempt its capture, even if they have no bows; they surround the tree and pelt the animal with stones, until it jumps from the tree in an attempt to escape, when the Chenchus will set on it and kill it with sticks.

Men in search of small game string their bows, which otherwise they carry unstrung, and creep noiselessly through the jungle with knees bent and cautious steps. They are careful



that no rustle of leaves or breaking of twigs betrays their approach and as they pass they turn up the leaves of giant creepers on the chance of spotting possible game concealed among the foliage. An animal sighted in the high branches or dense thicket they chase into the open by hurling sticks and stones until it comes within range of their arrows, or they will let fly the *kola*, an arrow with a blunt head, against the tree trunk, to scare the animal from its hiding place.

The customary behaviour connected with the chase of larger animals is difficult to observe, since the Chenchu, in attempting to evade the interference of forest officials, observe the greatest possible secrecy. However, I managed to establish enough confidence among certain men to induce them to tell me something of the methods which they would adopt in hunting larger game. They will, they said, watch an animal's habits and erect a small leaf screen where they find its spoor and where they know it is accustomed to pass. Here they will lie in wait, and will try to aim at a point just behind the shoulder. If they can get a shot at not more than fifteen yards the point of the arrow will come out of the other side of the animal.

Some idea of the technique of hunting with the gun as practised by the Chenchus south of the Kistna River about two generations ago can be gathered from an unspecified report quoted by E. Thurston.<sup>1</sup> 'The Chenchu is every bit as bad a shot as the average aboriginal. He rarely stalks, but when he does, he makes up by his skill in woodcraft for his inexperience with his gun. He understands the importance of not giving the deer a slant of his wind, and if they catch a glimpse of him, he will stand motionless and black as the tree trunks around. The ambush by the salt lick or waterhole, however, is his favourite method of sport. Here, fortified with a supply of pungent smelling liquor, which he illicitly distils from mohua flower, he will lie night and day ruthlessly murdering sambhur, spotted deer, nilgai (*Bose laphus tragocamelus*), four-horned antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*). Tigers often stalk down and drink and roll in the pool, but the Chenchu dares not draw a bead on him. Perhaps the indifference of his shooting, of which he is conscious, deters him.'

It seems that larger animals are never carried intact to the village, but are cut up in the jungle where they have fallen. A lone hunter fetches the other men of the village and together they skin the animal and divide up the meat. They roast and eat as much as they are able on the spot, and after having gorged most of the animal, they take the remainder home to their wives and children. Meat cooked in the village is invariably boiled and not roasted, but nothing is added or eaten with the flesh,

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<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, Vol. II, pp. 35-36.

which is considered a great delicacy. Visitors in the village also receive a portion, but the man who shot the animal keeps one whole hind leg as well as the skin, which he dries and later uses as a mat. All that cannot be consumed in the village on that day is cut into strips and dried in the sun.

On the spot where the animal fell a small part of the meat is cut off, cooked and offered to Garelamaisama, who is the main deity of the Chenchus and the one most frequently invoked; she is closely connected with hunting and according to Chenchu tradition, it was she who forbade their forefathers to kill female animals. This taboo is, however, no longer respected.

A man may only hunt in those lands to which he has a right, and even to-day the boundaries of the hunting and collecting grounds belonging to the various villages are nominally respected, but in the old times the least infringement of the boundaries gave rise to inter-village quarrels which sometimes led to bloodshed. When a wounded animal fled across the boundary into the hunting ground of another village, however, the hunter who wounded it had the right to take away the meat.

Bow and gun are not the only means of procuring flesh. Stones are used as missiles to kill squirrels and birds, and sticks to break the back of the 'udimi', a large arboreal lizard.<sup>1</sup> Some men also use dogs to smell out and catch these lizards, and other animals such as hares and the small grey squirrel, but once the prey is secured the Chenchu rushes forward and extracts it from the clutches of the dog, who is lucky if he receives the entrails of the animal. No offering is made to Garelamaisama when animals are caught by dogs, and this seems to suggest that their use in hunting does not date back to very ancient times; a recently introduced method would naturally be unaccompanied by the old ritual. Neither in Thurston nor in any other account of the Chenchus are hunting dogs mentioned and I am therefore inclined to discount the statement made by some men that in the old times they tamed wild dogs and used them in similar fashion. The lizards, whose flesh is highly valued by the Chenchu, are hunted mainly in the rainy season, when they come out of their holes and are easy to catch.

Chenchus are not particular as to the freshness of their meat, and they do not despise the kills of tigers or other beasts of prey. Wild game eaten by the Chenchus includes sambhur, deer, goat, bear, hare, squirrel, wild cat, porcupine, peacock, jungle fowl, pigeon and practically any smaller bird which he is fortunate enough to capture, as well as the arboreal lizard. They do not eat tiger, panther or dog, nor will they touch snakes and frogs.

When the birds nest the boys climb the trees in search of eggs and young birds; birds, however small and even if they happen to be young birds of prey, are eaten, but the Chenchus

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<sup>1</sup> The Indian Monitor (*Varanus bengalensis*, Daud.).

rarely attempt to shoot grown hawks, kites or vultures. They are also very partial to white ants, which are dug up in the cold weather and considered a great delicacy; when the white ants swarm in May and June they are caught in holes made in the ground and boiled or roasted, all parts being consumed including the wings.

The absence of any kind of trap or snare is a remarkable deficiency in the Chenchus' technique of securing game. This could hardly be set down to a degeneration of culture, which certainly could not have entirely eliminated such an easy and profitable means of obtaining food, and we have therefore to contend with the phenomenon of a primitive jungle tribe unfamiliar with trapping and snaring. The Chenchus have heard of such methods, and say that the plains people know how to trap birds, but that Chenchus on the plateau are ignorant of such devices.

Hunting as practised among the Chenchus of the Amrabad plateau to-day shows evident signs of disintegration. In search of the causes for its relegation to a secondary rôle in Chenchu economics, we are able to discern two factors which no doubt greatly precipitated its decline. The most decisive of these has undoubtedly been the restriction imposed by the Forest Authorities, who definitely discourage the shooting of the larger animals. A second factor may have been the introduction of the gun two or three generations ago; in consequence the Chenchu's skill in handling the bow and arrow rapidly deteriorated, though it was not long before he realized the difficulties of keeping the gun in order and of procuring the cash for the necessary powder. There are many indications that the Chenchus enjoyed a period of unnatural prosperity some sixty or seventy years ago. This boom, which seems to have occurred when they first began to sell large quantities of minor forest products, enabled them to purchase guns and other novel effects. Once in possession of such a powerful weapon, the Chenchu neglected his bow and even failed to instruct his sons in its art. Nowadays most guns have disappeared, for they have either been sold in times of stress, or fallen into disrepair, and the Chenchus never possess enough money to buy new ones or to have the old ones repaired. But the tradition of archery is broken and the present-day Chenchu is no longer as skilled a hunter as his ancestors.

There are only a few places where fish are to be found on the plateau and thus the opportunities for fishing are scarce. Many villages have no river or tank within the boundaries of their land and the people therefore never go fishing. Those Chenchus, however, who live close to valleys with perennial water occasionally try their luck in the pools, where water stagnates during the dry season. They take the corky bark of *Mundulea suberosa*, Benth., pound it, mix it with the red sand of white ant heaps and scatter it over the surface of the water. The poisonous

bark stupefies the fish, which are then easily caught with the hands. This method is only successful in shallow pools where there is no current.

The Chenchus have also learnt to catch fish with line and hook, both of which they buy in the plains. Rods are sometimes made of bamboo, and worms or pieces of fruit are used as bait, while the bent quill of a peacock feather acts as float. This manner of fishing is not very popular, however, probably on account of the great patience required in waiting for a bite.

Women never catch fish, though they will sit looking on, waiting for their share of the catch. Men sometimes go on fishing excursions and are away two or three days, camping in the jungle overnight. When fish are landed, they are rubbed on flat stones until the skin is free of the rough silvery scales; they are then cut open and the guts are removed. A fire is made by the water's edge and a part of the catch will be roasted on a spit and eaten at once, while the remainder is taken home, where it is cut into pieces and boiled with salt and chillies, if the latter are available. Fish are carried to the village strung by the head on twigs.

In contrast to the ritual after a successful hunt, when offerings are made to Garelamaisama, no ceremonial acts of any kind appear to be connected with either method of fishing, and this may be taken as an indication that the catching of fish does not represent a very ancient element in Chenchu culture.

#### DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

All Chenchus agree that their forefathers had no domesticated animals but the dog, and even to-day the greater part of the Chenchus on the plateau do not possess any other animals. In most villages, however, there are families who own buffaloes, cows or goats, and it appears from the life-stories of many old men and women that about thirty or forty years ago a considerably larger number of cattle was in the hands of the Chenchus. The Chenchus say that the decimation of their stock was effected by the epidemics brought in by the cattle of graziers which annually invade the forest. Although disease undoubtedly took a great toll, the decline is also largely due to the serious worsening of the Chenchu's economic situation, which leads them to sell many of the calves, so that year by year the number of their cattle dwindles instead of increasing. How the Chenchus originally acquired cattle is open to question, but it seems that at the time when they were able to sell large quantities of forest produce to traders in the plains they began to purchase various kinds of young stock.

The fact that a tribe of food collectors had, and still has, the desire and the aptitude to keep and breed these animals

is noteworthy and indicates that under certain circumstances, the transition from hunting and collecting to cattle-breeding is easier than from hunting and collecting to agriculture. No encouragement has been given to the acquisition of cattle, whereas definite and mostly unsuccessful attempts have been made to settle the Chenchus as cultivators. Nevertheless it is understandable that cattle-breeding came to be readily and spontaneously adopted by the Chenchus, for it is fully consistent and even favoured by their nomadic habits which on the other hand erect unsurmountable barriers in the ways of cultivation. During the dry season, when water becomes scarce on the plateau, cattle are easily driven to some place where a more ample supply is to be found, even should this entail a journey down into the Kistna valley.

Buffaloes are as a whole more favoured than oxen, for they are better fitted to withstand the climate of the plateau, and in most Chenchu villages there are at least three or four buffalo cows, as well as a few calves. Cattle are kept exclusively for milk and for the calves, which always realize a certain amount of grain or cash. The meat is not eaten, for with the acquisition of cattle, the Chenchu adopted the prejudice of the Hindu against eating beef. There is in his case no religious reason for this custom, which he probably took over without question when he first became acquainted with these animals. From the point of view of diet, however, it is a pity that he forgoes the meat of his domestic animals.

Owners of bulls lend them free of charge to other Chenchus for breeding purposes, but they sometimes hire them out to plains people against cash or in the liquidation of a debt.

At night buffaloes and cows are tethered to wooden posts in front of the houses, but where the village is built on rock the animals are fastened to long poles laid on the ground, which are well weighted down by boulders and piles of stones. The ropes are usually fastened to one of the forelegs, but nooses are used for young calves. The milking is done in the morning and this task generally falls to the lot of the owner's wife, though sometimes men milk too. The milker squats beside the cow, gripping a pot between the knees and milking with both hands. Calves are put to their mothers a few minutes before milking to encourage the yield, but then they are tied up some distance away. A small quantity of milk is, however, left in the udders, and before the cows are driven out to grass the calves are allowed to drink. At midday the calves are watered and fed with a little dried grass; as long as they are small they are kept tied up well within the village for fear of tiger and panther, but later they are allowed to graze with the herd, although even at this stage they often fall victim to beasts of prey. In the evening the cattle are driven home to the village, but they are rarely milked a second time.

The milk is used in various ways. Children are given a small quantity fresh, and the helpfulness between co-villagers generally prompts a man owning buffaloes or cows to give a little of his milk to all the small children of the group, without expecting anything in exchange. The larger part of the milk is used for making ghee, which is sold, only a small quantity being kept to smooth the hair after washing. The butter-milk is allowed to turn to curd, which the Chenchus like to eat mixed with various kinds of food, while the whey is drunk, a little salt being added whenever available.

At present goats are kept only by a few and it is difficult to understand why they are not more popular, for they serve the double purpose of providing milk and meat; Chenchus not only drink goat's milk but eat goat's flesh and use the skins as mats.

Chickens are even more rare. The flesh as well as the eggs are eaten, but poultry does not make the same appeal to the Chenchu as cattle.

In every Chenchu village there are always a number of dogs, which announce the arrival of any stranger with continual yelping and barking. In the old times, I was told, the Chenchus tamed wild dogs with red hair and black faces, which they caught in the jungle as puppies, but nowadays the majority of Chenchu dogs are of the same mongrel breed as those of the plains people.

Although domesticated animals had, with the possible exception of dogs, no place in Chenchu culture of olden days, they are now well established, and there can be little doubt that one of the possibilities for improvement in the Chenchu's economic situation lies in the extension and encouragement of cattle-breeding.

#### CULTIVATION.

In marked contrast to the Chenchu's aptitude for breeding cattle is his attitude towards cultivation. Attempts to introduce plough-cultivation on the upper plateau have failed almost completely. In Vatellapalli, a village where a few households of Waddars were settled with the idea of creating an example and encouraging the Chenchus to till the soil, only one man took to ploughing the land, but he is now too old to work and no one else, not even his own son, follows his example. A few other people of Vatellapalli did cultivate for a time, turning up the earth with hoes, but they also abandoned the attempt some time ago, and now there is no Chenchu in the village who works a field. In Koman Penta the *peddamanshi* grows *jawar* (*Andropogon Sorghum*, Brot.) and *ragi* (*Eleusine Coracana*, Gaertn.); he does not do all the work himself, however, but has entered into a kind of partnership with a Mohammedan, who comes up from Amrabad, a village on the lower part of the plateau, every year and shares in the work as well as the yield. The *peddamanshi* complains that none of the younger men show

any inclination to work on the fields, and that they all prefer to go to the jungle for roots.

There exist no other cases of Jungle Chenchus embarking on plough-cultivation, but during the rains some Chenchus fence in small plots where they scratch the surface of the earth, removing the grass with broad flat wooden battons, and then plant grains of millet and Indian corn in holes made with their digging sticks. This work is usually executed by men, but sometimes widows too have their small plots. The seed millet is bought, but a little Indian corn is kept from one year to the other. The crops grown on these patches do not form any substantial addition to the Chenchu's food supply, but they are a welcome change after a diet of herbs and the tasteless, watery roots during the rains. Small quantities of tomatoes and chillies are sometimes grown round the houses. Fruit trees are practically never planted.

There is, however, a fenced-off patch near every village where tobacco is raised. The seeds, which are usually bought in the plains, are sown in small plots and the seedlings transplanted when they are a couple of inches high. The leaves are dried on stones and some people keep the seeds for the following year. It appears that not all men of a settlement plant tobacco every year, but only one or two, who supply the needs of the rest of the community as well as any relation in need, the task falling to another man in the following year. Like the people of the plains, the Chenchu smokes tobacco rolled up in the large pliable leaves of *Diospyros melanoxylon*, Roxb. which are called 'bidis'.

The present mentality of the Chenchu appears definitely ill-suited to agriculture on any considerable scale, and it would be misleading to expect a radical change in this situation within one or two generations. For even in the Kurnool District of Madras, where the Chenchus have been settled in large permanent villages and given all the necessary facilities, only comparatively few have taken to cultivation.

#### TRADE AND BARTER.

Before the Chenchus came in contact with races of higher developed culture, trade and barter were probably non-existent. But these times lie far back and for a considerable period the Chenchus must have depended on barter to obtain the knives axe-heads and iron for arrow-tips, which for generations have formed an indispensable part of their equipment. The commodities they tendered in exchange for these goods were undoubtedly forest produce, such as honey, wax and fruits, and sometimes perhaps even venison.

In recent years the Chenchus' demand for 'foreign' goods has increased. The discarding of the leaf-dress of their ancestors

has given rise to the need for clothes and with the adoption of a more settled mode of life, they have learnt to covet such household goods as pots, winnowing fans, and mill-stones, all of which must be bought in the plains. Moreover, they have grown to consider rice and millet as the most desirable form of food, and one which to-day they will go far out of their way to obtain.

While the ever-growing contact with outsiders which has followed the opening up of the forest has increased the Chenchus' demand for trade articles, it has proportionately decreased their ability to provide the necessary goods in exchange. For the exploitation of their land by the Forest Department and by contractors has deprived them of their former monopoly in forest produce, thereby curtailing their only source of income at a time when they stood most in need of produce to counter-balance the new developments. This probably explains how it is that every Chenchu will assert that his grandfather was more prosperous than he and had excellent opportunities of selling jungle products to plains people, who used to pay very high prices. There are still minor forest products which are sold by the Chenchu such as mohua flowers, *chironji* (the kernels of *Buchanania latifolia*), the fruits of *Terminalia chebula*, Retz. which gives the black *myrabolams*, honey, the aromatic resin of *Boswellia serrata*, Roxb., cast-off sambhur horns, and bamboo baskets. Unfortunately, he has, as a rule, no other market than the banyas of the villages on the edge of the plains and these take advantage of his simplicity and cheat him in the most unscrupulous manner.

All these forest products afford, however, but seasonal and spasmodic sources of income and it is only men owning cattle who run steady accounts with the banyas, for they are able to supply ghee during the greater part of the year and occasionally have calves for sale.

The goods which the Chenchu acquires with what he realizes on his collections of forest products can be divided into two groups: cloths, household goods, etc., and food. Cloths for himself and his wife and his children, although not plentiful, are a considerable drain on his resources and often involve him in debt. Many of the essential implements and household utensils must also be bought from a banya or a bazaar. Fortunately, the expenditure for axe-heads, knives, and the iron points for digging-sticks has only to be made once in a lifetime. Pots, however, do not last for ever and have often to be replaced.

Ultimately, there are the food-stuffs, which with the infiltration of plains ideas have to be purchased for certain occasions. At weddings it is now imperative to have rice, chillies, dhal and salt, which cost the bridegroom two or three rupees and unless the event falls within the mohua flower season he must spend at least two rupees on liquor. In the same way rice and spices are now required for the ceremonies following death and if




possible a woman is given rice or millet on the days after confinement.

Apart from these special occasions, for which such foods are now considered necessary, the desire to supplement his jungle diet with grain is ever present and men going to the plains to sell their produce almost invariably return with at least a small quantity of millet knotted in their cloths.

Labour is only an insignificant source of income. In the dry season and at the beginning of the rains the Chenchus near the cart tracks are occasionally recruited by the Forest Department for the demarcation of coups and the upkeep of nurseries. They seldom work for contractors except in collecting some of the auctioned minor forest produce.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

The Chenchus of the Amrabad plateau have retained the characteristics of primitive food collectors to a larger degree than most jungle tribes of Southern India, with whom they have racial and cultural affinities. The keeping of cattle by a number of men and the frail attempts at cultivation have not changed the essential features of their mode of living or their economic system. Yet fresh needs have arisen and there has set in a process of adaptation to the habits of the surrounding population. The Chenchus now wear clothes and use household utensils that are very much the same as those of the lower Telugu castes and they have learnt to find marketable goods to barter for these things. Growing contact with their neighbours has induced many of them to leave the jungle and settle in the villages of the plains. But those who to-day still live in the hills cling tenaciously to their old forest life and scorn the idea that they too might exchange it for a more settled existence. Their old social organization has remained intact and their economics are still what they have been since time immemorial—the economics of a tribe of primitive food-gatherers.



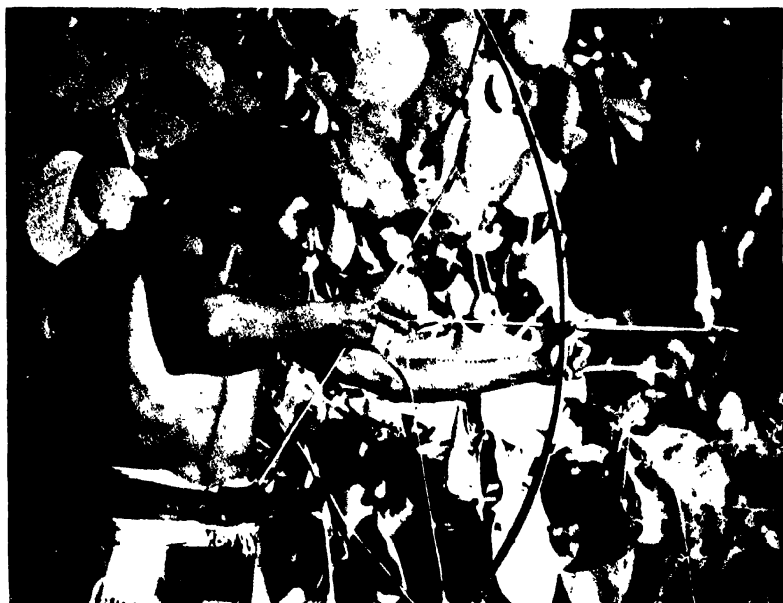


FIG. 1. Chenchu bowman.



FIG. 2. Chenchu women digging for edible roots.



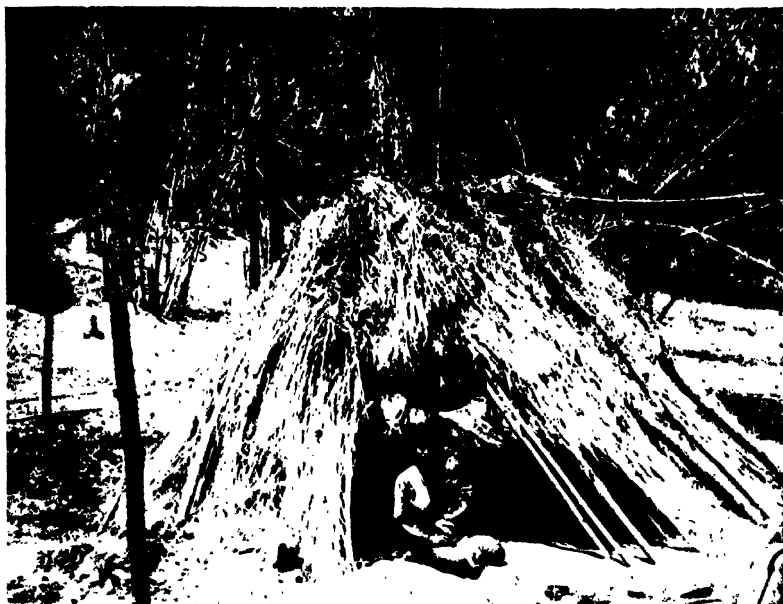


FIG. 3. Chenchu hut in a temporary settlement.



FIG. 4. Chenchu houses, one half completed, in a permanent village



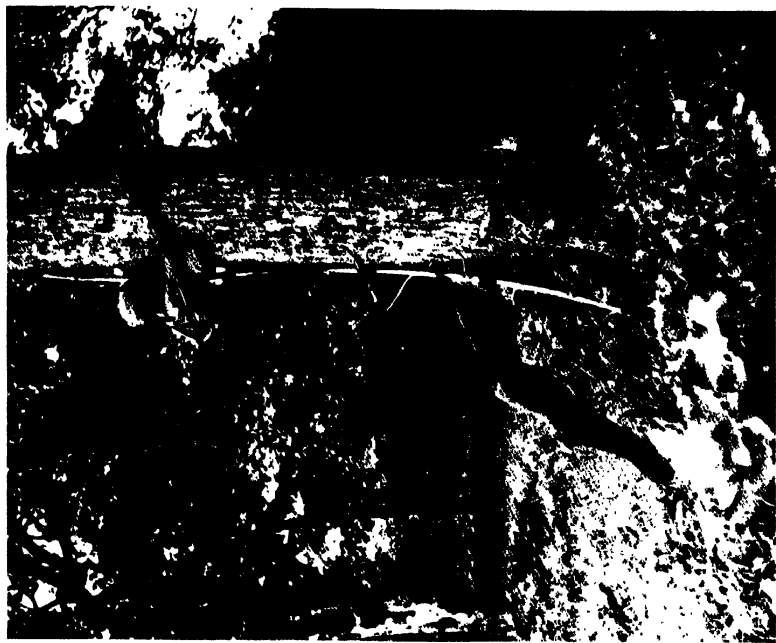


FIG. 6. Chenchus climbing a tree in search of honey.



FIG. 5. Chenchu couple on their way to the jungle to collect food.

The site of Gandab is about four miles further down the river, the rocks visited by us however were some distance from the bank, being more than a mile from the present course. Here the engravings are not easily found as they are on smaller rocks scattered over a fairly wide area. Ponies are practically essential to scour this bit of country, which is at some distance from the main Nizampur road. Unfortunately, we visited this site in early June, as it was our one opportunity of going there under the auspices of Mr. Emerson, then A. C. Nowshera, who had ponies and guides laid on for us. Though the mid-day temperature was about  $110^{\circ}$ , we managed to cover a lot of ground and secure some good photographs.

On the East Bank, the main group of inscribed rocks is near the village of Ghariala some  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Campbellpur. The rocks are to be found on both sides of the road at the point where it starts to go steeply down to the broken Choi bridge, which once spanned the Haro. Adjacent on a bluff overlooking the river is the village of Ghariala. The other groups are the one visited by Mr. Cuthbert King on the Indus bank just up-stream of the confluence of the Haro, and the one reported in the bed of the Haro, which remained unlocated by us after a prolonged search.

#### THE TECHNIQUE OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

The engravings are all executed on the smooth flat surface of purplish black basalt boulders. The greater part of them are made by a series of peckings of the rock, probably with some form of metal tool. In some instances the pecking is much rougher than in others, the work at Mandori being on the whole better than that at the other sites, and that at Ghariala being for the most part rather crude and inferior.

The best pecked work can be seen in the round mirror-shaped objects on the top ridge of the most extensively engraved boulder in the main group at Mandori, here the closeness of the pecking has produced an almost uniform depressed surface. The engravings at Ghariala are for the most part linear and the pecking is often very crude and discontinuous. Another form of engraving is produced by a continuously chisled groove; these are not very common, but there is no reason to suppose they are not contemporary with the rest of the engravings.

Although these figures are sometimes spoken of as rock bruising, only a few specimens at Gandab (fig. 2) are true bruising. These are produced by the colour of the rock surface being changed by bruising it, the effect being to change the purplish black of the basalt boulder to a pale grey-brown. Little or nothing of this bruising can be felt by passing the finger tips over the surface of the rock, but, as can be seen from the unchalked illustration, the figures stand out quite plainly to

the eye, and have in fact the least crude outline of any, the shape of the battle axe for instance being most carefully depicted.

### THE SUBJECT OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

The most important of the rocks show a mass of miscellaneous engravings, few if any bearing any relation to their neighbours, humans, animals, and abstractions being pecked out of the rock in aimless confusion.

The human figures are very crude and tend towards the extremes of simplification. Figures of men are quite common, for the most part they are disassociated with any other figure, occasionally they can be found riding a horse, an elephant or a camel. Groups, which are very infrequent, seem to be limited to two. One such group shows a man gripping another by the wrist with his left hand while he menaces him with a sword. Cuthbert King thinks that this may be commemorative of a treaty of fishing rights, but if they are striking hands on a bargain, it would be very out of place and against all experience of such customs for one of the participants to be waving a sword. Armed men are frequently equipped with sword, spear and a shield either round or rectangular, and in one instance (fig. 2) with a battle axe. Bows and arrows, so common in the rock paintings of Central India, are represented by only one example (fig. 4). Figures of women are scarce, but a gentleman with a peaked hat, waving a sword, seems to be 'making a pass' at a lady in a skirt and a similar peaked hat (fig. 17). Clothing is ill defined or absent in most cases, and though the contemporary people are certain to have worn a loin-cloth, the sex of the male figures is quite often strongly emphasized, as is also that of some of the animals.

There is a wide range of animal figures; oxen predominate followed by horses, elephants, two-humped camels, peacocks, elongated animals which may be meant to be crocodiles, and smaller animals which may be dogs. Some of the animal figures are as naturalistic as the proficiency of the artist would allow (figs. 9 and 10), but there are all degrees of stylization producing in some cases linear conventionalizations with no pretence of naturalism at all (figs. 12 and 13). Grouped with oxen one finds in two instances a man with something in his hands which may be a rope or a halter, with which he is about to secure the animal. It can be said with a considerable measure of certainty, that it will be unprofitable for anyone to follow up through these particular instances any hypothesis that may be put forward linking a not very well defined bull-cult in the Indus Cities of the Harappa period with the bull-cult of Crete, the section on the subject of dating which follows will adduce evidence which entirely precludes any such fancies.



Besides the human and animal figures there are a number of other signs, of which one of the most interesting is that found at Mandori, which shows a bullock cart viewed from above, there are three or four examples of this of which fig. 7 shows the most elaborate; here the bullocks are attached, and the wheels are disposed laterally so that they shall impress their roundness on the beholder.

The remaining designs are those abstractions which are usually termed symbols by anthropologists. Some of these are undoubtedly stylized humans (fig. 3), but the bulk of them are scribbles to which it is always tempting, but in reality quite futile, to assign a true meaning.

### THE DATING OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

It will be as well to state straight away that no very high antiquity can be assigned to these engravings. Though there are in some instances varying techniques, and in others a considerable discrepancy in technical skill, there can be little doubt that the whole of these engravings are generally speaking contemporary. Some of the symbols such as concentric dotted circles, circles surrounding a cross, trident-shaped and other stylized human figures, are common in all periods and in many lands; the fact that it is possible to equate them with Bronze age or even Neolithic engravings in Europe has little real significance. The equipment of swords, shields and spears and the riding of horses and elephants precludes a very early date, but the whole matter is resolved by the fact that at Mandori there are two inscriptions in Kharoshti. These appear entirely to have escaped observation, which is not wholly to be wondered at, seeing that we photographed one of them without recognizing its existence; in fact, it was only on studying the photograph subsequently that it struck the eye. Having found one inscription we naturally made a close search for any others that might exist, and we finally discovered one, concealed by the fact that it was on the lower side of a projecting edge of rock.

The first inscription (fig. 15) is quite definitely of the same age as the strange group alongside it. This group shows a figure on the back of an elephant, supporting on each of his hands another figure, one male and the other female. The inscription appears to read as follows:—a-šo-ra-ṭi-re (te), and below śi. Kharoshti inscriptions are most tantalizing; they almost invariably give the impression that transliteration will be simple, but when one comes to do it, all manner of difficulties arise; one of the chief of these being the similarity between ra and ta, another is the fact that the scribe was not always very certain of his letters, and one gets a number of strange variants. Where one has a known dedicatory formula to help one, transliteration and translation even present no great diffi-

culty, but roughly executed proper names can be very puzzling. This scribe seems to bend his verticals; 'ti' cannot be any other letter, so the right hand or first letter is almost certainly 'a', in spite of the fact that he has apparently closed the loop.

The second inscription reads:—ta (ra)-ša-pa-la-sa and below a-ši. With the exception of the rather wavy topped ta or ra, this inscription is quite clear. It is suggested, not very confidently, that it indicates 'of Tashapala the Asi' or of the tribe of the Asii, a branch of the Yueh-chi. The closed form of 'sa' is an early rather than a later form of Kharoshti, and, on the general style, the early Saka period or about 50 B.C. is suggested for these inscriptions. If, as it appears, these inscriptions are immediately contemporary with at least some of the engravings, then a general dating of 200 B.C.—200 A.D. ought to cover the majority if not all of them.


In the immediate vicinity of any of these rocks there are no surface finds of pottery which might help in dating the engravings, not that such pottery would necessarily be contemporary. Close outside Ghariala village pot fragments of the Buddhist period may be found, and close to a small village about one mile up-stream from the rocks of Mandori we found a terracotta figure of an ox, also of the Buddhist period. Such indications as these are seen to confirm a c. 200 B.C.—200 A.D. dating.

#### THE ROCK PAINTINGS OF CHARGUL.

The only objects which, in this general neighbourhood, are in any way comparable to these engravings are the rock paintings of Chargul. These rock paintings were brought to the notice of Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E., who was investigating Buddhist remains in the vicinity of Shahbazgarhi, by Maizullah Khan, then Malik of Chargul. Lieut. Maxwell investigated the paintings in 1882 and published a complete set of drawings which are far from widely known. The paintings are for the most part in a rock shelter in the Western side of the Hill Doda overlooking the village of Chargul. To reach this one takes the Rustam road from Shahbazgarhi till one reaches the Hamzakot Canal Bungalow, just short of the 9th mile stone. Here one goes East up the Hamzakot Canal for about a mile, then on foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles due South to Chargul. We visited the site in 1938, and were fortunate enough to meet the present malik of the village, Azimullah Khan the son of Maizullah Khan. A party took us up to the shelter, which is unfortunately impossible of access except by means of ropes or scaffolding. Though we were used to taking chances in the rock shelters of the Mahadeo Hills we found after a trial that, without some such aids, it was impossible to see the paintings except through field glasses at a range of some thirty feet. There is however one group of paintings outside the shelter which are easily accessible. Of

these paintings General Alexander Cunningham wrote: 'I am afraid that the cave paintings are not writing at all, but only boyish sketches of animals—a sort of Afghan Noah's ark'. This is not very convincing; the whole number of pictographs are divided as follows:—Animals 73, of which twelve are horses with riders; there are eleven stylized human figures excluding the riders, and there are 57 symbols of which at least 25 have an alphibetiform character; in addition to these there are four pictographs which represent some sort of cart or chariot. The accompanying plate, No. 4, shows examples of all these types. The lower fringe of the hill Doda shows a profusion of remains of Buddhist stone walling, which however is not necessarily contemporary with the paintings.

It is suggested that all these pictographs and petrographs date from the close of the 1st millennium B.C. and the early centuries of the 1st millennium A.D., a dating which covers also a large number of the rock paintings found elsewhere in India. It is hoped that this note will serve to bring into greater prominence these interesting but on the whole little known objects.



First line shows two groups of consecutive alphabetiforms; second and third lines show alphabetiforms and square and circle symbols which are interspersed by animal signs, and a chariot symbol; the fourth line shows typical examples of human and animal figures.



FIG. 1. Horsemen, figures and symbols, Gandah.



FIG. 2. Group of warriors, Gandah.

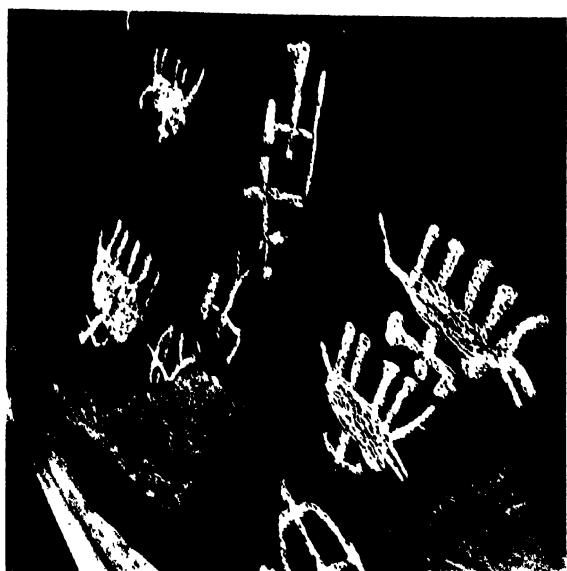


FIG. 4. Elephant riders, and warriors including an archer, Mandori.



FIG. 3. Figures and symbols, Ghariala.



FIG. 5. Figure group, Gandah.

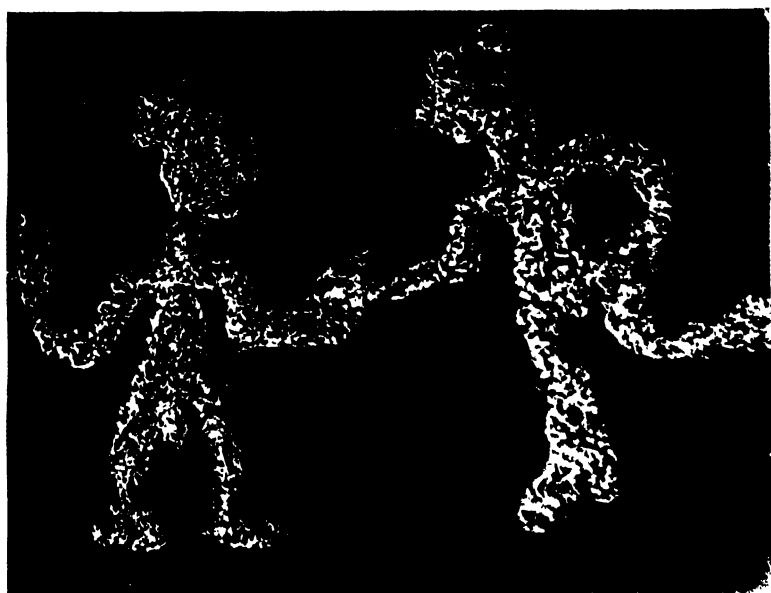


FIG. 6. Figure group, Mandori.

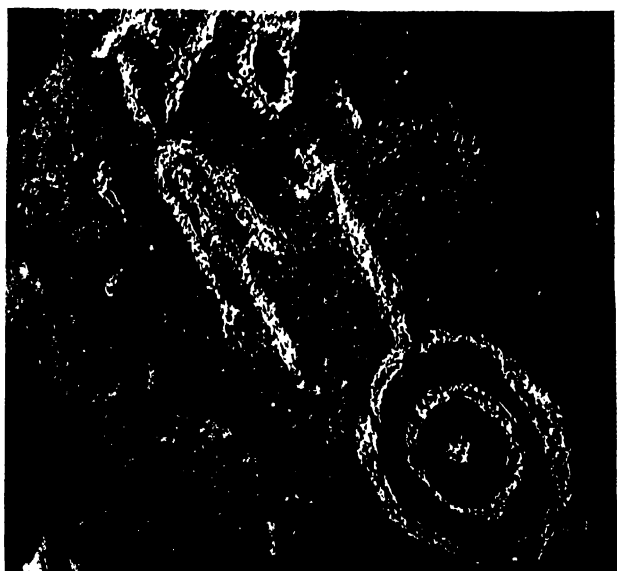


FIG. 8. Symbols, Ghariala.

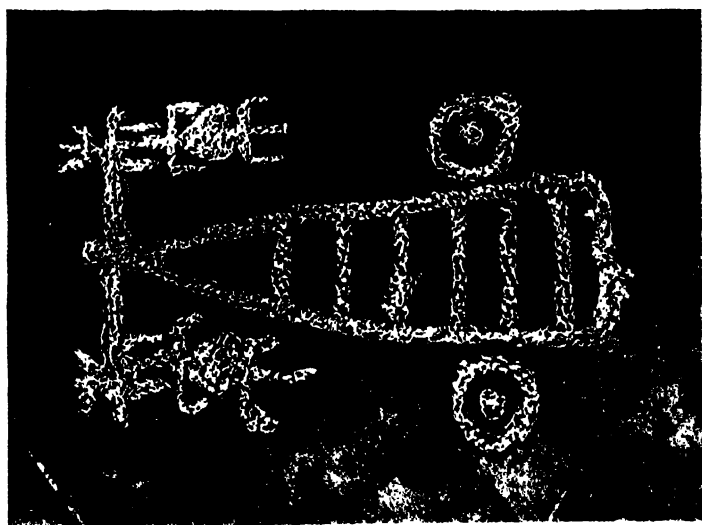


FIG. 7. Bullock cart, Mandori.



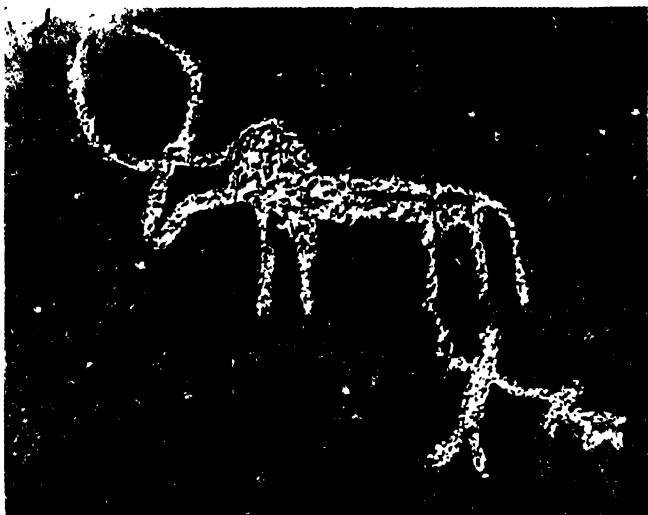


FIG. 9. Man and bull, Ghariala.



FIG. 10. Man and bull, Ghariala.



FIG. 13. Bull, Ghariala.



FIG. 14. Camel and peacock, Mandori.

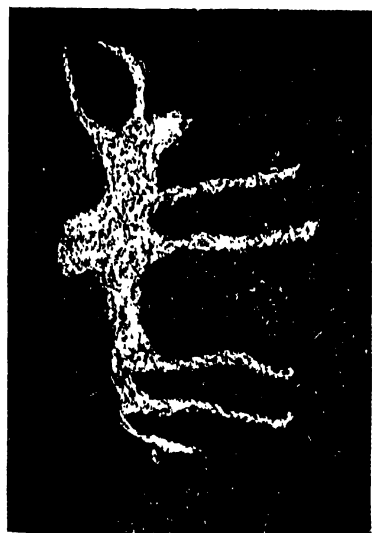


FIG. 11.

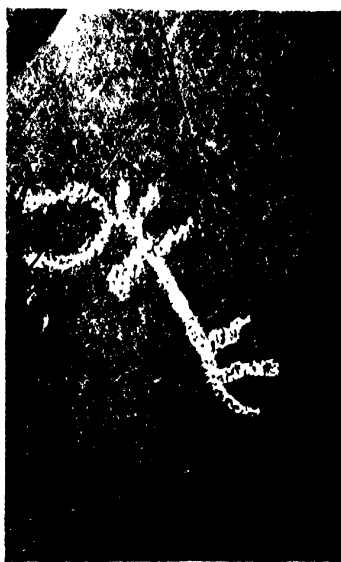


FIG. 11 (top) Ox, and FIG. 12 (bottom) Bull, Gandiab.

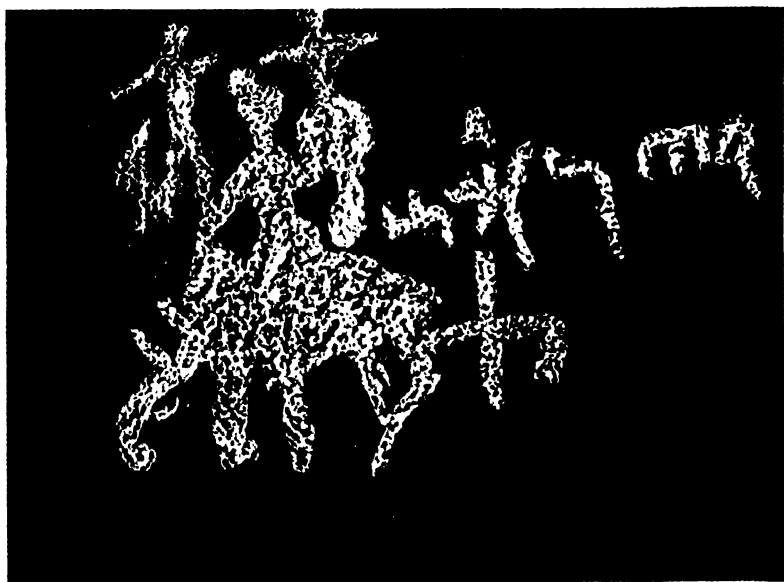


FIG. 15. Mythological figures and inscription, Mandori.



FIG. 16. Kharoshti inscription, Mandori.

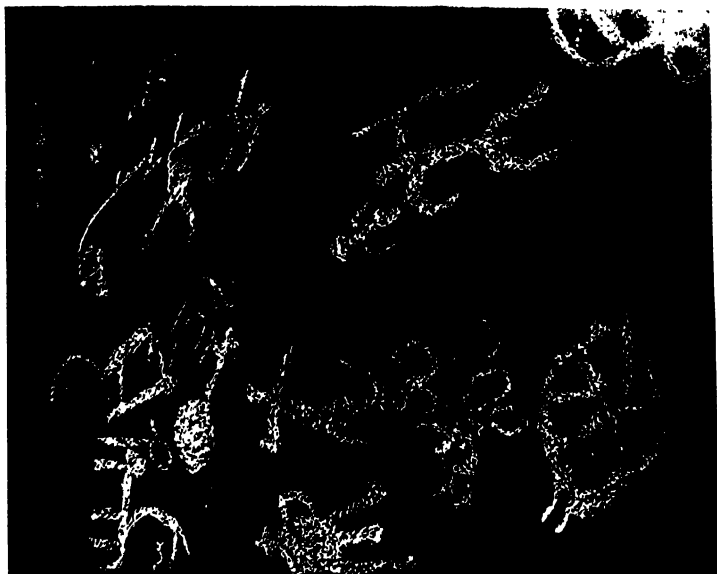


FIG. 18. Figures and symbols, Mandori.

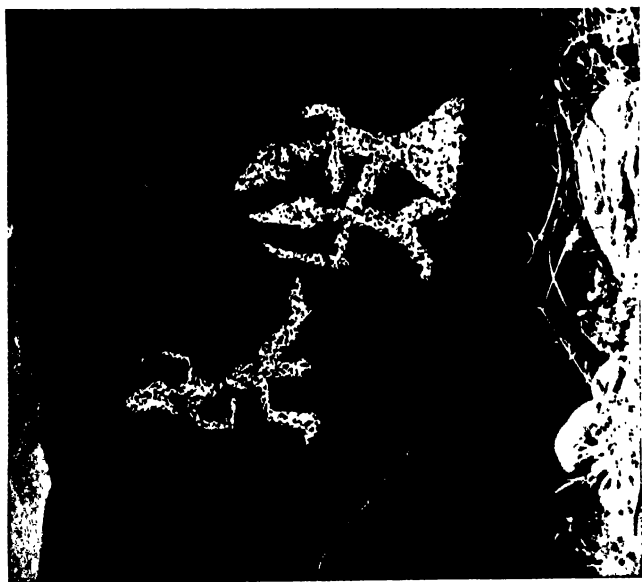


FIG. 17. Men and women, Gandab.



**The Sohgaura Copper-plate Inscription.**

By S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.

(Communicated by J. C. De.)

The copper-plate containing the inscription was discovered in the district of Gorakhpur, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoey<sup>1</sup>. The inscription was first edited by Bühler<sup>2</sup>, and subsequently by Fleet<sup>3</sup>, Barua<sup>4</sup> and Jayaswal<sup>5</sup>. But it remains still unsolved. I am dealing with the inscription from the original plate in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and from the illustrations in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1907)—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotype copy.

The inscription contains four lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The *alphabet* remarkably resembles that of the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān.<sup>6</sup> The peculiar *ma*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape. Again, the notched *ya* and the letter *sa* in a form resembling *sha*, which are used commonly in the Mahāsthān inscription, occur, though in rare instances, as in *Manavasiti*- (l. 1), *-yavani* (l. 3) and *vaya* (l. 4).

The *language* of our inscription is the same as the one used in the Mahāsthān inscription. It is the western variety of the *Prāchya* dialect in which *la* is substituted for *ra*, the nominative singular of *a*-stem ends in *e* instead of *o*, and the dental *sa* only is used. The eastern variety of the *Prāchya* dialect, however, is characterized by the use of the palatal *śa* only.

The Sohgaura plate was cast into several copies and is a circular notice issued by the *Council of Mahamatras of Sravasti* to the illustrious ministers, and is a document connected with famine relief measures.

TEXT.

- 1 Savatīyana Mahamatana sasane Manavasiti-ka-
- 2 da sili-māte (.) Usagame'va eta dava koṭhagalani
- 3 ti[la\*]-yavani mathu-lacha-chamodamma-bhalakana va-
- 4 ya kayiyati (;) atiyāyikaya no gahimtavayo.(.)

<sup>1</sup> The first photo-etching of the plate was published, with some remarks on it by Hoey, Vincent Smith and Hoernle, in the Society's Proceedings for 1894, pp. 84ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vienna Ori. Journ.*, Vol. X, pp. 138ff., and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 261ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 510ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83ff.

## COMMENTS ON THE TEXT.

- Line 1.** Jayaswal read *Savastīyāna*. But the third character is not a ligature. It is the very common *ta* with the angle just below the vertical line. *Sasane* (*sāsane*), in the Māgadhi nominative singular, is equivalent to the Sanskrit *sāsanam*. *Kaḍa* (*kaḍā*), in the ablative singular; *kaḍa* has the same meaning as the Sanskrit *kaṭaka*, 'camp'.
- Line 2.** *Sili* (*siri*) is equivalent to the Sanskrit *śrī* and to the Pāli *sirī*. *Māte* or *amāte*, the expected form being *amātiye*, corresponds to the Sanskrit *amātyān* and the Pāli *amacce*; *sili-māte*, 'to the illustrious ministers'. *Usagame* (*usāgame*) stands, as Jayaswal suggested, for *uss-āgame*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *ushmā-game* and to the Pāli *usmā-game*. Bühler, Fleet, Barua and Jayaswal read *ete*. The *e-mātrā* to *t* is not traceable in Dr. Grierson's electrotype copy. In the Asiatic Society's photograph what looks like an *e-mātrā*, a slanting upward stroke to the left of the top end of *t*<sup>1</sup>, is due to a defect in the surface. The *e*-vowel mark is expressed here and in the Mahāsthān inscription by a short horizontal stroke to the left of the top end of an *akshara*. *Eta* stands for *ete* (cf. *eta pi prapa trayo*... in Aśoka's Rock-edict I at Shahbazgarhi). Bühler, Fleet and Barua read *duve*, Jayaswal, *dave*. According to Jayaswal the word "seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dravya* in connection with Government stores, e.g., *dravya-pāla* (*Arthaśāstra*, Ch. 38)".
- Line 3.** *Tīla-yavani* stands for *tīla-yavāni*, 'sesamum and barley'. *Mathu* is equivalent to *madhu*, 'honey'; *lacha* (*lācha*) to *lāja*, 'parched grain'; *achamoda* to the Sanskrit *ajamoda* and to the Pāli *ajamoja*, 'aniseed'; *aṁma* to *amba*, 'a species of grain'. *Bhala-kana* (*bhālakāna*) is equivalent to the Sanskrit *bhārakāṇam* and to the Pāli *bhārakānam*.
- Line 4.** *Vaya*: the first letter is not *chh*. The indistinct vertical line within the circle is due to a defect in the surface. It is not a downward extension of the vertical part of the letter. The last letter is the notched *y*. *Vaya* (*vayam*) is equivalent to the Sanskrit *vyayam*, 'expense'. *Kayiyati* (*kayiyati*) is clearly a denominative in *īya* from *kayya*, Sanskrit *kārya*, 'that which is to be done'; *Vaya kayiyati*,

<sup>1</sup> In later inscriptions the *e-mātrā* is marked by a slanting upward stroke appended to the left of the top line of an *akshara*.

'to be spent'. *Atiyāyikaya no gahimtavayo*: the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, another document relating to famine relief measures, speaks of *atiyāyika* and *su-atiyāyika*. According to Bhandarkar it is *su-atiyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohgaura copper-plate. I would ascribe the dropping of *su* in the Sohgaura copper-plate to the carelessness of the scribe. Another instance is found in the dropping of *la* in the word *tila*. Bhandarkar translates the whole clause as follows: "nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)". But I would translate it thus: 'for (times of) prosperity (this order) is not meant.' This sense appears to be supported by the symbolic devices, which I will discuss afterwards.

With the above introduction, I give my translation of the text as follows:—

The order of the Mahāmātras of *Śrāvastī*, (issued) from the Manavasiti camp, to the illustrious ministers.

Only on the advent of drought, loads of sesamum and barley, honey, parched grain, aniseed, and amba grain in the 'dravya store houses', are to be spent; for (times of) prosperity (this order) is not meant.

#### SYMBOLS.

The upper face of the plate on which the symbolic devices are found may be divided into three fields. Beginning from the left, in the first field are a leafsome tree in railing, a store house and a ladle. The second field exhibits "a crescent (moon) on a hill-like combination and next to it a large Mo". In the third field are a leafless tree in railing and a store house larger than the one in the first field.

Jayaswal explains the devices in the second field as denoting "an imperial monogram for Chandra(gupta) M(aurya)": the crescent stands for *Chandra*; the hill-like combination, the upper loop of which is *g* and the lower loops *ti*, for *gutta*; and the large *Mo* for *Maurya*. He also explains the devices in the first and third fields. "The two trees," says he, "probably signify the drought stage from leafsome to leafless, and the houses for stores." But he has not explained the presence of the ladle in the first field and its absence in the third field. It is obvious that the devices in the first field denote the stage of plenty and those in the third field the drought stage. Thus the smaller store house with the ladle signifies restricted distribution of food and seeds in times of prosperity, while the larger store house without the ladle indicates unrestricted distribution of the same in times of adversity.





**Time Indications in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.**

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

(Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.)

In the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*<sup>1</sup>, the rules for beginning the year-long sacrifices are stated in the following terms:—

“ते चतुरहे पुरस्तान्माच्यै पौर्णमास्यै दीक्षन्ते तेषामष्टकार्या क्रयः सम्पद्यते इति नु यदि समामविज्ञाय दीक्षन्ते । यद्यु वा एतस्यामेवैकाष्ट-कार्या समां विजिज्ञासन्ते चतुरह एव पुरस्तात् फाल्गुन्यै वा चैत्र्यै वा पौर्णमास्यै दीक्षन्ते । तेषामपरपक्षस्याष्टमां क्रयः संपद्यते । तेनैकाष्टकां न ह्यम्बत् कुर्वन्ति । तेषां पूर्वपक्षे सुत्या संपद्यते । पूर्वपक्षं मासा अभिसम्पद्यन्ते ।”

*Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVI, 13.

‘ They consecrate themselves four days before the full-moon day of *Māgha*; thus their purchase of *soma* falls on the day of the last quarter (*Ekāṣṭakā*). This would be the rule if they consecrate themselves without knowing the (beginning of the) year. If, however, they want to know the (i.e. beginning of the) year on the day of the last quarter of *Māgha* (*Ekāṣṭakā*, i.e. when the first day of the year has already been passed), they should consecrate themselves four days before, either the full-moon day of *Phālguna* or the full-moon day of *Caitra*; their purchase of *soma* would then fall on the 8th day of the dark-half. By this they do not make the last quarter (*Ekāṣṭakā*) void. Their *sutyā* (i.e. extraction of *soma* juice) falls in the first half (i.e. light half) of the month, and the (sacrificial) months begin in the first (or light) half.’

All this reads like a slightly modified extract from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VII, 4, 8) or from the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (V, 9) which has been quoted and explained in my previous

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<sup>1</sup> Edited by Caland, 1904–1913 A.D., published by the *Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*. The present paper modifies my interpretation of this rule of Baudhāyana and also the date arrived at from it, in the paper ‘Solstice Days in Vedic Literature’, published in the *JRASBL*, Vol. IV, 1938, page 429.

paper, 'Solstice Days in Vedic Literature'.<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* here recommends the following of the former rules by the performers of year-long sacrifices. The rule of beginning these sacrifices four days before full-moon near the *Phalgunis*, is the oldest that can be traced in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The alternative rule for beginning these year-long sacrifices four days before the full-moon day of *Māgha*, was true for the time of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* or of the *Pāṇḍavas*, i.e. for about the time when the sun reached the winter solstice on the full-moon day of the Vedic standard month of *Māgha*. *Baudhāyana* seems to say that on the day of the last quarter of *Māgha*, the year-beginning or the winter-solstice day was already over in his time. Clearly then he does not mean the Vedic standard month of *Māgha* when giving his rule. His idea perhaps was that the sun reached the winter solstice on the earliest possible day of the full-moon of *Māgha*, and that the winter-solstice day was inevitably over on the last quarter following it. By a full-moon day of *Māgha*, he probably means a day like the 30th of January, 1934 A.D. Nowadays the winter-solstice day is the 22nd of December. This would show a precession of the solstice-day by 39 days, and at the rate of one day of precession in 74 years, it would indicate a time of about 953 B.C., about when, the day of the last quarter of the month of *Pausa*, and not of *Māgha*, could be near to the winter-solstice day. We shall not be wrong to assume that this *Śrauta Sūtra* speaks of a time of about 900 B.C.

This work does not say that the *Kṛttikās* (*Pleiades*) are first of the *nakṣatras*, as we find enumerated in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*<sup>2</sup>. Nor does it speak simultaneously of the full-moon days at the *Kṛttikās* and the *Maghās*<sup>3</sup>—a statement which is very significant as the *Pleiades* ( $\eta$  *Tauri*) and the star *Regulus* (*Maghā*) have a difference in longitude of very nearly 90°. We miss here statements like that of the *Kapiṣṭhala Kāṭha Saṁhitā*, (a) प्रजापतेर्वै रतश्चिरो यत्क्षत्तिकाः<sup>4</sup> (b) पूर्णमासे वामावस्थायां यजेत<sup>5</sup> or of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, (c) प्रजापतिर्वै आग्रयणे<sup>6</sup> which mean, 'the *Kṛttikās* are the head of *Prajāpati* (year), that sacrifices are to be made on the full-moon or new-moon day and that *Prajāpati* is the day of the full-moon at the vernal equinox (*āgrayana*)'. All these statements mean a time about a hundred years before or after the year 2350 B.C. This *Śrauta Sūtra* has no statements of the type quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> JRASBL, Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 425–429.

<sup>2</sup> *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV, 4, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Vana, 84, 51–52.

<sup>4</sup> and <sup>5</sup> *Kap. K. Saṁhitā*, VI, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, IV, 6, 4.

In another place (XII, 1; Caland's Edn., Vol. II, page 85), Baudhāyana lays down the following rule for beginning the *Rājasūya* sacrifices:—

राजसूयेन यज्यमाणो भवति स पुरस्तात् फाल्गुन्यै वा चैत्र्यै वा  
पौर्णमास्या अमावास्याेन हविषेष्टा दीक्षते ।

'When a prince is being religiously served with the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, he consecrates himself by making oblations of clarified butter, on the new-moon day which precedes the full-moon day either of *Phālguna* or of *Caitra*.'

It is difficult to see what season of the year is taken to begin on the new-moon which precedes the full-moon either of *Phālguna* or of *Caitra*. The former of these new-moons simply means the new moon of *Māgha*, which is but a repetition of an older tradition of the winter-solstice day as stated in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1</sup> (XIX, 3). The *Mahābhārata* indicates, according to our interpretation, that Yudhiṣṭhira was consecrated for the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice on the full-moon day of *Caitra* of the year 2446 B.C. The Vedic standard month of *Māgha* as it came that year was similar to that of our time in 1932 A.D., and the full-moon day of *Caitra* of 2446 B.C. corresponded with the full-moon day of April 20, 1932 A.D. The new-moon day which preceded this full-moon happened on the 6th April, 1932 A.D. If the *Baudhāyana* rule indicates that spring began according to this recorded tradition, the date when this was true would become about 1400 B.C. If Baudhāyana means a year like 1927 A.D. on which the new-moon in question happened on April 2, the date would come out to have been about 1100 B.C. If again, it was a new-moon of the type of March 30, 1930 A.D., the date of the tradition would be about 886 B.C. In any case we do not get any clear indication of time from this reference. We shall, however, later on find the day for starting the *Rājasūya* sacrifice in the year 886 B.C. A more definite indication of the date of this *Śrauta Sūtra* is furnished by the:—

#### BAUDHĀYANA RULE FOR *Nakṣatreṣṭi* SACRIFICES.

The part of the work where it gives the time for beginning the *Nakṣatreṣṭi* sacrifices<sup>2</sup>, runs as follows:—

अथातो नक्षत्रेष्टीर्थाख्यास्यामोऽग्निर्वै अकामयताम्नादो देवानां  
स्यामिति ता ब्राह्मणेन व्याख्याताः । सा या वैशाखाः पौर्णमास्याः

<sup>1</sup> JRASBL, Vol. IV, 1938; page 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XXVIII, 3-4.

पुरस्तादमावास्या भवति स सप्तत्वं संवत्सरस्यापभरणौभिः संपद्यते तस्यामारभेतेति ।

‘We now proceed to explain the rule for performing the *Nakṣatreṣṭi* sacrifices. Agni wished, “I would be the partaker of food for the gods.” This has been set forth by the Brāhmaṇa (Tt. Br. III, 1, 4 *et seq.* as found by Caland). The full-moon which occurs near the *Viśākhās*, has its preceding new-moon once in the year in the *Bharanī* division, this new-moon is the day for starting the *Nakṣatreṣṭi* sacrifices.’

A little later the rules run as follows:—

विशेषान् व्याख्यास्यामः । प्रजापतिः सवितेतुपांसुः सर्पेभ्य आश्रेषाम्भ्य  
आव्ये करम्भमिति सर्वे यवा भवन्ति ।

‘We shall now explain the special rules: Prajāpati, the sun becomes *Upāṁsu* (of subdued light due to the starting of the rains) on getting at the *Aśleṣā* division. Hence all barley corns become *Karambha* (barley powder mixed with curd) which are to be mixed with clarified butter for oblations.’

Here evidently the sun is said to reach the vernal equinox on the new-moon which preceded the full-moon in the *Viśākhā* division or near the *Viśākhā* ‘junction’ star. Such a new-moon was of rare occurrence. Also the sun seemed to turn south at the beginning of the division *Aśleṣā*, and not at its middle. True it is that this *Śrauta Sūtra* says:—

माघमासे घनिष्ठाभिस्तदेति भातुमान् ।

अर्धाश्लेषस्य आवणस्य दक्षिणेनोपनिवर्त्तते ॥ इति काष्ठे भवतः ।

B. *Śrauta Sūtra*, XXVI, 29.

‘In the month of *Māgha* the sun on getting at the *Nakṣatra* division *Dhaniṣṭhā*, turns to the north and at the middle of the *Aśleṣā* division turns to the south in the month *Śravana*. These are the two limits to the sun’s north-south motion.’

This is evidently borrowed from the *Vedāṅgas*. This position of the solstices was not true for the time of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

We understand that at the time indicated by *Nakṣatreṣṭi* rules of Baudhāyana, the summer solstice was at the beginning of the *Aśleṣā* division, that the vernal equinox was consequently at the end of the first quarter of the *Bharanī* division, and winter solstice was at the middle of the *Śravana* division.

Now the oldest division of the ecliptic began with the ecliptic position of  $\beta$ -*Delphinis* as the first point of the *Dhaniṣṭhā* division.

The longitude of  $\beta$ -*Delphinis* in 1935 A.D. =  $315^{\circ} 26' 5''$   
 Deduct half *nakṣatra* .. ..  $6^{\circ} 40' 0''$ ,

the longitude of the middle of *Śravaṇā*  
 division .. .. =  $308^{\circ} 46' 5''$   
 Again deduct .. ..  $270^{\circ} 0' 0''$

Hence the longitude of the end of the 1st  
 quarter of *Bharanī* division (1935) =  $38^{\circ} 46' 5''$ .

Now the longitude of the sun at Calcutta Mean Noon on April 30, 1938 A.D., a new-moon day, was =  $39^{\circ} 14' 34''$ .

This fairly agrees with the longitude of the last point of the 1st quarter of the *Bharanī* division obtained above.

Here a shifting of the equinoxes till 1938 A.D., of  $39^{\circ} 14' 34''$ , indicates a lapse of 2,828 years and the date arrived at becomes 891 B.C. If we want to get at a year near to this date and similar to 1938 A.D., that year becomes 886 B.C. or -885 A.D.

This date appears to be the time indicated by the *Nakṣatṛeṣṭi* rule of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

#### BAUDHĀYANA RULE FOR THE *Pañcaśārādiya* SACRIFICES.

In another place the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* lays down the following rule for beginning the *Pañcaśārādiya* sacrifices. These lasted for 5 years and were begun with the advent of the Indian season of *Hemanta* or of the dews and ended with the Indian season of *Sarat* or autumn. Hence on the day for the beginning of this *Pañcaśārādiya* sacrifices, the desired celestial longitude of the sun was about  $210^{\circ}$ . The *Baudhāyana* rule runs as follows:—

पञ्चशरदीयेन यक्ष्यमाणो भवति स उपकल्पयते सप्तदश  
 निरखान् वत्सतरान् एकहायनान् स पुरस्तान् मार्गशीर्ष्यै पौर्णमास्या  
 आमावास्याेन हविषेद्वा सप्तदशमावतीः एतन्नीर्वत्सतरौरालभते ।

(*B. Ś. Sūtra*, XVIII, 11.)

‘When a person is being served by the five yearly sacrifice, he selects seventeen he-calves which are more than 8 days old and of not exceeding one year in age. He makes the sacrifice with oblations of clarified butter on the new-moon which precedes the full-moon at the star group *Mṛgaśīras*<sup>1</sup> (i.e.  $\lambda$ ,  $\phi_1$ , and  $\phi_2$ , *Orionis*) and secures seventeen she-calves of which the presiding deities are the *Maruts* or wind gods.’

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*, XIX, 8-3-2, which records a tradition of the beginning of *Hemanta* on the *Mṛgaśīras* full-moon day which corresponds to a mean date of about 2000 B.C.

The practice was to release 17 he-calves and 17 she-calves for freely roaming about in the fields or forests in the 1st year, 17 she-calves in the 2nd year, 17 she-calves in the 3rd year and 17 she-calves in the fourth year were also set at liberty. It is not clear if in the fifth year also the same practice was continued. The day for beginning the sacrifice was of the new-moon preceding the full-moon at the *Mrgasiras* group.

Now in the year 1929 A.D., the full-moon near  $\lambda$  *Orionis* fell on December 16; and the preceding new-moon happened on December 1. We assume here that the sun's longitude increased by  $60^\circ$  in two lunations very nearly. Hence the sun reached the winter solstice on the day which corresponds with the new-moon on the 29th January, 1930 A.D.

On this day, i.e. January 29, 1930, at G.M.N. the sun's apparent longitude was .. .. =  $308^\circ 53' 1''$ ,

Deduct .. ..  $270^\circ 0' 0''$ ,

$\therefore$  the remainder  $38^\circ 53' 1''$  represents the shifting of the solstices till 1930 A.D. The date arrived at becomes — 885 A.D. which is the same as derived from the rule for beginning the *Nakṣatreṣṭi* sacrifices. The following back calculation for the year 887-886 B.C. shows the beginnings of the seasons and the days for the beginnings of these sacrifices.

| Julian Calendar  | Julian days | At G. M. Noon   |                 | Remarks                                                                                                  |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                  |             | Appt. Sun       | Appt. Moon      |                                                                                                          |
| — 886<br>Nov. 1  | 1397751     | $210^\circ 40'$ | $212^\circ 36'$ | <i>Hemanta</i> begins with this N. M. day. <i>Pañcaśārāḍya</i> to start.                                 |
| — 886<br>Nov. 16 | 1397766     | $225^\circ 58'$ | $50^\circ 48'$  | F. M. at $\lambda$ <i>Orionis</i> about 10 hrs. before.                                                  |
| — 886<br>Dec. 30 | 1397810     | $270^\circ 50'$ | $266^\circ 1'$  | N. M. one day after winter solstice at the middle of <i>Śravanā</i> division.                            |
| — 885<br>Feb. 27 | 1397869     | $329^\circ 48'$ | $321^\circ 34'$ | N. M. $16\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. later. <i>Rājasūya</i> to start.                                              |
| — 885<br>Mar. 29 | 1397899     | $359^\circ 0'$  | $357^\circ 57'$ | N. M. near vernal equinox at the end of the 1st quarter of <i>Bharaṇi</i> . <i>Nakṣatreṣṭi</i> to start. |
| — 885<br>Apr. 13 | 1397914     | $13^\circ 27'$  | $202^\circ 23'$ | F. M. in <i>Viśākhā</i> , 18 hrs. before.                                                                |

The small discrepancies which the above calculations show with the Baudhāyana statements are negligible. These state-

ments of the *Śrauta Sūtra* are not and cannot be very accurate. It should be noted in this connection that for the year —886 A.D.

|                                                 |    |         |
|-------------------------------------------------|----|---------|
| λ <i>Orionis</i> had a celestial long. of about | .. | 43° 40' |
| α <i>Libra</i> "       "       "                | .. | 185° 5' |
| i <i>Libra</i> "       "       "                | .. | 191° 0' |

α *Libra* and i *Libra* are the two stars in the *Viśākhā* division.

|                                                                |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Again, in this year —886 A.D.,                                 |            |
| the longitude of the end of the 1st gr. of <i>Bharanī</i>      | = 359° 39' |
| "       "       "       1st pt. of the <i>Viśākhā</i> division | = 182° 59' |
| "       "       "       "       " <i>Mṛgaśīras</i>             | = 36° 19'  |
| "       "       "       mid-point of the <i>Śravaṇā</i>        | = 269° 39' |

Thus the year 887-86 B.C. appears to be the mean date indicated by the *Baudhāyana* rules for beginning the *Nakṣatreṣṭi*, the *Pañcaśārādīya* and the *Rājasūya* sacrifices. This date, however, is liable to being raised or lowered by 76 years or by even a greater luni-solar period.

We now take up the *Baudhāyana* rules for setting up fires by the householder. The rules in question state the suitable or auspicious days for the purpose and have nothing to do with the beginnings of the seasons. The auspicious days are the new-moon days at (1) *Kṛttikās*, (2) *Rohiṇis*, (3) *Punarvasus*, (4) *P. Phalgunis*, (5) *U. Phalgunis* and (6) *Citrā*. A Brahmin is to set up his fires in spring, a Kṣatriya in summer, a Vaiśya in autumn and a car-maker in the rains.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is said:—

(a) या वैशाखाः पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्ठादामावास्या भवति सा सङ्घत् संवत्सरस्य रोहिण्या सम्पद्यते तस्यामादघौत ।

'The new-moon which follows the full-moon in the *Viśākhā* division, once happens in a year with the moon in the *Rohiṇī* division, that is the day on which the fires are to be set up.'

This rule states when to get at the day of a new-moon in the *Rohiṇī Nakṣatra*. There is another rule given for settling when to get at a new-moon near the *Punarvasus* (*Castor* and *Pollux*).

(b) या आषाढाः पौर्णमास्याः पुरस्तादामावास्या भवति सा सङ्घत् संवत्सरस्य पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते तस्यामादघौतेति ।<sup>2</sup>

'The new-moon which precedes the full-moon in the *Nakṣatra Āṣāḍhā* (here the *U. Āṣāḍhā*), once (i.e. on rare occasions) happens in a year with the moon near the *Punarvasus* (*Castor* and *Pollux*); the fires should be set up on this day.'

These are purely luni-solar-stellar phenomena which repeat roughly in 8, 11 or 19 years. The *Rohiṇī* and the *Punarvasu*

<sup>1</sup> *Baudhāyana S. Sūtra*, II, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, I: this is also repeated in XXIV, 18.



new-moons answering to the above description happened in the year 884 B.C., as the following calculation will show:—

| Year and date          | Julian days | At G.M.N. |            | Remarks.                                            |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
|                        |             | Appt. Sun | Appt. Moon |                                                     |
| — 883 A.D.<br>April 19 | 1398651     | 19° 41'   | 194° 27'   | F. M. in <i>Viśākhā</i> Dn.                         |
| — 883 A.D.<br>May 4    | 1398666     | 34° 1'    | 23° 48'    | N. M. in <i>Bharanī</i> Dn. for setting up fires.   |
| — 883 A.D.<br>June 3   | 1398696     | 62° 34'   | 58° 45'    | N. M. in <i>Punarvasu</i> Dn. for setting up fires. |
| — 883 A.D.<br>June 17  | 1398710     | 75° 54'   | 253° 0'    | F. M. in <i>U. Āṣādhā</i> Dn.                       |

*Viśākhā* division = 182° 59' to 196° 19'  
*Punarvasu* division = 62° 59' to 76° 19'  
 Long. of *Pollux* = 73° 14'

It is evident that such new-moons came in also in the year 895 B.C., i.e. 8 years before the date 887 B.C. arrived at before. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* <sup>1</sup> lays down the rule that fires should be set up, on the day of the new-moon with which the lunar *Vaiśākhā* ended, meaning of course the new-moon, either at the *Kṛttikās* or the *Hyades (Rohiṇī)*. These rules for setting up fires by a householder have nothing to do with the beginning of any season of the year and do not indicate the date of the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*, nor of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, nor of any other work of the kind.

We are thus led to conclude that the mean date for the *Baudhāyana* rules for sacrifices should be taken as the year 887-86 B.C.

One point more that we want to notice here is that the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* mentions the name Pāṇini in the *Pravara* section 3 (Vol. III, page 418) and also the name Kaulāśva Yāska in XVI, 27. Whether these statements place the dates of the celebrated grammarian and the author of the Vedic lexicon, *Nirukta*, before the time of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (900 B.C. nearly), is a matter that cannot be settled astronomically. True it is that the word 'Yavanānī' as found in Pāṇini means the written alphabet of the Ionian Greeks, but it would be far from rational to conclude that the Yavanas did not come to India before the times of Alexander or of Darius.

<sup>1</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 1, 7; cited by S. B. Dikṣita in his *भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र*, page 130 (1st. Edn.) योसो वैश्वस्यामावास्या तस्या-मादधोत.....आत्मन्येवेतत् प्रजायां पशुषु प्रतिनिहति ।

## Some Dates in the Pāla and Sena Records.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR.

It is well known that the chronology of the Pāla kings has been fixed by calculating the known reign-periods of kings with reference to certain fixed dates or events of approximately known date. As such the correct reading of the dates of the Pāla and early Sena kings, particularly of those which are last-known dates of kings, is of special importance. Recently I examined the dates of many such records, and I have great doubts whether some of them have been correctly read. Even where it is not possible to arrive at any definite reading, it is better that the uncertainty of reading should be clearly known to scholars than that definite theories should be based on it. With this object in view I propose to discuss a few of the dates in the hope that other scholars might be induced to re-examine them for themselves, instead of relying on older views, formed, in many cases, at a time when the value of numerical signs was not so well known.

### I. NĀLANDĀ C.P. OF DEVAPĀLA—YEAR 39 (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 320 and Pl.).

The date was formerly read as 38<sup>1</sup> and is now accepted as 39. The second figure, however, looks more like 5 than 9, as will be evident from a comparison with the figure for 5 in 54 of the Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla on the back of the Pārvatī Image<sup>2</sup>. The figure in the Nālandā C.P. is different from 5 in the Hilsa Tara Image<sup>3</sup> Ins., the slanting line at the top as well as the curve at the bottom being both more prolonged. But, as noted above, it resembles 5 in Nārāyaṇapāla's Ins., dated 54<sup>4</sup>, in both these respects, while it is altogether different from the figure 9 used in the Kurkihar Inss. of the year 9 of Devapāla and year 19

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<sup>1</sup> H. Kuraishi.—*List of Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa* (1931), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Banerji.—*Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. III(b).

<sup>3</sup> *JBORS.*, X, 33.—The date is read as 35 but is really 25. This has already been pointed out in *JRASBL.*, IV, 390.

<sup>4</sup> It may be noted that in the Indian Museum Image Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Pālas of Bengal*, Pl. XXXI) the figure 5 resembles that of Hilsa. Thus the two forms of 5 occur in the Inss. of both Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla.

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of Vighrahapāla <sup>1</sup>, and the Indian Museum Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla <sup>2</sup>. The date of the Ins. should, therefore, be read as 35.

## II. JAYANAGAR IMAGE INS. OF MADANAPĀLA—YEAR 19.

(Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, Pl. XLV, No. 17.)

The second figure was read as 9 by Cunningham and this has been accepted by all <sup>3</sup>. It is almost certainly 4 as may be easily verified by a comparison with the figure 4 in the Pārvaṭi Image Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla—year 54, referred to above, the Chandimau Ins. of the 42nd year of Rāmapāla <sup>4</sup>, and the Kamauli Plates of Vaidyadeva <sup>5</sup>.

It may be noted that the figure read as 9 differs from that in Nālandā C.P. and the figure for 9 used in Kurkihar Ins. and the Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla referred to above. The date of the Ins. should therefore be read as 14.

## III. RAJIBPUR SADĀŚIVA IMAGE INS. OF GOPĀLA III—YEAR 14.

(*Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1936-7, p. 131, Pl. XXXV(C).)

The figure read as 4 is absolutely unlike the figure used for 4 in the Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla or Rāmapāla referred to above. I do not know of any symbol like it being used for 4 in the Pāla records. As a matter of fact the letter does not resemble any known symbol for a numerical figure. Doubt, therefore, naturally arises whether it is any numerical figure at all. Late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who edited this Ins., has sought to demolish all current theories about Gopāla's short reign on the basis of this record. It is, therefore, necessary to be sure about the reading of the date.

The letter in question consists of a vertical line with a short angular hook attached to the top at the right. It is unlike any letter or numerical figure known to me. It may be part of a letter of which the other part has not been engraved through mistake, or a *virāma* sign. As the few letters in the next line are effaced it is difficult to make any definite suggestion. But it should not be read as 4 unless similar figure with value of 4 is discovered. For all we know the date of the Ins. may be year 1.

<sup>1</sup> I have consulted the facsimile of Kurkihar Image Inss. kindly supplied by Mr. A. Ghosh.

<sup>2</sup> *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 61-62, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar evidently felt some doubts about the correct reading of the date, as he put a query after it in his *List of Inscriptions* (No. 1640).

<sup>4</sup> *Pālas of Bengal*, Pl. XXX (pp. 93-4).

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 347, Pl. III-A.

## BARRACKPUR C.P. OF VIJAYASENA—YEAR 62.

(Ep. Ind., XV, 282, Pl.)

Late Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date first as *Sam* 37<sup>1</sup>, then as *Sam* 31<sup>2</sup>, and finally as 32<sup>3</sup>. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya challenged the accuracy of the reading and suggested 61. He, however, observed that 'had the two figures after *Sam* been joined together, they would almost exactly resemble the figure 5 of the Belabo Ins. of Bhojavarman'. But as Mr. Banerji who examined the original plates twice, did not suspect a single figure, Mr. Bhattacharya concluded that the two figures must be separate. He then argued: 'The first figure being in the form of a single curve without any angle does not at all tally with any of the known figures representing 3 most of which show two distinct arcs forming an angle, besides the lower curve... the first figure quite regularly corresponds to the known figures of 6, only it has a slight bend at the top towards the left, almost exactly like the figure 6 inscribed in a metal image of Vajratārā and in a MS. Colophon'. The second figure, in his opinion, also corresponds better with the figure 1 of the Sarnath Ins. of Mahipāla than any of the known figures of 2<sup>4</sup>.

Unfortunately, the original plate being no longer available, we have to rely on the plate published along with Mr. Banerji's article in *Ep. Ind.* As Mr. Banerji himself observes, 'these were prepared from two enlargements from two indifferent negatives' (p. 278). They cannot, therefore, be very much relied upon. Besides, it would be obvious to anybody who examines the published plate that the tops of the two numerical figures are on a lower level than the rest of the line, clearly indicating that the upper portion of them has been effaced. It is thus quite likely, as Mr. Bhattacharya has suggested, that the two figures were joined and we have to read the date as 5. I quite appreciate Mr. Bhattacharya's objection that Mr. R. D. Banerji who examined the original plate did not detect it. But following the same line of argument one might say that Mr. Banerji would not have unhesitatingly read the first figure *always* as 3 if he did not find on the plate itself the upper part of the curve, or at least clear traces of it to justify his reading 3. As a matter of fact, what Mr. Bhattacharya describes as a slight bend at the top, appears to me to be a distinct trace of the curve. If the figure, even as it is, is compared with the figure for 6 in the Naihati C.P. of Vallālasena, it can hardly be read as 6. It is possible to read the figure as 2 or 3. As Mr. R. D. Banerji had the advantage of examining the original plate which others had

<sup>1</sup> *Pālas*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 157.

not, it is safer to accept his reading until the plate may be examined afresh.

#### TWO IMADPUR IMAGE INSS. OF MAHIPĀLA—YEAR 48.

These two identical Inss. supply a regnal year for Mahipāla which is 17 or probably 27 years later than any date otherwise known<sup>1</sup>. Hence this date has been an important factor in fixing the Pāla chronology. Unfortunately, we have to depend entirely on a footnote to an article by Dr. Hoernle so far as the reading of the date is concerned<sup>2</sup>. No facsimile of the Inss. was ever published, and no one else appears ever to have examined it. The 't' of *Samvat* has been often read by Cunningham and others as numerical figure, and, as already noted above, the mistakes in reading dates have not been infrequent. In view of this it is extremely doubtful how far reliance may be placed on the very cursory reading of the date added in a footnote by Dr. Hoernle, unchecked by anybody else.

The images containing the Inss. were, according to Hoernle, found by Mr. Lincke at Imadpur, but in the latter's account<sup>3</sup> of the ruins of that place he mentions images with Inss. which are altogether different. It is possible, however, that those were other images. But in that case the two images, noted by Hoernle, are not mentioned by Mr. Lincke in his account. In view of the importance of the Inss. an earnest effort should be made to trace these images.

<sup>1</sup> The date of a Kurkihār Image Ins. of Mahipāla has been read as 31 (*JBORS.*, XXVI, 245). The first figure, however, looks more like 2 than 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 165, f.n. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1881, p. 98.

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